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HENRY VAUGHAN, SILURIST

A study of his life and writings;
his relation to his age and subsequent influence

by

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PREFACE

When study of Vaughan for this essay was first undertaken, it was my intention to treat his work as a type of seventeenth century mysticism. I abandoned that scheme, however, when, on going deeper into the matter, it became obvious that abnormal psychology was ousting literature from the central position that I wished it to hold ~~in this study~~. It soon became obvious, also, that in the biographical field where worthier reapers had gone unrewarded, I was not likely to discover anything of value. The appearance of Miss Holmes' book (see note to Chapter 6 p. 150) put an end to what I had intended to be a focal research point, my examination of Vaughan's relationship to Hermetical philosophy. But it had by that time become clear that any extended study of Vaughan would involve "research", and that instead of confining myself to one possibly untouched issue, in something perilously like a search for novelty, it would be more profitable to make as complete and balanced a general study as I could. The title, "Henry Vaughan, Silurist. A study of his life and writings, his relation to his age and his subsequent influence", defines the scope of this essay, and although comprehensiveness in itself cannot be thought of as a great recommendation, yet it seemed to me that the present need was to see Vaughan whole and as steadily as may be.

If I have stressed certain aspects unduly (as perhaps in the detail introduced in connection with Vaughan's work in translation or in the consideration of his reading), I have been led astray not only by the fascination of the subject but also by the uncertainty

Preface (2).

felt as to the interpretation of the term "research". As a guide, however, I followed the regulations governing the award of the Ph.D. Degree of the University of London: the candidate's thesis

must form a distinct contribution to the knowledge of the subject and afford evidence of originality, shown either by the discovery of new facts or by the exercise of independent critical power. (p.24)

Some hesitation or inconsistency may perhaps also be seen in arrangement. It is not easy to discover the mean between excessive quotation and failure from want of evidence to prove one's point. There is also a temptation, in order not to break up the page or interrupt the argument, to relegate such proof to footnotes or appendix. But in a thesis of this kind proof is as important as conclusion and I have therefore quoted very freely in both text and footnote, especially from the lesser known writers. Detailed consideration of Vaughan's affinities with as well known and accessible a writer as Wordsworth has been consigned to the appendix. Some of my conclusions on single poems or Vaughan's style lose weight by the impossibility of reproducing here the poet's complicated system of italics as given in Mr. Martin's edition.

It has been my purpose to show Vaughan in his context, and I hoped, in glancing at Donne, Browne, Traherne and others of the day, incidentally to shed some light on contemporary thought on a few minor matters. My findings here and in connection with Vaughan's literary affinities are based on an examination undertaken for this essay of the complete works of all the writers mentioned except Shakespeare, De Quincey, Keble, Coventry Patmore and the prose of Coleridge. The labour involved in an examination of, for example, the complete works of Ben Jonson or of Donne's prose may not always have seemed directly

Preface (3).

remunerative, but at least I have felt the more certain of my ground.

I think that all my indebtedness in point of detail will be found acknowledged in the text or in footnotes. Even with so comparatively unannotated a writer as Vaughan, every new student will find predecessors to whom he must be under heavy obligations. Among these must be named Miss Imogene Guiney, Mr. Edmund Blunden, Miss Elizabeth Holmes and Vaughan's editors. Of these last, the names of Professors Martin and Chambers will be discovered frequently mentioned in the pages following in token of a particular indebtedness on my part. I should like also to mention,-in addition to that of the authorities of the various libraries (both in this country and in America) in which I have (often vainly) sought biographical data, together with those of the University of Oxford and the Inns of Court,- the kindness of Miss Gwenllian F. Morgan of Brecon and that of the late Mr. Thacker of the Birmingham Reference Library.

Dorothy L. Graham.

Birmingham, September 1933.

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Henry Vaughan, Silurist.

A study of his life and writings,
his relation to his age and his subsequent influence.

Introduction.

Henry Vaughan is a poet who has never suffered as the butt of fashionable admiration and the history of critical opinion concerning him shows few vicissitudes. Hailed during his own day by discerning friends as one of the probable hopes of English literature, his fame sank into obscurity after his death and it was not until Lyte's edition of his sacred poems published in 1847 that he swam again into the public ken. But from that time his position as one of the fixed, though minor, luminaries of the seventeenth century has been fairly secure.

The quality of Vaughan's work is, in itself, medicine against ephemeral enthusiasm. His poetry is never likely to become the vogue and is thus automatically safeguarded from violent reactions. But, by a reversal of the usual fate of poets, Vaughan has perhaps suffered by the pious taciturnity of his admirers and has attracted far less attention than he deserves among those capable of a proper appreciation.

It is, however, true that the devotion of a few "private and selected hearts" (1) would have been more agreeable

1. "Jacobs Pillow and Pillar" p.527.

to him than the approval of that section of the community which he was inclined to disdain, the unthinking populace with its "Aphorisme of the people" (1) and "The Crowd's cheap tinsel" (2). It was probably his own experience which prompted the saying: "Throngs are rude," (3) and it was largely private inclination which disposed him to the framing of the precept

When the world's up, and ev'ry swarm abroad,
Keep thou thy temper, mix not with each clay. (4)

There is ample evidence to show that he regarded himself as capricious and very unhappily at the mercy of his moods. (5) Of anger and contempt expressed in a manner that could not be misunderstood his poems supply many examples and it seems that humility towards his fellow men was a virtue that he had difficulty in acquiring. "He was esteemed by scholars an ingenious person" says Anthony à Wood, "but proud and humerous". It is easy to underrate the complexity of Vaughan's character.

Although some seventy of his seventy-three years were spent in the country and among simple people, there was nothing of the rustic in his composition. He belonged to the nobility rather than to the squirearchy and his faults were those of one with the instinct to command rather than the grosser failings of the country gentleman whose responsibilities ended with the management of his estates. He was a Royalist, a High Churchman, and in general

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1. Dedicatory letter Olor Iscanus, p.35.
 2. "The Seedgrowing secretly" p.511.
 3. "Jacob's Pillow and Pillar" p.527.
 4. "Rules and Lessons". p.436.
 5. "Mans fall, and Recovery" p.411. See also "The Storm"
"The Match" "Mutinie" pp. 423, 434, 468.

aristocratic in his sympathies, as befitted a member of the ancient family of the Vaughans.

His method of communication, like that of many mystics, was by symbols, and this and the nature of his topics sometimes act as barriers between him and the casual reader. There were parts of his experience which he seems loth to share with the laity. His air of remoteness and the obscurity of his work is not always, however, a sign of sublimity of theme. Sometimes like a child he hints at important business of his own. There was a strain in him which took pleasure in secrecy and the esoteric; he loved to go deeper than merely to "peer in the face of things" and the occult always spurred him on to investigation. Sometimes it seems as if, afraid of being understood by the vulgar, he perversely in a luxury of delitescence, wrapped his thoughts in riddles, to be guessed only by the elect. Perhaps it is not too fantastic to find in one of his favourite themes, - the seed growing secretly, the process of hidden growth and glorious emergence into light as shown in the "secret commerce" of the dead or of the herbs which "unseen" (1)

Put on their youth and green, -

some reflection of his own love of paradox, his delight in things not being what they seem, (2) his own habit of pursuing devious subterranean courses to his final conclusion as if by this means

1. "The Starre" p.490.

2. "Religion" p.404. "The Sap" p.475. "The Palm-tree" p.490 & 491, "Joy" p.491, Psalm 104, p.494, "The Bird" p.496, "Providence" p.505. "The day of Judgement" p.531. "The Throne" p.533. "The Book" p.540. "To the Holy Bible" p.541.

he might walk incognito among the general public, like a Caliph recognisable only by his familiars at court. In this may be traced a desire to preserve the inner core of his identity as much from the contamination of the ephemeral as from the batterings of more positive evils. A kind of claustrophobia is also discoverable in Vaughan, a fear of being trapped in human relationships which might leave him spiritually less independent.

But although he had his seasons of retreat, his was not entirely the temper of the solitary. Still less was he by nature fitted for the physical isolation of the hermit; he was a man with many friends and his hobby horse was the appropriate one of antiquarianism. And, although he often withdrew from this theatre of man's life it was into "Heav'n's secret solitude".(1) He did not attempt to encroach on the privileges reserved only for God and angels and become a looker-on. He is never a mere spectator. Whenever he does attempt to view the happenings on the stage ab extra, - man's disorder and nature's peace, - his critical observations become pleadings. There was more in him of the advocate than of the judge. His best work indicates that he deliberately made profusion of any kind, - of activities or output, - alien to himself. His poetry shows little interest in some of the deepest human emotions and the complex situations brought about by them. Keats's conception of the "chameleon poet" without individual self or character, but with infinite width of sympathy, finds little to support it in the best work of Vaughan, who, also, it should be noted, wrote seldom without "a palpable design" on his readers. It was not, as his early poems prove,

1. "Righteousness" p 524.

that he entirely lacked the power of an objectivity of treatment or what is known as catholicity of taste or universality of interests. It is true that he had as little of Shakespeare's range or Chaucer's gusto as of their dramatic sense, but whatever gifts in that kind he possessed he of set purpose subdued.

His genius lay in a kind of meditative lyric drawn from his "Gazing Soul" - a muted song lacking the piercing quality of, for instance, Shelley's,- but inspired by one strong impulse, a single identifiable emotion. His characteristic poems are never made up of a number of separate beauties but possess the clear force of a sudden revelation and the feeling it inspires. His strength lay mainly in an ability to utter what a strongly developed gift of intuition taught him; he is essentially the poet of the startled birth of perception before it materialises into conviction, of glimmering intimations and scarcely-felt sensation. It is a gift which he has in almost as great a measure as Wordsworth. But, unlike the later poet, Vaughan was apparently unable to develop and frame his conceptions into anything like a coherent system. The power of critical analysis was supplanted in him by something finer and rarer, but occasionally the deficiency can be seen. Bare abstract passages, such as are apt to occur in the work of all poets who have set themselves to school in philosophy, are lacking in Vaughan but at some ultimate expense, possibly, to his intellectual mastery of his themes and their philosophic implications. His was an enquiring, but not speculative, nature, and the main problems for speculation had been settled for him by Christian theology. "Scio cui credidi" closed

one or two of the exits and entrances of his mind. Owing to special circumstances, - his interest in that combination of alchemical science, nature study, religion and philosophy known as Hermetical Physic, - such philosophy as he had came to him as Neo-Platonism deeply coloured by Christianity and the other more questionable doctrines of the alchemical art. He had, therefore, little training in abstract thinking and although the absence of the dry light of reason in a poet's work can hardly be made a matter for complaint, yet it might be argued that some of his weaknesses might have been remedied had he been submitted to a more searching mental discipline. He might, for instance, have learnt the necessity of conserving his energies, of holding some part in reserve and so have avoided the poetical exhaustion which overcame him before the end even of his best poems. Where the first heat of inspiration fails, the verse is apt to collapse entirely. It is not simply a question of technique. *Éros* and *Σκῆψις* enter in and the style betrays the man.

Study of one noticeable feature of his work reveals much of his mind and of his experience. The tone of retrospect which gives such a sense of pathos to a great deal that he wrote was not an accidental thing nor the result of a fancy. Deeply engrained in his nature and developed by circumstances was Vaughan's tendency to live in his memories. Public and private events seem to have swept away many of his landmarks and he turned to what was at least certain and had been fortunate. He examines the past from various angles and in different connections.

It never disappoints or fails to yield fresh matter for joy. His instinct to apotheosize what was distant and gone had ramifications of considerable extent; it influenced him in his tentative choice of a formal philosophy, in his politics, and even in his literary style. It was compounded of emotion, mood, belief, and wielded into something cognoscible in all his dealings, however far afield.

The incorporation of certain well known Platonic theories bestows an official air on this network of associations and beliefs. Sometimes it may have given the solid support of an intellectual system and persuaded Vaughan that his convictions were built on something other than personal reminiscence blended with emotion and treated with his poet's chemicals. The Christian religion with its doctrine of Eden and the Fall and its cult of childhood also gave stronger emphasis to what was inherent in him. But the history of his development discloses something of the nature of a phenomenon. Instead of the usual imperceptible sliding of youth into maturity and maturity into age, with Vaughan there was a perceptible rift at the first transition. His youth seems to have died violently and left him with none of the usual preparations and adjustments for his new estate. He seems to have felt that he had undergone a complete and sudden change. So that although, after his brief sojourn in London and his period in the army, he was to return and spend the last fifty or so years of his life amid the scenes of his boyhood, he was to recount the experiences of his childhood and youth as if they had happened to another.

Something more than a determination to conquer the mystery by rule and line prompts an interest in the cause of so

far-reaching an effect. And although it is, of course, hazardous to be dogmatic on such a matter, something more than conjecture points to an upheaval taking place in him at an impressionable time, some shock violent enough to mature him immediately and destroy the links binding him to his earlier self and existence. Evidence, both internal and external, indicates the Civil War as the probable solution. He was in his early twenties, his temperament made him particularly vulnerable and the effect of the terrors of a Civil War would be all the more profound for the previous tranquillity of his life. It is probable, also, that death meant little to him until need arose for the writing of more than one "puling tribute" (1) to friends, dead in battle, who could not "be brought Back here by tears". Grief at his personal losses gave edge to the bitterness of all his references to the national sorrows that he felt so keenly. The shrillness of his anger against those whom he conceives to have brought about the catastrophe contributes to the impression he gives of one suffering acutely from a shock to his moral nature. There was in his disgust at his own times and regret for the "first white age" nothing that was artificial and little that was theoretical or acquired from secondary sources. And further knowledge of his materials and methods, however unusual they may seem, makes it clear that in thus drawing on his own rather remarkable experience he was only acting in accordance with his usual practice.

To a special degree, however, the afflictions of the man enriched the poet. What he taught in song can be traced fairly

1. "An Elegie on the death of Mr. R. Hall" p.58.

directly to what he learned in suffering. The sorrows which the years just previous to the mid-century had brought him, together with a serious illness, prepared the ground for that change in his life which he ascribed solely to the influence of George Herbert and which led him to give up the writing of secular verse for religious. And by this decision his conversion, from being momentous to him only, becomes a matter of some importance to all interested in English literature.

In the Preface to Silex Scintillans Vaughan explicitly states that it is by his religious verse that he wishes to be remembered, and he urges his readers to ignore his secular poems. It is true that his reasons are based on religious and not artistic grounds, but posterity has endorsed his opinion of the relative merits of these two divisions of his poetry. Perhaps, although we cannot help but regret anything of his lost, in suppressing his "greatest follies" Vaughan did his reputation some service. His secular verse has its own value and attraction; it illustrates fairly the tendencies of the whole stream of secular verse in the middle of the century. Perhaps its "typical" nature is its chief fault; it might have been written by one of several minor poets. With the exception of two or three poems which show the writer touched by that experience which was to change him almost completely, the verses lack character though not vitality. In addition to some intrinsic merit, Vaughan's secular poems add some details to our knowledge of him as a man and explain much that otherwise might be puzzling. It shows the practical, energetic side of his nature and something of the robust gaiety which helped to make him a man with

many friends. It explains what else, with our memories of Keats and his adventures with the lancet, would have been a faintly disturbing mystery, how this man who spent many of his nights "in a roving extasie"(1) could make for himself a notable reputation as a physician. It demonstrates that Vaughan could produce, as well as light verse, the poetry of eloquence and it gives extra weight to his subsequent renunciation of that kind of writing. There is reason to suppose that Vaughan feared what seemed to him his fatal gift of facility of utterance.

It was not only in this renunciation that Vaughan proved himself a good critic of his work. His attitude to his future fame, although unassuming and quiet, was one of confidence. At the beginning of Olor Iscanus he placed a Latin poem entitled "Ad Poster- os", in which, conscious of being a poet and believing that posterity would have cause to be interested, he gives some details concerning his life, those whose influence he had felt and the events that had left their mark on him. With the same lack of ostentation betokening a calm sureness, in the lines to Matthew Herbert, he speaks of the time when his name shall resound after his body is dust and of the posthumous life in store for him then.

He lives, as he wished to live, in his religious poetry, his "Hagiography, or holy writing".(2). His secular verse fills up the interstices, but any final judgment on him must be passed mainly on Silex Scintillans and the sacred poems of Thalia Rediviva. So much is certain. But the nature of that final judgment is not yet determined. Most critics of any standing have spoken generously of the poetry of this country doctor; acknowledgement is made of his "moments of greatness".

1. "The Search" p. 405. 2. p.392

But the sum-total of his output is not large; he is not one of our copious writers. This and an obvious lack of expertness in technical sleight-of-hand has perhaps contributed to an impression that poetry was to Vaughan a spare-time occupation, - a side-issue to which he was unwilling to give his full strength. The accusation of amateurism still clings to him as a stigma and few, apparently, have yet thought him worthy of prolonged study. It is the purpose of this essay to attempt a fairly detailed examination of Vaughan's work and contributing influences from both life and literature, and, in the process, to show him as one very conscious of the high calling of poet and as a writer whose small output was an index, not to poverty of inspiration, but largely to the poetical scrupulousness which has made him from more than one point of view a poet of rare significance.

CHAPTER 1.

Early life and friends; attitude to & part in
Contemporary affairs.

Our knowledge of the facts and outward happenings of Vaughan's life is, in some ways fortunately, so meagre that we are forced back on what he himself says in his poetry of his life and the childhood, the memory of which always filled him with reverent astonishment. For Vaughan belongs to the class of poets, of which Wordsworth is perhaps the most memorable ~~example~~, whose inspiration comes mainly from intense meditation in quietude, rather than from a multitude of stirring events or from contact with man in society.

Information concerning the incidents of the life of such a poet is, to an unusual extent, valuable only as an indication of what is likely to be a complicated and deeply momentous spiritual activity. If to subsist in bones and be put pyramidially extant, is a fallacy in duration, scarcely less so is it for a poet of Vaughan's calibre to endure a misleading kind of fame. At present, the emphasis is in the right places and the proportions are kept undistorted. Vaughan has recorded in his poetry the happenings he considered most relevant. Among them are, for instance, two love affairs, a serious illness, the death of friends, the reading of George Herbert's poems.

Such evidence is for us probably the most valuable. Only in such a spirit and holding fast to the main outline sketched for us by the poet himself can the business of piecing together biographical details, often mere incidental references, scattered hints, be made something of value and above antiquarianism.

To us Vaughan is the most distinguished of a line which had been considered distinguished for several hundred years; not the least famous of his forbears was the Sir Thomas Vaughan, chamberlain to the young Edward V, who with Rivers and Grey died at Richard's hands.

For truth, for duty, and for loyalty. (1)

Another was Davy Gam, Esquire, numbered by Henry V among "our English dead" after Agincourt. Sir Griffith Vaughan, or Vychan, was knighted after Agincourt and with his brother gained more fame later by capturing Sir John Oldcastle on their ancestral estates. (D.N.B.) Farther back were the Vychans of Brecheiniog, and beyond them, according to very cloudy tradition, Cradoc Fraic Fras, Knight of the Round Table. (2)

The family display characteristics as warlike as those of the earlier Silures described by Tacitus. Bearing in mind, then, the distinction in battle of Vaughan's ancestors, the apparent relish with which in Thalia Rediviva he enlarges on Boethius is of interest :

O why so vainly do some boast
Their Birth and Bloud, and a great hoste
Of Ancestors, whose Coats and Crests
Are some rav'nous Birds or Beasts! (3)

1. Richard 111.3.3.

2. See Theophilus Jones, History of Brecknockshire. There is no such member of the Round Table mentioned in Malory. And Caradoc of the Dolorous Tower, given by Jones as Vaughan's ancestor, was definitely hostile to Arthur.

3. p.634.

The ancestral seat of the Vaughans of Siluria (1) was Tretower Castle in what is now the parish of Cwmdru, Brecknockshire. The whole district is interesting as being involved in the topography of Arthurian legend. (2)

Later, in 1403, the Castle had the distinction of being partially demolished by that romantic hero Owen Glyndwr. Sir James Berkeley who defended the Castle against Glyndwr owned it through his wife, who, after his death married Sir William ap Thomas of Raglan, father of William Herbert, founder of the Pembroke line. He survived her and married as his second wife, Gwladys, daughter of Sir David Gam, and widow of Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine, both of whom, as previously mentioned, fell at Agincourt in 1415. It was Gwladys' third son by Sir Roger who was given the Castle and lands of Tretower by his half-brother William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, who had been granted the castle and manor by the King. The affection betokened by this gift between the half-brothers seems not to have diminished

1. Vide John Aubrey "You know that Siluria Contayned Brecknockshire, Herefordshire, etc." (Brief Lives ed. A. Clark. Oxford, 1898.) Vol. 11 p. 269. The other Shires are Monmouth, Glamorgan, and Radnor.
2. (Mirabilia usually associated with the Historia) I am indebted to Miss Morgan of Brecon for the reference. It enters into the Twrch Trwyth narrative in the story of Kilwch and Olwen in the Mabinogion when the great boar hunt passed through Ystrad Yw. Stradewy was the long-lost name of the Castle, which in modern times has become known as Tretower or Tre'twr (the town of the tower). It also figures as the "Porcus Troit" where "impressit Cabal qui erat canis Arthuri militis, vestigium in lapide, et Arthur postea congregavit congestum lapidum sub lapide in quo erat vestigium canis sui, et vocatur Carn Cabal."

as time went on. Herbert, as he rose in favour at Court, used his influence frequently to obtain for his brother grants of land in Breconshire and Glamorganshire, so that Sir Roger Vaughan became by far the richest commoner in Breconshire. Finally, both brothers were beheaded after the battle of Danesmoor in 1469. George Herbert was thus not only as Vaughan claims, his spiritual father; the two families were closely related and the Vaughans in the fifteenth century owed as great a debt, though of a different nature, to the Herberts as the Silurist was to owe to their seventeenth century relative.

The descendants of the Sir Roger Vaughan executed with Herbert continued in possession of Tretower Court for twelve more generations. They were traditionally connected with the Cecils (1) and Frances Vaughan, the Silurist's grandmother was before her marriage a Somerset and daughter of Thomas, son of the second Earl of Worcester. (2)

According to Hugh Thomas, a neighbour and contemporary of the poet, (3) it was Thomas Vaughan, the Silurist's grandfather, who, by marrying Denis Gwillim, "d. and h. to Gwillims of Newton Skethrog" came into possession of the "Newton by Usk" which was to figure so largely in his grandson's life and Prefaces.

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1. Cardiff Free Library (MS 50. Ph.246). I am indebted to Miss Morgan of Brecon for the reference.
 2. The Vaughans were also connected with the Somersets by the marriage of Sir Charles Somerset, later 1st Earl of Worcester, with Elizabeth, grand-daughter of Sir William ap Thomas builder of Raglan castle. It was in this way that Raglan Castle came into the possession of the Earls of Worcester.
Vide Historical & Descriptive Account of Raglan Castle by Charles Heath. 1829
 3. Brecknockshire Pedigrees. Chambers. Muses' library edition of Vaughan's poems.

Little information concerning Henry (1) Vaughan, the poet's father, has come down to us. The report of Aubrey, who was the Silurist's cousin, is of a rather unexpected kind:

(He was a coxcomb, and no honester than he should be.

But that Aubrey had some personal grounds for viewing his relative with a jaundiced eye is obvious from the postscript:

He cozened me out of 50/- once.(2)

On the credit side may, perhaps, be set the record of the name of Henry Vaughan the elder among Breconshire magistrates for 1620. And the coolness of the Silurist's mention, in the verses to Herbert, of the father who had given him merely the transient life of the body, (3) perhaps might be thought to be counterbalanced by Thomas' references to him in that curious, but strangely moving document, his Memoriae Sacrum, a personal note-book or diary.(4) In it Thomas recounts how

1. The University Registers and Anthony a Wood, who probably took the Registers as his authority, in recording the date of Thomas' (brother of the Silurist) matriculation, give the father's name as Thomas. But in the pedigrees he appears as Henry and it is probable that his first-born would be named after him.
2. Aubrey. Brief lines ed. Clark vol 2. p.268: There are two Vaughans, twinnes, both very ingeniose and writers. One writt a poeme called Olor Iscanus (Henry Vaughan, the first-borne), and another booke of Divine Meditations. His brother wrote severall treatises, whose names I have now forgott, but names himself Eugenius Philalethes. They were borne at Llansanfraid in Brecknockshire, by the river Uske (Isca). Their grandmother was an Aubrey, their father, a coxcombe and no honester than he should be - he cosened me of 50s. once. Eugenius Philalethes was of Jesus College. Whither Henry was I have forgotten; but he was a clarke sometime to Judge Sir Marmaduke Lloyd . (Puisne Justice of Chester 1622-1636).
3. There could hardly have been a serious breach, for Henry was living at Newton, which was presumably his father's place of residence, for some years before the father's death in 1658.
4. Sloane MS 1741.

he was foretold of "the Death of my deare Father" in a dream a few nights before the 28th August, 1658, and how, another night in the same year, he dreamt that "my father, and my Brother W. who were both dead" succoured him in illness.

Of the mother of the twins nothing is known, but the lines in "Ad Posteror":

Hinc castae, fidaeque pati me more parentis
Commonui, et lachrymis fata levare meis,

which Mr. Blunden translates:

My mother's pure and patient pattern showed
How best with weeping I should bear my load

but which have generally been taken as a reference to his Mother the Church, might be accepted literally as a tribute to one whose virtues would otherwise go unchronicled.

The registers of Llansantfread, or St. Brigets (1) as Henry called it, Vaughan's birthplace, prior to 1718 are missing, and the date of birth is not entirely certain. But that the poet and his twin brother Thomas (later to be famous as Eugenius Philalethes) were born at Newton in either 1621 or 1622 can be inferred from several sources (2). They were Thomas Vaughan's eldest children and in due

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1. St. Bridget is the English for the Welsh Santfread. The parish in which the Vaughans lived is more commonly known by its Welsh name Llansantfread. ("The Church of St. Fread or Bridget")
 2. The evidence is almost equally divided between the years 1621 and 1622 and is as follows:
 - a. Anthony a Wood in Athenae Oxoniensis says that Henry "made his first entry into Jesus College in Mich. term 1638, aged 17 years.
 - b. But the University Registers show that Thomas entered into Jesus College in 1638, aged 16.
 - c. Henry's tombstone, by giving his age as 73 in 1695, supports 1622.
 - d. The Silurist himself states definitely in a letter to Aubrey dated June 15, 1673 that he and his brother were born in 1621.
 - e. But in a second letter he states that Thomas died in 1666 in his forty-seventh year.

course, Henry, as first-born, inherited his fathers place, Newton, which was then a farm of some 200 acres near the village of Scethrog in the parish of Llansantffread, some five miles from Tretower and Brecon, and midway between them. It was a large farmhouse with courtyard built to face both the road and the Usk which runs parallel with the road some hundred yards distant.(1)

Llansantffread, which includes Scethrog, seems to have altered little since Vaughan's day. It consists of a few farms with cottages for the labourers and a few larger houses; The population keeps under two hundred and is declining. The old church with its curious bee-hive tower in which Thomas, as Rector of the Parish, must often have preached, has been replaced by a gray stone structure, but the churchyard on the slope above the Brecon-Abergavenny road within sight and sound of the Usk remains, and keeps within its enclosure the **grave** of "Henricus Vaughan Siluris MD"

1. cf. Thomas Vaughan's Diary "The great Oake, which growes before the Courtyard of my fathers house". The old house was pulled down between the years 1840-50 and the present smaller and plainer stone house erected, lying back sidelong to the road. The high wall at the back of the house seems to be an original wall and has a window near the roof with an "eye-lid" over it. The bareness of the present structure is mitigated by the garden and small orchard which lies between it and the road. Tretower Castle is in many ways more interesting. The village of Tretower is just off the main road, three miles from Crickhowell, eleven from Brecon. Leland referred to it in his Itinerary as "Tretour a smaulle Village standing on a little Brooke (the Rhiangoll) and within half a mile of Wiske. Ther is a prety Castel longging now to the King, and therby also in the Village is a fair Place of Henry Vehan, Esquier". Only one tower of the Castle remains, but the "fair Place", Tretower Court which lies about a hundred yards south east of the Castle, although dilapidated, is structurally unaltered since the Silurist's day and is the only house standing with which he is known to have been closely associated. It is a fortified manor house in the Decorated style of the fourteenth century, built with a quadrangular courtyard and containing a fine timbered hall, an interesting gatehouse and an Elizabethan wing. Frances Vaughan was living at Tretower Court when for six years her grandsons, Henry and Thomas Vaughan, were pupils under the Rev. Matthew Herbert at Llangattoc Rectory, four miles distant, and the boys must have been frequent visitors to their grandmother.

The whole district has continually varying beauty and no more faithfully portrait exists of this land of mountain and rich pastoral valley, mist and vivid colour, of "drowsie lake" and "restless vocal spring" than that of the one who chose "Silurist" for his title. Nothing has as yet arisen to spoil the landscape or vitally to change the character of the inhabitants' activities. The collieries and steel-works of South Wales are only a few miles distant, but Vaughan's neighbourhood is still sequestered by the barrier mountains.

It is impossible to read far in Vaughan's work without feeling the deep hold which these things had upon him. They melted into his thinking and feeling and so became part of the ever present material upon which he drew for his making; and they became inevitably the garment of his parables. It is not so much where he consciously sits down to sing the praises of his native place as, for instance, in "Ad Fluviam Iscam" that we see this most plainly; it is rather in the way that he unconsciously takes "Isca Pater"(1) or "swift Isca"(2) as the standard by which all rivers are to be judged and as a pattern to which all alien streams should endeavour to conform. And Olor Iscanus and Silurist, names suggesting at once his life-long allegiance to Isca's swift waters and his sense of hereditary ownership treasured through centuries and handed down from the early guardians of the land were those by which he most frequently chose to call himself.

Of the extraordinarily close tie between the Silurist and his twin brother, there is ample evidence. Dr. Powell, (3) later to be

1. Ad Posteror. 2. "Daphnis", Thalia Rediviva.

3. Dr. Powell, a close friend of both Vaughans was a student and Fellow of Jesus and later Vicar of Brecknock. He was ejected but after the Restoration was made D.D. and Canon of St. David's and wrote many books on historical subjects. See pp. 36, 93, 548, 603, 614, 649, 661, and 666.

frequently praised in the poet's works, early takes advantage in his prefatory lines to Olor Iscanus of his position as a privileged friend to banter the brothers on their likeness, mental as well as physical, and on the difficulty of distinguishing one from the other,

What Planet rul'd your birth? what wittie star?
That you so like in Souls as Bodies are!
So like in both, that you seem born to free
The starrie art from vulgar Calumnies.
My doubts are solv'd, from hence my faith begins,
Not only your faces, but your wits are Twins.

When this bright Gemini shall from earth ascend,
They will new light to dull-ey'd mankind lend,
Teach the Star-gazers, and delight their Eyes,
Being fixt a Constellation in the Skyes. (1)

And Thomas' own lines written on the same occasion, whilst when taken in conjunction to his other verses proving him to be merely the "tolerable good" poet of Anthony a Wood's faint praise, show a fraternal affection and pride in the Swan of Usk's achievement:

..... Thou dost come forth
Arm'd (though I speak it) with thy proper worth,
And needest not this noise of friends, for wee
Write out of love, not thy necessitie. (2)

Their careers, although not exactly parallel, have many points in common, and Thomas must have had as much, if not more, contemporary fame as his brother. He continued at Oxford, says Henry in a letter to Aubrey,

for ten or 12 years, and (I thinke) he could he noe lesse than Mr of Arts (3)..... he was ordayned minister by bishop Mainwaring and presented to the Rectorie of St. Brigets (4) by his kinsman Sr George Vaughan.

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1. p.36. 2. p.38.
 3. He took his B.A. on 18 Feb., 164 $\frac{1}{2}$ and became a Fellow of his College (Jesus). (Foster, Alumni Oxon.) There is no record of his having taken his M.A.
 4. Thomas Vaughan was thus Rector of the Parish in which he was born, Llansantffread.

He was ejected from his living by the Parliamentary Commissioners, probably in 1649 under the act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales on the usual charges of "drunkenness,(1) immorality, and bearing arms for the King", returned to Oxford, went later to London and became

a great Chymist, a noted son of the fire, an experimental philosopher, a zealous brother of the Rosicrucian fraternity, and understander of some of the Oriental languages, and a tolerable good English and Latin poet.(2)

Under the pseudonym Eugenius Philalethes he wrote an imposing number of treatises on the occult sciences, and, as will be seen later, his influence in directing the Silurist's attention to Alchemy and Hermetical Philosophy must have been considerable . And so when Thomas died in 1666, probably from some accident in the course of his experiments, (3) Henry was left to mourn one whose temperament and chief interests, religion, "physic" and poetry, - were identical with his own and between whom and himself there existed that affinity so often found in the twin-born. A final tribute to this much-loved brother is to be found in the inclusion of Thomas' verses, "Some learned Remains of the Eminent Eugenius Philalethes", in Thalia Rediviva, and in the Elegiac Eclogue called "Daphnis" written by the Silurist to his memory, and given the place of honour at the end of Thalia Rediviva.

1. But his diary speaks of " a certain person with whom I had in former times revelled away my years in drinking". It is probable, however, that these self accusations are not to be taken too seriously any more than are those of his twin.
2. Anthony a Wood ~~op.cit.~~ iii.722. Athenae Oxoniensis
3. "upon an imployment for his Majesty", my brothers imployment was in physic and Chymistræ.

But although he was bound so closely by affection and common interests to his twin, it was another and a younger brother whose early death is mourned with such passionate tenderness in the elegies in first part of Silex Scintillans to which he gave no title and which are denoted simply by the sign ¶. Of this young brother, etherialised by death for ever in the poet's imagination, we know only what the elegies and Thomas Vaughan (1) tell us:

This piece was composed in haste and in my days
of mourning on the sad occasion of a brother's death.
And who knoweth how to write amidst a strife of tears
and ink?

In his diary for 1658 a dead brother, in all probability the same, is referred to as "W". That he must have been considerably more than a child is probable both from Silurist's own age at this time and from the gap his death left in the Silurist's life:

Come, come, what doe I here?
Since he is gone
Each day is grown a dozen year,
And each houre, one

Ther's not a wind can stir,
Or beam passe by,
But strait I think (though far,) (2)
Thy hand is nigh.

And yet the poet's own grief is intensified greatly by a sense of the pitifulness of the untimely culling of "this Prim-rose"; henceforth youth was to be consecrated for Vaughan with the fairness of W.'s youth and with the pathos of its too early decay. So that it is not in the elegies alone that W.'s wraithlike and appealing figure can be seen; much of Vaughan's poetry of youth and of the past to which he

1. {Anthroposophia Theomagica 1650. ed. Waite. p.60.

2. p.420.

looked back so wistfully is in some degree a memorial to him.

Of his older friends to whose early influence the Silurist refers with gratitude, Mathew Herbert, Rector of Llangattock, and a member of the House of Pembroke, was the one who made the deepest impression on him. He was "a noted schoolmaster of his time" (1) but during the six years that the brothers were under his tuition, he seems to have given them not only the "grammar learning" for which he was celebrated, but an intellectual sympathy and personal affection. So at least we may judge from the very pleasant tributes given him by his most distinguished pupils. Thomas, besides inscribing a Latin poem to his old tutor, went so far as to dedicate to him in characteristically quaint terms, his "Man Mouse taken in a Trap". In "Daphnis", with the mournful retracing of his early years with his brother so lately dead, Henry refers to their teacher as "old Amphion" and at the end of Olor Iscanus are the Latin verses headed "To a revered man, formerly my instructor and ever to be cherished master" in which there is also some hint of an alienation from the father who was to earn the bad opinion of at least one member of the family:

Mere life, my Matthew, from my father came;
 Soon it must vanish, and the giver's name.
 Thy watchful wisdom did much more, and gave
 My name (else dead) to bloom above my grave.
 Share then your pupil! Let this brief life be
 My father's, and that future life for thee (2)

"Ad Posteror" supplies yet another eulogy of

HERBERTUS, Latiae Gloria prima Scholae. Maximus arte

1. a Wood.
2. Mr. Blunden's translation.

One would like to see in the choice of Latin for these verses a graceful and appropriate way of expressing thanks to this "pride of our Latinity", to the one who laid the foundation of that love of Latin literature, both classical and medieval, and that facility in translating which was in time to characterize the Silurist. (1)

In all this there is evidence enough of a childhood and boyhood of unusual happiness spent in the company of those most congenial to him and with sufficient freedom to explore the flowery banks of the river and become familiar with ^{its} vagaries, learning the art of fly-fishing, (an art which was later to supply the subject of a poem) hunting the echoes and exploring the woods and thickets where they hid (2) having fostered and framed a love of books and study which must have been inherent in him, and sharing perhaps Thomas' attempts at "the Acquisition of some naturall secrets, to which I had been disposed from my youth up." (3) Few similar tributes have the fervency of Vaughan's "Looking back"

Fair, shining Mountains of my pilgrimages,
 And flow'ry Vales, whose flow'rs were stars:
 The days and nights of my first, happy age;
 An age without distast and warrs:
 When I by thoughts ascend your Sunny heads,
 And mind those sacred, midnight Lights:
 By which I walk'd, when curtain'd Rooms and Beds
 Confin'd, or seal'd up others sights. (4)

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1. It is strange that neither of the twins attended Brecon College, that school for boys where their early kinsman William Aubrey (who died in 1595) had "in his tender years learned the first grounds of grammar". Aubrey "~~Brethmes~~" "Brief Lives".
 2. "Ad Echum" p.93.
 3. Diary p.3.
 4. p.640.

In 1638 Thomas became one of the 700 odd students at Oxford. He entered Jesus College, the rendezvous then, as now, of Welshmen. The records are not very clear and a good deal of controversy has ensued as to whether he was accompanied by his brother or not, and as to whether the Silurist was ever at the University as a student(1) Anthony a Wood has it that he "made his first entry into Jesus College in Mich. term 1638, aged 17 years" and spent "two years or more in logicals under a noted tutor" before being "taken thence" by his father. Aubrey also thought of him as a member of Jesus and he was evidently regarded as a likely source of information concerning that College. (2)

It is true that the University records give no evidence of his having matriculated or of having taken a degree. And indeed, on this last point we have the most conclusive, though unaccountably neglected, evidence possible, the Silurist's own statement in a letter to Aubrey June 15 - 73.

I stayed not att at Oxfor d to take any degree, butt was sent to London.

In another letter dated Dec.9th - 75 the phrasing suggests very strongly that he thought of Oxford as his Alma mater.

That my dear brothers name (& mine) are revived, & shine in the Historie of the Universitie; is an honour we owe unto your Care & kindness: & realie (dear Cousin) I am verie sensible of it, & have grateful reflections upon an Act of so much love.

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1. See Appendix.
 2. He had "in his custody" a book from "Jesus College Library Oxd".
(See Martin note to p.674.)

With the weight of these two letters added to the other evidence , there seems to be little doubt that Vaughan was actually at Oxford as a student, but that in all probability he did not matriculate and did not take the ordinary courses leading to a Degree in Arts. The reason is not far to seek. It was intended by his father that he should study law and the particular mention by a Wood of his study of "Logicals" makes it seem likely that the young lawyer-to-be either from choice or for reasons of economy decided, or it was decided for him, to go straight to the study of the Law in London. It was the "municipal laws" which Henry Vaughan the elder proposed that his son should study and moreover Cambridge with its Regius Professorship of Civil Law for some time past had been manifesting anti-Royalist and anti-Episcopal tendencies and was therefore no place for a loyal Welshman. No doubt it was realised, and perhaps with some bitterness by the son, that the ideal procedure, and that generally followed by young men of birth and adequate means, was to take a degree at the University first and then to proceed to one of the Inns or the Temple for the customary twelve terms.(1) It was the course that his kinsman, John Aubrey, who in 1642 went to Trinity College, Oxford, and in 1646 to the

1. Vide "Six Lectures on the Inns of Court and of Chancery" pp.90-92

Middle Temple, was able to pursue (1) and that Vaughan's stay at Oxford was cut short from choice does not suit with what we know of his bookish tastes and the wide reading that is manifest in his writings. So that we can only surmise that the state of the family exchequer was such as to prohibit any outlay that was not absolutely essential.

"He was taken from College" says a Wood "and designed by his father for the obtaining of some knowledge in the municipal laws at London", - a piece of information which is corroborated by the letter already quoted from Vaughan to Aubrey in which he states that he was sent to London

being then designed by my father for the study of the law, wch the sudden eruption of our late civil warres wholie frustrated.

1. Others who became members of an Inn after their studies at the University were completed were More, Bacon, Sidney. It is true that inasmuch as students of the Civil and Canon Law were shut out of the Inns of Court, William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, founded in Edward III's reign Trinity Hall, Cambridge, as a School for Theology and Canon and Civil Law, and it is also true that Henry VIII had in 1540 established a Regius Professorship of Civil Law at that same College, but the distinction then made (some of which, of course, exists today) between the Canon and Civil Law of the Ecclesiastical Courts and the Common Law made it necessary for students of Common Law to obtain their training at one of the Inns or the Temple. The opinion of Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice and afterwards Chancellor in the reign of Henry VI is also interesting. In his "De laudibus Legum angliae" in speaking of the establishment of the Inns of Court Cap. 48, p. 108, he says "Whereas the laws of England being learned and practised in the three several languages (i.e. English, French & Latin) they cannot be so well studied in our Universities where the Latin is most in use, but in a publick manner and place much more commodious and proper for the purpose than in any University, it is situated near the King's Palace at Westminster, where the Courts of Law are held, or in which the Law proceedings are pleaded and argued". Ibid pp. 65, 66.

No proof is forthcoming as to how long this study of the law continued before its frustration. But there was much to be said in favour of a life lived amid "those bricky towers" where, as in Spenser's day and long before, "the studious lawyers" had "their bowers" on the banks of that river which, although perhaps to Olor Iscanus a poor substitute for the clearer, less broad, less aged waters of Isca, could not have failed to stir his spirit and imagination. James I's decree "None to be admitted that is not a gentleman by birth" was an indication of a policy which later Charles II's Orders were to show had been faithfully kept.(1) It meant that here, more than at either of the Universities which held within their fold Sizars and Servitors, students were all "Scholars and Gentlemen".

Every Man out of his Humour was dedicated

to the noblest nurseries of humanity and liberty
in the kingdom, the Inns of Court,

and the compliment was paid by one qualified to judge of such matters. Moreover, the parental care of a succession of monarchs over these powerful institutions situated so near their Court had resulted in the creation^e of a strongly Royalist feeling in the Inns, so that if Vaughan was to find compensation for the loss of Oxford anywhere, surely it was here. Among those who in taste and temperament and Royalist Sympathies should have been a congenial fellow to Vaughan at this time was John Evelyn, who after having spent three years at Balliol College had in

1. "In these greater Inns they cannot be maintained under £28 a year - if a servant was kept, more. It was said "students are sone to persons of quality, hence they have a greater regard for their character and honour than those who are bred in another way".
(Quoted in "Six Lectures on the Inns of Court and Chancery pp. 66 & 67.)

1640 taken chambers in the Temple where he spent three happy years "studying a little, but dancing and fooling more" until he joined the King's Army. By the middle of 1639 Milton was back again in England and soon after, ensconced in Aldersgate Street, was busy with his teaching and with pamphleteering against the cause which Vaughan was soon to take up so ardently.

For some account of Vaughan's doings in London and in the lack of external evidence, we have to resort to such poems as "A Rhapsodis, occasionally written upon a meeting with some of his friends at the Globe Tavern" with its enlightening list of the things he had seen in London:

Should we goe now a wandring, we should meet
 With Catchpoles, whores, & Carts in ev'ry street:
 Now when each narrow lane, each nooke & Cave,
 Signe-posts, & shop-doors, pimp for ev'ry knave,
 When riotous sinfull plush, and tell-tale spurs
 Walk Fleet street, & the Strand, when the soft stirs
 Of bawdy, ruffled Silks, turns night to day;
 When lust of all sorts, and each itchie bloud
 From the Tower-wharfe to Cymbelyne, and Lud,
 Hunts for a Mate, and the tyr'd footman reeles
 'Twixt chaire-men, torches, & the hackny wheels. (1)

That he had become familiar with transactions of a questionable nature is obvious from the light-hearted "To Amoret Weeping" (2) where he utters his thankfulness that the planets had kept him poor and so free from the possibility of becoming a usurer or "eating orphans" by becoming a guardian to a ward or of being granted a monopoly and so

sucke up

A dozen distrest widowes in one Cup.

1. p.11.

2. p.14 & cf the righteous man is he: Who lends, not to be paid,
 And gives full aid Without that bribe which Usurers
 impose. p.525.

Farther on in the same poem he hints at more ambitious interests:

For I (had I been rich) as sure as fate
Would have bin medling with the King, or State,
Or something to undoe me. (1)

One effect his study of the law, or his experiences at this time, seems to have had upon him, and that was to give him a strong prejudice against lawyers and those associated with the administration of justice. (2). Without necessarily being as great a frequenter of plays as Donne, references to the theatre (3) indicate that Vaughan was not simply a closet student of drama. But this period, so barren of facts, is still a happy hunting ground for conjecturers.

Apart from his visits (which as he informs us cost two pence a time) to

King Harryes Chappell at Westminster,
Where in their dustie gowns of Brasse & Stone
The Judges lye. (4)

how did he occupy himself? How seriously can we take his estimate of himself as expressed in "The Hidden Treasure":

Mans favorite sins, those tainting appetites
Which nature breeds, and some fine clay invites,
With all their soft, kinde arts and easie strains
Which strongly operate, though without pains,
Did not a greater beauty rule mine eyes,
None would more dote on, nor so soon entice (5)

or his references to his "Sinful youth" (6) and

Those fond affections which made me a slave
To handsome Faces. (7)

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1. p.14.
 2. See also "A Rhapsodis" pp.11;46; "Upon a Cloke" p.52.
"To his retired friend"
 3. An elegie on the death of Mr. R.W. see p.50.
 4. p.53.
 5. p.520.
 6. p.395.
 7. The Importunate Fortune. p.616.

How far is the picture of his youth as given in "The Garland" to be interpreted literally?

When first my youthfull, sinfull age
 Grew master of my wayes,
 Appointing errour for my Page,
 And darknesse for my dayes;
 I flung away, and with full crie
 Of wilde affections, rid
 In post for pleasures, bent to trie
 All gamesters that would bid.
 I played with fire, did counsell spurn,
 Made life my common stake;
 But never thought that fire would burn,
 Or that a soul could ake.
 Glorious deceptions, gilded mists,
 False joyes, phantastick flights,
 Peeeces of sackcloth with silk-lists,
 These were my prime delights.
 I sought choice bowres, haunted the spring,
 Gull'd flowres and made me posies:
 Gave my fond humours their full wing,
 And crown'd my head with Roses. (1)

Who sat for the portrait of the Magdalen?

Why lies this Hair despised now
 Which once thy care and art did show?
 Who then did dress the much'lov'd toy,
 In Spires, Globes, angry Curls and coy,
 Which with skill'd negligence seem'd shed
 About thy curious, wilde, yong head? (2)

Was Vaughan, like Donne at his age, collecting experiences? Feeling as we do, that there was a certain lack of intellectual curiosity as well as a very palpable fastidiousness about Vaughan, we are tempted to think that the revelations of city life were accepted as they came along, and aroused little of the exploring zeal which led the earlier poet into such sinister labyrinths of the mind.

That he had many loyal friends is proved by the sets of initials attached to the Preliminary Verses of Olor Iscanus and Thalia Rediviva, and that he early lost some for whom he cared

deeply is shown by the melancholy number of elegies he had occasion to write. The identity of Mr. R.W., J.W., I.W., Oxon., N.W., Oxon., "friend James", and Lysimachus has never been disclosed; and it remains uncertain how far these and the poems addressed to R. Hall, T. Lewes and J. Ridsley are tributes to friendships made during this period in London and how far they were of earlier date. The predominance of the initial "W" however, suggests the names of his future wife's family, the Wises, and of his relatives the Walbeoffes. It is the death in battle before the age of twenty of his "Ingenuous Friend, R.W." and the year during which he was missing, presumed dead, that seems to have moved Vaughan most deeply and in this friendship as in that with Ridsley, one of the strongest of the bonds between them must have been their ability to laugh at the same things. But in the elegy on Mr. R. Hall who, "the glory of the Sword and Gown", was slain with fifteen other Royalists in an attack they were making against the enemy at Pontefract in 1648, the tone of respect for his learning and piety as well as affectionate admiration for his gallantry in battle hints rather strongly that the tie between the poet and his subject was that of student and teacher respectively and that Mr. Hall was one of those Oxford scholars in Orders who relinquished the "bookish feat" and with their blood made purchase of another kind of renown.(1)

1. The University Registers have the following entry:

HALL, Richard, s. William, of Avening, co. Gloucester,
sacerd. MAGDALEN HALL, matric. 28 Nov., 1634. aged 18

I offer the suggestion that this is Vaughan's "Mr. R. Hall" with some diffidence because, although this entry seems to fit in very well with the circumstances I have deduced from the poem, and although there has been much conjecture as to the identity of Vaughan's friend, as far as I know this seemingly obvious solution has never been mentioned, either favourably or unfavourably.

Of the genesis of his acquaintance with that picturesque lady, Mrs. Katherine Phillips who is better known to posterity as "the Matchless Orinda", (1) nothing is certain, but the connection may have been John Aubrey (2) to whom we owe some of the details that have come down concerning her. She was born nine or ten years after the Silurist, and, early rejecting the Presbyterian and Parliamentary associations of her family, she married a Welsh Royalist, Colonel James Phillips of Cardigan Priory. (3) She soon became famous as a poetess and as the founder of a remarkable Society composed of her friends both men and women in honour of Friendship one of the features of which was that each member took a classical pseudonym. The Society attracted some of the most notable men and women of the day including at least one famous divine in the person of the "noble Palamon" who was no other than Jeremy Taylor (4). Vaughan's part in this Society can only be surmised, but the extremely eulogistic terms of his verses in Olor Iscanus to this "wittle fair one" and to her editor, his poems to "Fida", "Lysimachus", "Etesia (for Timander)" Amoret, with mention of Anyntas and Chloris, and Orinda's equally laudatory Commendatory Verses in Thalia Rediviva, all point to a close connection. Once having become a member of this circle, a young man of parts would have the opportunity of gaining the friendship of, among

1. Although some doubt seems to have existed among Aubrey's early biographers as to his marriage, he is now declared to have died unmarried; and that Rosania may have been a sister.
2. A Mary Aubrey (later Mrs. Montague) was the Rosania of Orinda's circle.
3. It was this Priory which was long thought to be the scene of Vaughan's poem "Upon the Priorie Grove, His usuall Retyrement", but it is now generally agreed that the wood at Brecon know as the Priorie Grove, and which corresponds to the description in the poem, is the original.
4. Jeremy Taylor's "Discourse on the Nature, Offices, and Measures of Friendship" (1659) was appropriately dedicated to "the most ingenious and excellent Mrs. Katherine Philips".

others, Cowley, Henry Lawes (whose pen at this time was so tired with "the often copying" of the last great masque to be written in England), Lady Mary Cavendish, Sir Edward Dering, Sir Charles Cotterel, and others of the poetess's literary and artistic acquaintances.(1)

Out of the mist surrounding the figures of Henry Vaughan's friends, - that "Excesse of friends" which took up his day, - "Misery" (2) a few circumstances emerge with some definiteness. Vaughan was by nature anything but a Recluse and he drew to himself people of similar fibre; these friends were, for the most part, young men of Royalist sympathies, interested in literature or learning; in some instances the possessors of ready wit and ease of poetic utterance, capable of appreciating it in Vaughan, the coming poet, and of supplying proper encouragement. Were other proof of their numbers wanting, there is Eugenius Philalethes' assurance that he was not the last in store of his brother's "learned friends"

'tis known that thou has more;
Who, were they told of this, would find a way
To rise a guard of Poets without pay,
And bring as many hands to thy Edition,
As th'City should unto their May'rs Petition. (3)

Nor was it, coming from Vaughan, any casual or small praise that he gave to Mr. R.W:

like Jewels in each part
He wore his friends, but chiefly at his heart. (4)

1. See Gosse "Seventeenth Century studies.

"MISERY"
2. p. 472.

3. p. 37.

4. p. 50.

Civil War had been imminent from 1640, but it was not until August 1642 that Charles set up his standard at Nottingham. Again the exact nature of Vaughan's activities can only be surmised, mainly from details gained by cross-referencing his poems. It would seem, however, that after three or four years absence, he returned to Brecknockshire in 1642; Anthony à Wood supplies the only external evidence available:

Soon after, the Civil War beginning to the horror of all good men, he was sent home.

Probably the combined influences of Amoret and Siluria lessened his own horror of diverted his attention at this point for a time. The loftiness of tone he assumes in the Preface to the Poems in 1646 makes it appear that he considered his "Platonick" love for Amoret rather ancient history, and although the literary atmosphere of his addresses to his early love is urban and artificial, yet poems like "Upon the Priorie Grove" and "To Amoret gone from him", written with his eye on the object, would seem to show that the courtship took place in Siluria around 1642-3. Serious courtship it may well have been, although the date of his marriage to Catherine Wise, his first wife, has not come down to us. She and her sister Elizabeth, whom Vaughan afterwards married and who survived him, were nieces on their mother's side of the Sir Charles Egerton to whom The Mount of Olives was dedicated. But no one could hope long to enjoy a peaceful seclusion. The Civil War had been gradually flooding over the country and to one of Vaughan's restless temperament the call to action must have been irresistible.

Whether Vaughan actually fought on the Royalist side still remains uncertain. In the "Elegy on the death of Mr. R.W. (1) slain

in the late unfortunate differences at Routon Heath" he gives us what seems to be a picture of a desperate battlefield search for his friend in which his eye follows the movements of that "active hand" and the havoc it wrought among the enemy until the two friends became entirely separated:

O that day when like the Fathers in the Fire and Cloud
I mist thy face! I might in ev'ry Crowd
See Armes like thine, and men advance, but none
So neet to lightning mov'd, nor so fell on.
Have you observ'd how soon the nimble Eye
Brings th' Object to Conceit, and doth so vie
Performance with the Soul, that you would swear
The Act and apprehension both lodg'd there,
Just so mov'd he: like shott his active hand
Drew bloud, e'r well the foe could understand.
But here I lost him. (1)

And in the humorous verses "Upon a Cloke lent him by Mr. J. Ridsley" he refers in what are surely unmistakeable terms to his period of active service.

When this Jugling fate
Of Souldierie first seized me. (2)

and the cloak, which seems to have been a remarkably stout and voluminous one, would have served as a "Compendious hutt". Earlier in the same poem he speaks of

that day, when wee
Left craggie Biston, and the fatall Dee (3)

"Craggy Biston" was Beeston Castle which stood high up on a rock not far east of the Dee, guarding Chester and overlooking Rowton Heath (4). It was several times beseiged by the Parliamentarians and on

1. p.50.

2. p.54.

3. p.52.

4. Biographical note Muses' Library p.28. For many of the facts and suggestions and for references and further sources used, I am indebted to Dr. Chambers. note in Muses Edition of Vaughan's poems Vol 11. p.XXVlll.

November 16th, 1645 some two months after the disastrous battle, it finally surrendered. The few facts we have suggest that Vaughan was attached to the King's army, saw action at Rowton Heath and later as a member of the Garrison at Beeston Castle was one of those who, after its surrender, rode to Denbigh, and that it was on this journey that "beaten with fresh storms and late mishap" he took advantage of the protection offered by Mr. Ridsley's cloak. Wales and its bordering counties were staunchly Royalist, and for this campaign Charles had no difficulty in finding volunteers. Vaughan's kinsman, Sir William Vaughan, was in command of a brigade, and it may be that young Vaughan, lately returned home from London, joined up on the occasion of his Majesty's visit to Brecon on August 5th 1645. (1) In the face of this evidence the poem "Ad Posteror" supplies an interesting comundrum in the shape of an emphatic assertion that he took no part in the deadly strife:

Partem
Me nullam in tanta strage fuisse. (2)

The explanation must be either that he took no part in the actual fighting, but was present at the scene of action as a doctor, or, and more likely, that the poem was written before he enlisted in 1645.

Of the time spent in prison, part of which he whiled away by writing a poem "To his Learned and Loyal Fellow-Prisoner Thomas Powel", (3) no well authenticated details have been discovered; but the official list of prisoners taken at Rowton Heath gives the name of a Captain Vaughan. (4). If this was the poet, and if, as it

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1. Phillips, "The Civil War in Wales and the Marches". 1.314.
 2. p.32.
 3. p.603.
 4. Phillips. 11.272. op.cit.

seems, he was one of the defenders of Beeston Castle, his imprisonment was not of long duration. On the other hand, his imprisonment may have belonged to the time of Thomas' ejectment in 1649, and it may have been during this time that his wife (Thomas' "Sister Vaughan") lived with the now zealous student of alchemy and the wife, Rebecca, whom he had married in September, 1651, at the Pinner of Wakefield.(1)

His early Royalist and High Church sympathies were strengthened as time went on, and it is in the poems dealing with the Civil War and the Cromwellian heresies that he kindles to almost Miltonic vehemence. Horror of War Vaughan naturally had, but the terrors of the Civil War seem to have produced in him a nightmarish sense of impotency, an almost helpless wringing of hands:

But here Commission'd by a black self-wil
 The sons the father kil,
 The Children Chase the mother, and would heal
 The wounds they give, by crying, zeale. (2)

His own sense of personal sin finds an extravagant shadow in the sins of the age:

The Age, the present times are not
 To snudge in, and embrace a Cot,
 Action and bloud now get the game,
 Disdein treads on the peaceful name,
 Who sits at home too bears a load
 Greater than those that gad abroad. (3)

1. See Appendix.
2. "The Constellation" p.470.
3. "Misery" p.473.

Less plaintive, but carrying profounder feeling and conviction, are the lines entitled "Abel's blood":

Sad, purple well! whose bubbling eye
Did first against a Murth'erer cry;
Whose streams still vocal, still complain
Of Bloody Cain,
And now at evening are as red
As in the morning when first shed.
If single thou
(Though single voices are but low,)
Could'st such a shrill and long cry rear
As speaks still in thy makers ear,
What thunders shall those men arraign
Who cannot count those they have slain,
Who bath not in a shallow flood,
But in a deep, wide sea of blood?
A sea, whose lowd waves cannot sleep,
But Deep still callth upon deep:
Whose urgent sound like unto that
Of many waters, beateth at
The everlasting doors above,
Where souls behinde the altar move,
And with one strong, incessant cry
Inquire How long? of the most high. (1)

They become doubly significant when read in connection with the second stanza of "The World" beginning

The darksome States-man hung with weights and woe (2)
in which the figure of Cromwell is grimly delineated. His personal
allegiance to the King's cause,- an allegiance which he shared with
most of the religious poets of the day, as well as with most of his
countryman,- he has no hesitation in affirming by such verses as
those to "The King disguised"⁽³⁾(in which Charles is addressed as "Royal
Saint & great Charles", "true white Prince") and the "Epitaph upon
the Lady Elizabeth, Second Daughter to his late Majestie".(4)

1. p. 523.
2. p. 466.
3. v. 605.
4. p. 63.

Equally there is no doubt as to his attitude to the religious side of the Civil War. There is no mistaking the sense of outrage with which he saw churches desecrated, gibes cast at the Sacraments, venerated ceremonies insulted. And all the assumed levity of his address "To all Ingenious Lovers of Poesie" at the beginning of the 1646 volume cannot disguise the repulsion he feels towards "the Dregs of an Age" in which he lives, a disgust which was to deepen into unmitigable gloom and bring about that constant desire to escape to the remoter past, which is so evident in his work, for consolation for present evils.

This is, however, to anticipate a little. Up to about the middle of the century, Vaughan's life was in essentials that of the minor gentry of the day. Brought up on his father's estate in the country, he had followed the usual course of choosing one of the more fashionable professions and had started his training for it. Like others of the more promising of his kind he had frequented the gatherings of those who were, or hoped some day to be, poets and wits, and was soon to publish some poetical experiments of his own. He had made a large number of friends and with them had explored many sides of city life. He was not alone in being profoundly moved by the events of that "incensed, stormie age" (1) but his poet's sensitiveness made the impressions of those events ineffaceable.

One need not feel guilty of a superstitious fear of tampering even in thought, with the actions of Vaughan's tutelary

observers, with the forces which shaped him, or on the other hand, of a base fatalism, if one feels a deep thankfulness that Vaughan did not feel compelled to sacrifice himself and his gifts for too long a period on the altar of public service and public strife. For the poetry of conflict and warring armies was to be written by another with greater qualifications for that task than Vaughan possessed.

CHAPTER 2.

Poems(1646); Olor Iscanus;

Translations.

In 1646 Vaughan's first book, Poems, with the tenth Satyre of Iuvenal Englished. By Henry Vaughan, Gent. was published. Far less easily established is the date of composition of these poems. They are a little mature for an undergraduate dreaming with the spires at Oxford, even if his reveries were occasionally interrupted by excursions to London, and the most likely conjecture is that they were written during the period of his law-studies in the city, or, more probably, after his recall to Wales. Those to Amoret and particularly "Upon the Priorie Grove, His usuall Retyrement" appear, as suggested before, to belong to Siluria. Two poems only offer anything like an indication of date; the first edition of Randolph's works to contain everything mentioned in "To my Ingenuous Friend, R.W." was that of 1640 (1) and the lines "To Amoret Weeping"

For I (had I been rich) as sure as fate,
Would have bin medling with the King, or state (2)

must belong to a period before his (probable) enlistment in 1645. The preface addressed "To all Ingenious Lovers of Poesie" bears no date,

1. Martin p.676.

2. p.14.

but even though it has the manner and piquancy of Rosalind's epilogue:

Honest (I am sure) it is, and offensive cannot be, except it meet with such Spirits that will quarrell with Antiquitie, or purposely Arraigne themselves; These indeed may think, that they have slept out so many Centuries in this Satyre, and are now awaked; which, had it been still Latine, perhaps their Nap had been Everlasting: But enough of these, - It is for you only that I have adventured thus far, and invaded the Presse with Verse; to whose more noble Indulgence, I shall now leave it; and so am gone, -

yet the reference to "the Dregs of an Age" and even his "more calme Ambition, amidst the common noise" betray the stirrings of more than resentment at the tragic happenings round him and point to a date not much before 1645.

Of the total 1019 lines contained in this modest work, the 13 original poems contribute only 468 lines and it is perhaps not too paradoxical to say that a good deal of the strength and real quality of the young poet has gone into the 551 lines of his translation of Juvenal.⁽¹⁾ Most of the eleven which have love as their subject are completely anonymous in style; they bear no poetic signature or token of brotherhood with Vaughan's later work.

But four or five (all in complets) of the original poems show various signs of their paternity. "To my Ingenuous Friend, R.W.", though one of that popular kind of poem which sings the poverty of poets, with their unfortunate familiarity with unpaid bills and lawyers' fees, and their future carousals in Elysium, has robustness mixed with its youthful affectations and the power of vivid statement.

1. For a consideration of this translation see p. 58 et seq.

Of an even heartier nature is the "Rhapsodis" (1), the production obviously of a variously gifted if inexperienced writer. Although the tavern only is described, its frequenters are present in this poem reflected in the words of the speaker. A nascent skill in ~~manoeuvring~~ the changes of mood and idea also discloses itself and adds rapidity of movement to the other virtues of humour and spirited comment that it possesses. "To Amoret Weeping" is probably the most virile of the love poems; having once left the first twenty lines of conceits behind, the writer in humorously extravagant vein catalogues the sins from which he is debarred by poverty and then advances with juvenile courage to the comforting of Amoret who is apparently bemoaning their state of penury.

'Tis fit
 (We know) that who hath wealth, should have no wit.
 But above all, thanks to that providence,
 That arm'd me with a gallant soule, and sence
 'Gainst all misfortunes; that hath breath'd so much
 Of Heav'n into me, that I scorne the touch
 Of these low things; and can with courage dare
 Whatever fate, or malice can prepare:
 I envy no mans purse or mines; I know,
 That loosing them, I've lost their curses too;
 And, Amoret, (although our share in these
 Is not contemptible, nor doth much please)
 Yet whilst Content, and Love we joyntly vye,
 We have a blessing which no gold can buye. (2)

Of the remaining love poems, of which as the author observes, "the fire at highest is but Platonick", several are good in their graceful but undistinguished kind. In "To Amoret. The Sigh" the idea is not entirely concealed by the fancifulness of the expression and in the stronger (though the last stanza reveals the strength

1. Part of which was quoted in connection with Vaughan's life in London.

2. p.14.

as borrowed or reflected) "To Amoret, Walking in a Starry Evening" the conceit, of the likeness between Amoret's eye and a star and the sympathy which stars have for objects on earth, strikes home with its pleasant ingenuity. Those simpler poems, such as "A Song to Amoret", in which he is content to sing in notes unborrowed from contemporaries are the most successful.

But the most significant and prophetic of all these original verses are those "To Amoret gone from him" and the address "Upon the Priorie Grove", with their commemoration of the eternal commerce between man and nature. Of the two, "The Priorie Grove" with its fancy of a double transplanting of trees and lovers to Elysium, has by far the deeper tenderness and the wider range of suggestion. The Silurist's first volume thus closes on the highest note yet attained, a note the overtones of which to the attentive ear presage a possible development along a course other than the two kinds here more fully represented.

For the tutelary observers of Vaughan's first attempts so well termed in the Preface "these Fancies" (p.2) were fancy and observation. Imagination hardly enters in. However real the emotion and experience behind the Amoret poems may have been, their form is dictated by a fancy attracted at random by almost any novelty. So that airy and insubstantial as these essays at love-poetry appear, their mode of expression is too opaque to allow the emotion to filter through to the reader. This fact is the more strange inasmuch as the toys of style which attract him in these poems of the fancy are mainly Ben Jonson's. But what Vaughan has done is to arrange his words and images so as to make a surface pattern resembling his model. The

effect is something like the handiwork of the young copyist of specimens of handwriting who laboriously constructs his letters without understanding their meaning. The poems "To my Ingenuous Friend", "A Rhapsodis" and part, perhaps, of "To Amoret Weeping" are written in another mood. Here at least the raw materials for the imagination to work upon, things seen which had a first-hand emotional connotation to Vaughan, have been gathered together and wielded, perhaps in rudimentary fashion, into a new coherence by a power which is not primarily critical or mainly concerned with external arrangement. It is, then, paradoxically enough, the poems delineating things seen and social activity, rather than those dealing ostensibly with the emotion of love but in reality simply with its trappings and its suits, which are related to the third kind, meagrely represented by "Upon the Priorie Grove".

By constituting another genre prophetic of that union of external nature with the interior life of the soul which takes place in Silex Scintillans, "Upon the Priorie Grove" assumes an adventitious interest. For any judgement passed on the 1646 volume is almost inevitably a judgement in retrospect and the severer because of Vaughan's after achievement. What might be commended in a lesser poet, or even in a poet of another kind, such as prayers to the "faire One" (1) or the "lovely foe" (2) we are apt to condemn in the poet of "Vanity of Spirit" or "The Night". With minds tuned to another pitch, it is difficult to measure these early poems by any "real" poetical

1. p.4.

2. p.5.

standard or to view them as anything more than clinical specimens illustrating the growth of a poet's mind. Actually, when weighed in the same balance as other collections of juvenilia, they will not be found wanting in poetic quality or falling lamentably below the standard of minor secular verse of the century.

Consideration of other questions relating to this first volume may be postponed and treated together with those of a similar nature arising in connection with Vaughan's next work.

The story of what Rupert Brooke would have called the "facts" as distinguished from the "truths" of Vaughan's life is continued by Anthony a Wood:-

Soon after the Civil War beginning to the horror of all good men, he was sent home, followed the pleasant paths of poetry and philology, became noted for his ingenuity, and published several specimens thereof, of which his *Olor Iscanus* was most valued.

Olor Iscanus. A collection of some select Poems and Translations. Formerly written by Mr. Henry Vaughan, Silurist was published in 1651 by the Humphrey Moseley who, a few years previously had published Milton's and Crashaw's first English poems.⁽¹⁾ The Dedicatory letter to Lord Kildare Digby, who was then only twenty-one years old, with its mention "of those numerous favours, and kind Influences", its cryptic reference to "Absence and time" which "will blast and wear out of memorie the most Endearing obligations" and which "have lain long in my way" offers biographical riddles unsolved as yet.

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1. Besides the ordinary printed title-page, the first edition of *Olor Iscanus* has, illustrative of the title, an engraved representation of a swan on a tree-shaded river. No family connection has been traced between the engraver, Robert Vaughan, who is also remembered as producer of the best and earliest engraved likeness of Ben Jonson for the Folio of 1616, and the *Silurist*.

But a greater mystery, partially explained by the publisher's introductory statement, is unearthed when the date (1647) of this letter and the date (1651) of publication are compared. Some four years before the volume actually came from the press it was completed, furnished with Patron and then, according to the Publisher, the author

condemn'd these Poems to Obscuritie, and the Consumption of that Further Fate, which attends it. This Censure gave them a Gust of Death, and they have partly known that Oblivion, which our Best Labours must come to at Last. p.36.

Such drastic treatment could only have been inspired by an entire change in outlook. Some such transformation in Vaughan's ideas came to pass at his conversion after reading Herbert's Temple and in the Preface to the second edition of Silex Scintillans he refers to his early secular poems and his efforts to suppress them:

But (blessed be God for it!) I have by his saving assistance suppress my greatest follies, and those which escaped from me, are (I think) as innoxious, as most of that vein use to be; besides, they are interlined with many virtuous, and some pious mixtures. (1)

It seems then, that in Olor Iscanus we have a mutilated volume published, if not without the author's knowledge, at least without his formal consent, and composed of such poems as had by their innocuousness escaped the destroying hand of their maker. Not all of the poems, however, were composed before 1647. There seems to be an allusion to the death of Charles in "Ad Posteror" and in the "since Charles his reign" of the "Invitation to Brecknock"; the "Epitaph upon the Lady

1. p.390. Thomas' commendatory verses hint that Vaughan's poems were not approved by the Puritans: And though this sullen age possessed be With some strange Desamour to Poetrie, Yet I suspect (thy fancy so delights) the Puritans will turn thy Proselytes.p.38.

Elizabeth" obviously belongs to a period after her death in September 1650 and the reference in "To Sir William D'avenant" (1) to his imprisonment, which occurred in 1650, proves that poem also to be of late date. More than half (1045 lines) the English poems are translations and it is probable that whoever edited the collection came to feel that the seventeen original poems available, totalling only just over a thousand lines, were hardly sufficient to warrant publication and added the translations to fill up the gaps made by the suppression of the writer's "greatest follies". Much of the circumstance of the publication of Olor Iscanus is reminiscent of that of The Shepheardes Calender save that Vaughan's Publisher enacts the role of Augustus vindex more realistically than E.K. And the interest attaching to all work condemned by its author's infanticidal retractation yet precariously surviving, from that of "glorious Maro" downwards, is here deepened by the probability that some of it has by Vaughan's own costly gesture actually perished.

Three panygyrical poems all by Oxonians follow the Publisher's introduction; Dr. Powell's whilst demonstrating that it was not skill in versifying which drew the brothers Vaughan to him, yet hints at what was actually the bond, - a mutual interest in astrology. I. Rowlandson in his "To my friend the Author" displays more competency in prosody; but by far the most interesting of these three poems is that by Eugenius Philalethes with its amusing fund of contemporary illustra-

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1. The poem may even belong to 1651. "Gondiber" was not published until 1651. Vaughan however may have seen it in MS.

tion brought to the praise" (though I speak it)" of his brother's "proper worth".

The volume opens fittingly with an apostrophe,(1) notable for its changes of pace and mood, to the Usk. As from an impeding cocoon of conventional and external, though quite graceful, description in the first twenty odd lines Vaughan struggles out into the more intimate tones of

But Isca, whensoe'r those shades I see,
And thy lov'd Arbours must no more know me,
When I am layd to rest hard by thy streams
And my Sun sets, where first it sprang in beams, (2)

And his shower of good wishes includes a promise to make Isca as famous as any river hymned by bard

'Till Rivers leave to run, and men to read.

In the "Charnel-house" Vaughan indulges in as melancholy a meditation on death as Hamlet's with the skull of Yorick and one who in its running "O'r all the pitteous score" of "Chap-faln" men's histories and fates, bears much resemblance to it. It has also something of the same prepared look; in both, the speaker seems very conscious of an audience well trained to dramatic tradition expecting pleasantly to be stirred to shudders. And if Donne rules the first half of this poem, Shakespeare and Elizabethan staging were in part responsible for

But the grudging Sun
Calls home his beams, and warns me to be gone.
Day leaves me in a double night, and I
Must bid farewell to my sad library.
Yet with these notes. Henceforth with thought of thee
I'll season all succeeding Jollitie, (3)

1. I am unable to understand on what grounds Canon Beeching (Introduction Muses' Library edition of Vaughan) places this poem "first in merit" of the poems in this Volume. Several others, - "The Epitaph on Lady Elizabeth;" "An Elegie on the death of Mr. R.W.;" the "Invitation to Brecknock" and "Upon a Cloke" seem to me to be of equal merit in their different ways.

2. p.39.

3. p.42.

Other poems repaying attention and bearing a family likeness in robust animation are "In Amicum foeneratorem" in which in his attempts at raillery Vaughan perhaps over-reaches himself; "Upon a Cloke" a boisterous poem showing considerable power of brief description; the humorous lamentation with more than a tinge of bitterness "To his Friend" on the traditional poverty of poets; and the "To his retired friend, an Invitation to Brecknock". This last should be read alongside of "I saw Eternity the other night", as the "Letter to Maria Gisborne" should be read alongside of "Adonais". It belongs to one of the most engaging compartments of literature and one in which Vaughan excelled - the verse letter. In this example, the poet familiarly and genially chides an old friend "almost grown good".

But thou may'st prove devout, and love a Cell,
 And (like a Badger) with attentive looks
 In the dark hole sit rooting up of books (1)

and in a word or two he illuminates for us the more homely aspects of the age:

Here's noise
 Of bang'd Mortars, blew Aprons, and Boyes,
 Pigs, Dogs, and Drums, with the hoarse hellish notes
 Of politickly-deafe Usurers throats,
 With new fine Worships, and the old cast teame
 Of Justices vext with Cough, and flegme,
 Midst these the Crosse looks sad, and in the Shire-
 -Hall furs of an old Saxon Fox appear,
 With brotherly Ruffs, and Beards, and a strange sight
 Of high Monumentall Hats ta'ne at the fight
 Of Eighty eight; while ev'ry Burgess foots
 The mortall Pavement in eternall boots.

The "Elegie on the death of Mr. R. Hall slain at Pontefract" who died "the glory of the Sword and Gown" inevitably by its nature challenges comparison with the "Elegie on the death of Mr. R.W." and loses by it. Whatever the circumstances of its composition may have been, and granting that overwhelming grief may appear stilted and forced when attempts are made at expressing it, the catalogue of virtues method employed lacks the spontaneity, or effect of spontaneity, and feeling given to the other poem by the visualisation of concrete detail concerning the battle and the unknown grave.

There is a mild epithalamium with an exceptionally weak ending but the rest of the poems in the book are mainly verses addressed to contemporary literary celebrities or friends. Part of the difficult and highly figurative "Upon Mr. Fletcher's Playes" is in that felicitous elegiac strain to which Vaughan was to return in "Daphnis", but the last couplet:

True, BEN must live! but bate him and thou hast
Undone all future wits, and match'd the past (1)

proves either that the writer had an entire lack of critical sense, or that this young man aged about twenty-six had been so overcome by youth hero-worship as to utter things which he very well might condemn "to Obscuritie" in after years. And the "Labell" fixed to the "fair hearse" of Mr. William Cartwright has so much of the same kind of forced panygyric that the simple lines:

When thou the wild of humours trackst, thy pen
So Imitates that Motley stock in men,
As if thou hadst in all their bosomes been,
And seen those Leopards that lurk within. (2)

1. p.55.

2. p.56. See Vaughan's translation of Casimirus p.87. li.24-27

stand out as particularly expressive. Similarly the extravagant eulogy on Monsiour Gombauld is redeemed by the description of an easily identifiable

Chrystal Spring, that from the neighbour down
Deriv'd her birth, (1)

and the "neatly weav'd" definition of "deep Allegorie". Uttered with less flourish but carrying more conviction are the lines to Mr. T. Powell with the interesting allusion to the ubiquity of the English tongue and those "To Sir William D'avenant" with its comment on the state of English literature. As a brief exposition of the writer's views on his own age some of the lines "To the most Excellently accomplished Mrs. K. Philips" deserve quotation:

A strain whose measures gently meet
Like Virgin-lovers, or times feet,
Where language Smiles, and accents rise
As quick and pleasing as your Eyes,
The Poem smooth, and in each line
Soft as your selfe, yet Masculine;
Where no Coorse trifles blot the page
With matter borroed from the age,
But thoughts as Innocent, and high
As Angels have, or Saints that dye. (2)

The two remaining poems, both in octosyllabics, have particular interest. Apart from any external evidence of date and the devotional tone of the end, the "epitaph on the Lady Elizabeth" is closer to Silex than anything else in the Silurist's first two volumes. Not only do the afflictions descending on the "young and harmless heart" of the child awaken the same pitying tenderness which he was to feel at the thought of the "sullen storm" beating on the

1. p.49.
2. p.61.

"harmless head" of other even weaker members of creation,(1)
 the meditative spirit and utter obliviousness of hearers, the
 exquisite unpretentiousness of style,

Thou seem'st a Rose-bud born in Snow,
 A flowre of purpose sprung to bow
 To headless tempests, and the rage
 Of an Incensed, stormie Age, (2)

all is a distinct prelibation of his later methods and achievements. Nor
 is it necessary to comment on the maturing art which went to the mak-
 ing of the figure,- the row of monosyllables, presenting with perfect
 clarity the image of the solitary flower, succeeded by an accelerating
 commotion of syllables and accents suggesting the growing fury of the
 storm.

As different from any other verses in Olor Iscanus
 as are those on the Priorie Grave from any others in that first
 volume, are the twenty odd lines "To my worthy friend Master T.
 Lewes". The shrill ejaculatory note has gone, the tone deepened;
 with a new confidence the poet speaks easily and familiarly of
 familiar but important things:

Sees not my friend, what a deep snow
 Candies our Countries wooddy brow?
 The yeeling branch his load scarce bears
 Opprest with snow, and frozen tears,
 While the dumb rivers slowly float,
 All bound up in an Icie Coat. (3)

The happy tone of possession,- "our Countries wooddy brow",;
 his sympathy in observing "the yeeling branch", the "dumb rivers",-
 all bespeak an affectionate intimacy; a companionship of the sort
 which did not have to be mentioned and of which he was never conscious
 as of a thing outside himself, so deeply rooted was it and vital to

1. cf "The Bird" p.496.
 2. p. 63.
 3. p.61.

to him. Nor is nature now related to man in the rather amused way of the Priorie Grove, but, and for the first time, man is bidden give heed to nature as the perfect exemplar for him of the art of living.

The five poems in Latin which, together with the translations from the Latin into English, constitute the rest of Olor Iscanus, are perhaps a testimonial to Vaughan's versatility rather than his genius for this kind of composition. But his lines in the divers measures he employs read pleasantly enough to those without special qualifications to judge in such matters and they have all biographical interest.

Olor Iscanus, for all its gallant bearing, was of more importance to the author than to the posterity of which he shows himself so conscious. (1) He is full of a sense of his destiny. To the casual reader the mixed contents of the volume offer an impression of high spirits and worldly wisdom, acuteness in the observation of "the face of things" (2) and facility in the verbal crystallisation of the results of such observation; and at times eloquent transmission of quite unmythical ideas. Superficially there is progress but no radical change of poetical policy. Literature has taken the place of love in the writer's interest and the longer couplet supplants the varied measures of the earlier volume.

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1. See "Ad Posteror" p.32. "To the R. Isca" p.39. "In Amic um Foeneratorem" p.43. "To his friend" p.44. "Upon a Cloke" p.54.
 2. "To his retired friend" p.46.

A poet of very "able heart and active breath" consolidates his position; proves to himself that his first poems were not begotten by Chance upon Necessity; gains experience and confidence in the practice of his craft. He has experimented, though not too dangerously, with measures and has gained particular competency in heroic couplets.

Vaughan could now feel that he had mastered the rudiments of the art of communication and might utter himself without having to confer with the "Leges Conviviales" or observe what precedent Donne had to offer. Some knowledge of the use to which in the future he was to put his new-won freedom of speech alone makes it possible to find advance in the sinking of the rhetorical fluency of much of Olor Iscanus into the muffled accents of soliloquy he employs in the "Epitaph" or the substitution for vigorous, at times powerful, description of men's activities, their opinions and sensations as units of population, of the graver reflection on mankind and nature suggested in the poem to Master Lewes. But such a poem is very obviously valuable more as a prophecy than as an achievement; less for what it actually offers than for what it presages. More directly remunerative by far are those poems not untouched by Donnean conceit, which in the resonance and vigour of their distiches anticipate those verses of the young Dryden which show the effects of study under the same master.

It is of a piece with our knowledge of this paradoxical man that so original a writer should spend much time in translating. Against a total of 8000 odd lines of original verse to

his credit, there are 2000 odd lines of verse translation from the Latin in addition to a considerable amount of prose. Since the bulk of Vaughan's work in this kind was published with Olor Iscanus, it is convenient at this point to examine all his verse translation, including that in the 1646 volume and that in Thalia Rediviva.

His intention seems to have been not to achieve any feat of scholarship or to offer any introduction to the ancients. His reasons for engaging in this labour may have been simply to supply himself with a profitable pastime, "to feather", as he observes in the preface to his first volume, "some slower Houres" and to give him practice in versifying. In both his first two secular publications the translations surpass in bulk his own compositions and this suggests that they were inserted to occupy the spaces left vacant by the destruction of his "greatest follies". He seems to have treated his originals here in the same way that he treated his sources elsewhere, as starting points for his own meditations on the themes they suggest. This fondness for translating is but one instance of his tendency to choose a subject already worked upon so that his powers could be saved for a personal elaboration which is not resident in the language only, but which also sometimes causes a removal of tone.

But Vaughan is not entirely without a translator's conscience and whilst diverging in many points, he manages to preserve or suggest his author's identity. So that although it is all unmistakeably Vaughan's, he asserts fidelity to his originals by making a rough approximation to their styles. This is nowhere better seen than in his work on Juvenal.

Of Juvenal's Satires, Vaughan chooses the tenth, - the first of the six produced by the older and rather less savage Juvenal, - for his first essay in translating. (1) Its subject, less the specific evils of Roman society, more the woes of humanity and the vanity of Human Wishes generally, attracted Vaughan doubtless partly by the consonance of the views expressed with his own, partly by the scope offered for freedom of treatment. A detailed examination of this, the longest and most ambitious single piece of translation by Vaughan's hand, and the only one for which by drawing attention to it in a preface, he seems to invite criticism, sheds light on his mental habits generally, and provides a fair sample of his tactics in translation. Apart from definite errors (2) curious renderings, the result either of a slip or of some vagary, are to be found (3). In one place Vaughan omits four lines (4). Elsewhere he interpolates four lines of Marlowesque comment on Hannibal and ambition:

(Ye Gods! that give to men
Such boundles appetites, why state you them
So short a time? either the one deny,
Or give their acts, and them Eternitie) (5)

1. "It is one of his, whose Roman Pen had as much true Passion, for the infirmities of that state, as we should have Pitty, to the distractions of our owne" p.2. Preface 1646.
2. Martin p.678.
3. eg. It blacks the face, corrupts, and duls the bloud,
Benights the quickest eye, distasts the food,
And such deep furrowes cuts i'th'Checker'd skin
As in th'old Okes of Tabraca are seene 328-331
for the Juvenalean Deformem et tetrum ante omnia vultum
dissimilemque, sui, deformem pro cute pellem
Pendientesque genas et tales aspice rugas,
Quales; umbriferos ubi pandit tabraca saltus,
In vetula scalput jam mater simia bucca. 191-195
4. Hujus, qui trahitur, praetextam sumere mavis,
An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas
Et de mensura jus dicere, vasa ^{minora}
Frangere, pannosus vacuis Aedilis Ulubris? 99-102
5. Ll 238-241.

and is roused by the theme to expand ten lines of Juvenal to twenty-eight of his own. (1)

But liberty of handling here extends beyond verbal independence; and the subdual in tone, the loosening in structure, relaxation in tension, is quite characteristic of Vaughan, though here perhaps not entirely deliberate. The cynical realism of, for instance, Juvenal's

Dudum sedet illa parato
Flammeolo, Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis
Sternitur (2)

is softened by the translator into

Though Cesars wife, a publicke Bigamie
Shee dares attempt. (3)

In its own right as a phrase felicitous and illuminating as a translation is:

An oilie tongue with fatall, cunning sence,
And that sad vertue ever, Eloquence,
Are th'others ruine. (4)

A very free but more than competent rendering of the difficult

Curramus praecipites et,
Dum jacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem.
Sed videant servi, ne quis negat et pavidum in jus
Cervice obstricta dominum trahat. (5)

is

The livelesse, pale Sejanus limbes they teare,
And least the action might a witness need,
They bring their servants to confirme the deed,
Nor is it done for any other end,
Then to avoid the title of his friend. (6)

1. Juvenal 147-156. Vaughan 234-261.

2. 11.333-335.

3. 11.504-505.

4. Vaughan 1.17. cf. Torrens dicendi copia multis
Et sua mortifera est facundia. Juvenal 1.9.

5. J.11 85-88.

6. V. 154-158.

Similar instances of his mastery over phrase and his ability to transpose the appointed theme into his own key, with his own specially composed, if simple, descant might be multiplied, but perhaps his translation of Juvenal's

Multis in luctibus inque
Perpetuo moerore et nigra veste senescant (1)

by

An age of fresh renewing cares they buye,
is a just example. And in a tide of teares grow old and dye (2)

Inexcusable as translation but interesting as an early sign of Vaughan's political leanings is his rendering of the lines following those above:

Hi sermones
Yunc de Sejano, secreta haec murmura vulgi (3)

by

So fals ambitious man, and such are still
All floating States built on the peoples will (4)

Some prediction of later interests seems to be given by his expansion of

Praeterea minimus gelido jam in corpore sanguis
Febre calet sola (5)

into

Besides that little bloud, his carkasse holds,
Hath lost its native warmth, & fraught with colds,
Catarrhs, and rheumes, to thick, black jelly turns,
And never but in fits, and feavers burns. (6)

-
1. 244-5
 2. 390-1
 3. J. 98-99
 4. 159-160
 5. 217-18
 6. 354-35.

Half a dozen lines further on, Juvenal's

Finem animae, quae res humanas miscuit olim,
Non gladii, non saxa dabunt, nec tela: sed ille
Cannarum vindex ac tanti sanguinis ultor;
Annulus. I, demens, et saevas curre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas et declamatic fias! (1)

is rendered by Vaughan with Drydonian power

And thus that soule, which through all nations hurl'd
Conquest, and warre, and did amaze the world;
Of all those glories rob'd at his last breath
Fortune would not vouchsafe a souldiers death,
For all that bloud the field of Cannae boasts,
And sad Apulia fill'd with Roman ghoasts:
No other end (freed from the pile, and sword)
Then a poore Ring would Fortune him afford.
Goe now ambitious man! new plots designe,
March o're the snowie Alps, and Apennine;
That after all, at best thou mayst but be
A pleasing story to posterie! (2)

Nor is there reason to condemn the translator for adding a line of his own for which no source can be found in the original when he produces something so beautifully vowelled and commanding, so instant a mustering of dim shapes as

And sad Apulia fill'd with Roman ghoasts.

But with all these adaptations there is a recognisable and therefore successful attempt to indicate the solid and brazen force of Juvenal's style.

If the translation of Juvenal is the longest connected piece Vaughan undertook, Boethius, judged by the total number of lines (3) devoted to the Consolation of Philosophy stands first in the

-
1. 163-167.
 2. 276-287.
 3. 623 against 515 in the original.

translators regard. The Consolation, divided into short self-contained Metra, was well adapted to become a spare-time interest and seems to have been so looked upon by Vaughan. His rendering which is free and conversational in tone shows no signs of having been collated with that by Alfred, Chaucer or the seventeenth century "I.T.", (1) but it is not surprising that the fascination of this popular storehouse of wisdom should have been felt as much by the Silurist as by those others. In addition Vaughan must have felt a special agreement with Boethius' reverence for "nature potens" and the "felix prior aetas" and makes use of the liberty which, because of this agreement, he probably felt he could take in commenting and expanding. (2) Characteristic insertions occur in the picturesque details supplied by the lines

And by the Parents care layd up
Cheap Berries did the Children sup. (3)

and (describing "The shadie Pine")

For then 'twas not cut down, but stood
The youth and glory of the wood. (4)

1. See Loeb Classical Library edition of Boethius.

2. of ~~also~~ the parentheses

Hath lost the buckler, and (poor elfe!)

Makes up a Chain to bind himselfe. Metrum 3p.78

And(which of all things is most sad)

The good man suffers by the bad. Metrum 5 p.79.

3. Lib.2. Metrums 5 p.83.

4. Ibid.

Partly to satisfy the metre, but also to point the moral for
seventeenth century regicides is his version :

They from the highest sway of things
Can pull down great, and pious Kings. (1)

of

"Quos innumeri metuunt populi
Summos gaudent subdere reges".

So also Vaughan expands Boethius'

O felix hominum genus
Si vestros animos amor
Quo caelum regitur regat (2)

and gives it application to the Britain of his day:

O happy Nation then were you
If love which doth all things subdue,
That rules the spacious heav'n, and brings
Plenty and Peace upon his wings,
Might rule you too! and without guile
Settle once more this floting Ile! (3)

He takes his ease and his full flavour as a paraphraser emerges in
Thalia. Here he abandons caution and enjoys his invention. It is
significant as evidence of Vaughan's willingness to stress any aspect
expedient or attractive to him at the moment that in Thalia the
philosopher goes by the name Severinus under which he was canonised
in the eight century as the opponent of the Arian heresy, and it is
here that the greatest liberties are taken. Perhaps his method
with the lines

Heu, noctis prope terminos
Orpheus Eurydicen suam
Vidit, perdidit, occidit (4)

1. Lib.1, M.5. p.79.

2. Lib.2. M.8.

3. p.85. cf. also Vaughan's rendering of: Illic iusto foldere rerum
Veterem servant sidem pacem
1V.6.

by There in one league of love the Stars
Keep their old place, and shew our wars. p.631,
with the interpolation "and shew our wars".

4. lib. 3. Met. 12.

which he renders

Poor Orpheus almost in the light
Lost his dear Love for one short sight;
And by those Eyes, which Love did guide,
What he most lov'd unkindly dyed!

may be offered as a sample not only of his deftness in weaving a romance in this Metrum out of the succinct Latin narrative of Orpheus and Eurydice, but of his habit throughout. The final impression, especially in the Thalia versions, is of something childlike and unphilosophical and it hardly conveys a true impression of Boethius. But Boethius seems always to have been considered as a well-head of ideas to be interpreted according to the various translators' fancies rather than as a source of information to be scrupulously disseminated, so that Vaughan was in this matter consciously or unconsciously simply adhering to tradition.

Next in bulk, and, probably it will be generally conceded, in interest both personal and literary, follows the translation of the melancholy Ovid of the Tristia and the Ex Ponto. (1) Compared with Ovid's suavity and insinuating grace Vaughan's efforts may appear colloquial and stertorous but after the Boethius the feeling here for purely literary values is the more apparent. Though it is too much to suppose that by the mere exercise of translating one section Vaughan gained some special aptitude it is true that his own idiom,-

I know with much adoe thou didst obtain
Thy jovial godhead (2)

1. Four sections totalling 290 lines against the total 244 lines of the original.

2. cf. Ovid:

Ipsa quoque aetherias meritis invectus es arces,
quo non exiguo facta labore via est. Tristia, 5.3.
19-20.

and

And you my trusty friends (the Jollie Crew
Of careless Poets!) (1)

for Ovid's

Vos quoque, consortes studii, pia turba, poetae, (2)

appears with special persistency in the section placed first, presumably finished earliest, as if objectivity were to be striven for and won by practice. There are no lengthy interpolations. That Vaughan desired his work here to be considered as artistic units, or productions complete in themselves, is manifested by his care in supplying explanatory headings and internal glosses to any point which might not be clear to a reader unfamiliar with Ovid's circumstances. (3)

The pains exercised in clarifying the matter Vaughan extended to form and his translation of the work of a great artificer in words has the air of being a diligently rehearsed full-dress performance. (4). Respect for an audience here controls the play of comment and reins in the expression of personal bias which gives such

1. p.66.

2. Ibid 147.

3. Thus where Ovid (Tristia 5.3.46) mentions simply a "boon" Vaughan states what that boon is:

try then

If Caesar will restore me Rome agen. p.66.1.46.

So where Ovid is content to ask who is greater than "Magno", Vaughan for the benefit of the uniformed reader names "mighty Pompey" p.69. and where Ovid makes mention of the "Samii... ..dicta senis" (Tristia 3.3.622) Vaughan with his "as Pythagoras believes" (p.71) instantly claims attention.

4. Instances were not clear.

a variegated hue to the Boethius.(1) So that whilst this rendering of Ovid easily outstrips the translation of the Boethius in accuracy and as a piece of composition, as a transcript of the translator's thoughts it is the less valuable.

Vaughan's was not the only seventeenth century version of some of the work of the Polish Jesuit, Mathias Casimirus Sarbiewski to which, after the Ovid, Vaughan devotes most space. His Odes in the Horation mould had been translated by Hills in 1646 six years after his death, so that he must have enjoyed a fair amount of contemporary applause. There are signs that Vaughan's work on Casimirus (as he calls Sarbiewski) belongs to a later period than the Juvenal, Ovid and Ausonius. It bears a perhaps fictitious resemblance to the output of the maturer Vaughan in phrasing, alliteration and octosyllabics. The themes of the ancient world, - the deceitfulness of riches, the corruptibleness of earthly glories, - have taken to themselves the Christian colouring they wear in Silex and the consolations of nature and rural life are offered for contrast with the fleeting joys of the

1. In one place only a prejudice against contemporary production seems to assert itself. Vaughan (p. 66) leaves unsaid Ovid's commendation of contemporary poetry (Tristia 5.3.1.56) and Ovid's epistle "to his Inconstant friend" was (so Vaughan's title continues) "translated for the use of all the Judases of this touch-stone-age". There is a notable heightening of effect and intensifying of emotion in Vaughan's rendering of the Latin elegist's lines to his wife (Tristia 3.3.) but it would be rash to infer therefrom that there was a personal application or that Vaughan was drawing on his own experience of married life. Vaughan inserts the word "Dearest" without sanction in the original, and in ll. 1-4 deepens the writer's despair. eg. for Ovid's "inter Sauromatas esse Getasque" Vaughan has "tormented 'twixt the Sauromate and Gete". Where in the original the writer speaks to his wife though absent (te loquor absentem) in Vaughan's he embraces her (Thee (absent) I embrace) l. 19. Too much care has been exercised to allow many errors to escape. In a few cases, however, the English is loose or elliptical. For example cf. Vaughan p. 65. 9-12 and Tristia 5.3.9-10.; Ibid Vaughan l. 32; Ovid 32; Vaughan p. 67, 9-10 and Ovid Ex Ponto 3.7. 1.7 & 8; Vaughan either disdained or did not grasp Ovid's introduction of his favourite pun on "valere" in the Tristia 3.3.88.

pretty pieces of Paganism he had been treating.

Vaughan's complets change the lyric accent of Casimirus into something more equable but on the whole he keeps faith with the original. The total 266 lines which Vaughan devotes to his task represent only an increase of 32 over the Latin, not a great addition when one remembers the unrivalled compactness of the Latin in cataloguing (1) Where Sarbiewski's Odes are addressed to particular personages, and contain personal references, Vaughan leaves out all that would make the precepts enshrined less generally applicable.

His version

Thus the world
Is all to peece-meals cut, and hurl'd
By factious hands, (2)

of

Fluctuat, heu! miser
Alternaque potentum
Mundus diripitur manu

sounds like a first draft of part of "The Morning-watch" (3) and in the eighth Ode of Book 2 (4) where he translates

inquieta
Urbium currunt hominumque Fata

by

A restless fate afflicts the throng
Of Kings and Commons

1. As, for example, Ode 28, lib.4.1. 13.

2. p.86.

3. p.424.

4. Mr. Martin notes that it is Ode 7 in the edition of Casimir's Odes of 1647. This Ode also comes seventh in the small duo edition of 1646. "Lyricorum Libri 1V Epodon Lib. unus alterqu. epigrammatum Mathiae Casimiri Sarbievii" in the Birmingham reference Library.

he seems to be thinking of the events of 1649. Even freer as translation and strikingly similar in phrasing to his later work is the portion standing next (1). That love of the esoteric which led Vaughan into the path of the obscure Jesuit might easily have punished him more severely. Although one cannot help regretting the energy expended on the second-rate, Sarbiewski's notes at least fall more pleasantly on the ear than Ausonius' and his sentiments chime more harmoniously with Vaughan's than those of the Cupido Cruciatur.

Vaughan's mention, in itself perhaps a reminiscence of the earlier poet's lines on a similar theme,(2) of Ausonius in "To the River Isca" as the poet of the River Moselle, gives the clue to what would otherwise be impossible to explain or vindicate,- his seeming fondness for this fourth century rhetorician. (3)

1. Lib.3. Ode 22. Oddities in detail will be found in Lib.3. Ode 23 where in 1.8. Vaughan reproduces the Donnean image he uses in "To Amoret Weeping" 1 4. and in 1. 18-19 adds the phrase
and in forc'd Curls
Bind up their locks ..
On p.90 1.27. he omits Casimirus' mention of the Virgin and on p.91 1 64 he omits two lines.
2. Mosella 1. 374-380
3. Ausonius was grandfather or tutor (there is some confusion as to the exact relationship) of the Paulinus whose life Vaughan was later to write. Ausonius is several times mentioned therein.

In the Mosella Ausonius displays amid the prevalent myopia of his time not only keen observation of nature but the faculty also of seeing it "through a temperament". The Christian beliefs professed in such poems as the Oratio and Domestica, as well as Ausonius' praise of his native Bordeaux, may also have recommended their professor to Vaughan (1) but even so, it is not easy to understand the Silurist's selection of the "cupido Cruciat" (which he names Ausonii Cupido, Edyl.6) among the number of apparently more congenial pieces at his choice.

The masque-like quality of the Silurist's version, its languid movement, a certain preciousness in diction, - as when Cupid's

Wings and quiver wound
With noise the quiet aire, (2)

the enervated atmosphere, - all gives the impression of a fête galante done by some follower of Watteau. Vaughan might have justified his lines, so heavy with descriptive conceits, had he given the explanation Ausonius himself gives in the prefatory greeting to his son Gregorius. The eclogue is in fact a description of a painting seen in the dining-room of a house at Trèves. Since the poem is almost entirely descriptive with only the slightest element of narrative and there is no question of the conveyance of ideas or doctrine, Vaughan has treated his original with the greatest literal freedom without, however, departing from the spirit. (3)

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1. But in his life of Paulinus Vaughan speaks of Ausonius as one "who was scarce a good Christian" p.343.
 2. p.74.
 3. 4. Ausonius' habit in translating "non ut inservirem ordinis persequendi (Studio) set ut cohercerem libere nec aberrarem" (not to follow the strict letter of the original slavishly, but to paraphrase it freely, though without missing the point) Epitaphs (Preface) (p.140)

Interjections like the two "kind Soules" (1) omissions of phrases (2), omissions of incidents with names and details (3), changes in description (4), occur with as much frequency as do insertions (5), whether pure invention or amplification, similes or fresh incident. His borrowing of lines from Donne (6) suggests not the same but similar origins for the other passages he inserts which are not to be found in Ausonius. The whole is done in a thoroughly sophisticated spirit, "in an artful, or rather artist's humour". Save in the omission of faintly salacious incident or comment, there is little of the recognisable Vaughan here. It was a task he set himself in a self-disciplinary mood. Doubtless, since the substance required so little attention and all his care could be given to the handling of words and metre, it did assist in a mastering of the craft of expression, the superficialities of composition, and was therefore of value to the experimenter.

1. p.72 & p.75.
2. eg. Ausonius 1.1 "memorat quos musa Maronis"
3. eg. " 1.19 "irrita dona querens, sexu gavis virili,
maeret in antiquam Caenis revocata figuram".
1.26. "Harmoniae cultus Eriphyle maesta recusat,
.....1.31..
licia fert glomerata manu deserta Ariadne
1.33. "haec laqueum gerit, haec vanae simulacra coronae
..... 1 37...
parte truces alia strictis mucronibus omnes.
1.68. "haec laqueum tenet, haec speciem macronis inanem
.....1 74.
gemmea fletiferi iaculatur sucina trunci.
4. eg. " 1 91. " quae iam
tincta prius traxit rutilum magis ignea facum".
cf. Vaughan 1.126.
5. eg. Vaughan 1.42-43; 53-54; 1.60-61; 1. 67-70; 1.105-112.
6. 1.89-92 noted by Chambers in the Muses' edition.

Any difficulties offered by the Claudian (1) which Vaughan tackles in Thalia must have been purely technical. Neither the subjects which he chooses or the manner in which they are treated needed any digestion or transposition into another key before they could be reexpressed in Vaughan's own idiom. In this there was some resemblance to the Boethius save that Boethius may have been the origin of some of Vaughan's ideas whereas Claudian merely voices general opinions which were probably native also to the Silurist. The first two extracts "out of Claudian" may, as Mr. Martin suggests (2) owe something to Randolph's translation of the same pieces (especially "The Sphere of Archimedes" with its "Spirits inclos'd") but that is an incidental circumstance in the phrasing. In "The Old man of Verona" no third party is interposed between Vaughan and the original to whom he keeps remarkably close. His phrasing when not the literal equivalent of Claudian's, demonstrates how the theme has come home to his business and bosom, has been assimilated and revisualised. So Claudian's

non rauci lites pertulit ille fori (3)

becomes

not the brib'd Coil of gowns at bar.

"Exempt from cares" seems to Vaughan the equivalent of "indocilis rerum" and "Within one hedg" a true expression of the narrow boundaries given by the text to "idem..ager". Neither the author or the translators of

1. A younger contemporary of Ausonius.

2. p. 705.

3. De sene 18.
Veronensi

this passage, - they include, beside Randolph, Sir John Beaumont (1) and Cowley, - give to the twig the distinction of representing the whole forest

ingentem meminit parvo qui germine quercum
aequaevumque videt consenuisse nemus, (2)

as does Vaughan

he observes some known, conerescent twig
Now grown an Oak, and old, like him, and big. (3)

The two shorter pieces are close to the original and unusually compact. For the twenty-two lines of Latin in "The old man", Vaughan has given twenty-four, whilst in "The Sphere" he translates almost line for line and presents fourteen verses as in the original. With "The Phoenix", the half-mystical account of a wholly mythical creature, apparently Vaughan felt that he was leaving description and embarking on speculation and that the occasion warranted amplification. Claudian's 110 vivid and felicitous lines are exchanged for 142, often less lucid but not less animated, lines of Vaughan's. The first part is curious in its eighteenth century dress from which the word "crackle" (without authority from Claudian) juts out startlingly. But the next few lines

This the blest Phoenix Empire is, here he
Alone exempted from mortality,
Enjoys a land, where no diseases reign;
And ne'r afflicted, like our world, with pain

are directed by another impulse and proceed without faltering to give a flowing paraphrase of the more involved Latin. Vaughan's ability

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1. Brother of Francis, Fletcher's colleague.
 2. 1 15-16.
 3. 1 17-18

unsympathetic material. He translated apparently without ulterior motive. His work is free of Archaology. His was not a search for information, political, philosophical or moral, for the conduct of life, like that of the Elizabethan translators. Nor can he have been inspired by the explorer's ardour to discover new lands. It is the semi-diletante spirit of these efforts, the absence of any missionary zeal or single swift purpose which allows the revealing divagations. Undertaken by Vaughan as a useful recreation and included in his published works probably to fill space, to us these verse translations are valuable as mental autobiography, as showing the idiosyncrasies of the writer, rather than as examples of literary and scholarly aptitude. // The same cannot in justice be said of the two secular volumes in general. Olor Iscanus, at least, can afford to stand on its own merits as a work perhaps not of high inspiration or rare technical accomplishment, but at least as an eminently acceptable production in its own class, a class in which the qualities aimed at are vigour and distinctness of outline and sound and the failings to be eschewed are monotony and tameness. If none of its themes are treated with profundity, the elegies show that the author was not without the power to move. If there is no subtle disposition and variation of its cadences, Olor Iscanus nevertheless has the Roman virtues, caught perhaps during the writer's work on translation, of clarity and concision. It was the only one of Vaughan's productions popular enough to be re-issued during his lifetime. (1) Even so, in the light of Silex Scintillans it is true that both these two volumes

of secular poetry have an interest apart from their intrinsic worth. They will not give even the synopsis of the history of the growth of a poet's mind. They will, however, supply something of a preface to such a narrative by indicating his methods and masters in his apprenticeship to the craft of verse. In addition, a comparison of these with the sacred poems yields an instance of a complete change of style, mirroring a complete change of substance, surely unparalleled in English literature.

CHAPTER 3.

Life; Conversion; Silex Scintillans.

Anthony à Wood supplies the little information we have to fill the gap in our knowledge of Vaughan's life after the composition of Olor Iscanus.

Afterwards (i.e. after the publication of Olor Iscanus) applying his mind to the study of physic, became at length eminent in his own country for the practice thereof, and was esteemed by scholars an ingenious person, but proud and humorous. (1)

Some study of medicine is evident in even the first part of Silex Scintillans published in 1650, but we have no indication of the date of his starting out as practitioner. All record of his medical training seems to have been lost. With his tendency to empiricism it is possible that he contented himself with private study and experiment and that he was given his M.D. degree by the Bishop of the diocese. Thomas had been appointed to the living of Llansantffread,

he was ordained minister by bishop Mainwaringe (2) & presented to the Rectorie of St. Brigets by his kinsman Sr George Vaughan, (3)

1. There is a curious footnote to p.508 of Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis* which I have not seen mentioned elsewhere and which I am unable to explain.

Olor Iscanus (Hen. Vaughan) Chaplain to Fra Leigh, earl of Chichester, cui 1649 in subscript dedicationi hujus libri Morant.

2. Bishop of St. David's.

3. Letter to Aubrey, June 15th, -73. p.668. The date is uncertain; that of 1640 given by Grosart seems too early.

and at one point he was actually living at Newton with Henry. (1) It would not be surprising if part of the old manor house had been turned into a laboratory by the experimenting brothers whose lives like those of Burton, Browne, George Herbert himself (see his manual for the Country Parson) illustrate fairly that mingling of scientific, religious, philosophical also characteristic of the seventeenth century. We know more of Vaughan's thoughts and emotions from this point onward than of his external life, at the time Silex Scintillans was written. he was too much absorbed in an inner spiritual transformation to care about recording less important experiences. But those happenings which had a direct bearing on that event are registered unmistakably in his work.

Some sanction, Vaughan may have felt, had been gained by earlier activity for the quiet following of his own pursuits away from public troubles. That he could not escape entirely is proved by some reference on nearly every page of his later work. Apart from general but persistent sorrow at the turmoil in national affairs, there was some cause for private indignation. Thomas, probably in 1649 under the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, was deprived of his living, an event together with the injuries suffered by the Welsh Church (2) which the layman brother commemorates tirelessly.

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1. There exists a letter from Thomas Vaughan to a friend in London, dated from "Newtown, Ash Wednesday, 1653". See also Jones' History of Brecknockshire" ll. part 2.540. He speaks of a farmhouse at Newton "once occupied by two brothers of the name of Vaughan, of very eccentric character."
 2. See "The Brittish Church" p.410. and the address To the Reader, "Flores Solitudinis" p.217, "I write unto thee out of a land of darkenesse, out of that unfortunate region, where the Inhabitants sit in the shadow of death: where destruction passeth for propagation."

There is also a prayer in The Mount of Olives (1), which seems to indicate that the Silurist himself suffered material damage at the hands of the Parliamentarians and mention of the possible usurpation of his "portion" by causless enemies" (2), together with ~~so~~ some suggestion of losing all and enduring "The proverb'd griefs of holy Job" (3) imply either that his estate was actually confiscated or that there were reasons for anxiety in that matter.

Greater afflictions were to come. Some time between 1652 and 1658 his first wife died; one of the entries for 1658 in Thomas' diary mentions (among the things "Left at Mrs. Highgate's") " a great glass full of eye-water, made at the pinner of wakefield by my deare wife, and my sister vaughan, who are both now with god". Thomas was not married until 1651 (4) and, assuming that the sisters-in-law were not acquainted before their marriages, this indicates that the Silurist's first wife was alive after the publication of the first part of Silex Scintillans and that, it may be here noticed, the memorial poems therein were not addressed to her. The Mount of Olives was dedicated in 1651 to Sir Charles Egerton, her maternal uncle, and the phrasing of the allusion in the dedication to "that near relation by which my dearest friend laies claime to your person" (5) seems to indicate that the marriage had not yet taken place. Of this young wife nothing is known, except, as Dr. Chambers seems to prove (6) that

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1. p.166.
 2. "Providence" p.506.
 3. "Palm-Sunday" p.502
 4. Diary p.2.
 5. p.138.
 6. From a Pedigree in the Harleian MSS. 2289, f. 81.

she was Catherine, daughter to Charles Wise, of Ritsonhall, Staffordshire, and that, according to poems in the second part of *Silex*, she was dead by 1654 and deeply mourned. (1)

Four at least of the five memorial poems in the first part of *Silex* were undoubtedly inspired by the death of a younger brother. In three of these poems (2) the phrasing shows the subject to have been a man, and in one of them (3) definite reference is made to a brother. In his diary, Thomas mentions a dead brother under the initial W., and at the end of Anthroposophia Theomagica, published in 1650 but having a dedication from Oxford dated two years earlier, there is a passage showing that the bereavement which made so deep an impression on the Silurist had taken place by 1648:

Besides this piece was composed in haste and in my days of mourning on the sad occurrence of a brother's death.
(4)

Some link with this brother's death and the approaching conversion of the Silurist may be thought to be offered by the oracular:

But at the height of this Careire
I met with a dead man,
Who noting well my vain Abear,
Thus unto me began:
Desist fond fool, be not undone... (5)

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1. The three known pedigrees given (1) by Theophilus Jones in his "History of Brecknockshire" ll.544, (2) G.T. Clarke in his "~~Glan~~" "Genealogies of Glamorgan" p.240, (3) that discovered by Dr. Chambers, vary in the number of children they assign to Vaughan's marriages. They agree only in stating that by his first wife Vaughan had at least one son and a daughter whose name is given in two of the pedigrees as Lucy.
 2. "Thou that knowest for whom I mourn" p.416. "Come, come, what do I here" p.420; "I walkt the other day" p.478.
 3. "Silence, and stealth of dayes!" p.426.
 4. Waite p.60.
 5. "The Garland" p.493.

These blows, with the exception of the death of his wife, must have descended on Vaughan between the years following the publication of the 1646 volume and the first edition of Silex. During this period, or just after, he suffered also from a lingering illness which brought him "nigh unto death" (1) to which he makes frequent allusion.

There was sufficient here, with the shock of the Civil War and the earlier loss of combatant friends, to command a halt and a change of direction. Hermetic principles (2) had too long coloured Vaughan's fancy for them to be included among the causes (3) of that inner reorientation which was to transform his work.

1. Preface to Silex Scintillans p.392 (1654). See also "Begging" p.501 originally prefixed to Vaughan's translation of Nierembergius which, judging from the address "To the Reader", was completed by 1652; the collection of prose translations called Flores Solitudinis published in 1654, which was "Collected in his Sicknesse and Returement" and the Epistle dedicatory of which, dated 1653, speaks of his "peevisish, inconstant state of health"; and "To the Holy Bible" p.540 (second edition of Silex).
 2. See "To Amoret" p.7. "To Amoret gone from him" p.8. the Dedicatory letter prefixed to Olor Iscanus with its allusion to astrological "Influences" p.35; Powell's reference to the twins' interest in "The starrie art" p.36; "To the most excellently accomplish'd, Mrs. K. Philips" p.62, ll.31-36; "An Epitaph upon the Lady Elizabeth" p.63, ll. 29-34; the early poem to Powell in Thalia Rediviva p.603.
 3. As Miss Holmes suggests they were. See Holmes Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy p.14. "To understand Vaughan's "conversion";
 * and hints he gives us in his Preface to the latter -.... To these we add the fact of his seclusion in Scethrog, and his relations with his twin-brother Thomas, who... began or resumed the study of alchemy and of the Hermetic philosophy of Cornelius Agrippa. (p.16.) Their influence, like the influence of Herbert, may have reached him at the time of his "conversion", this particular time when he was more than ordinarily impressionable; and revived or sharpened latent powers of intuition".
- * (Insert) the change between Olor Iscanus and Silex Scintillans, we take the

The Publisher's statement "to the Reader" at the beginning of Olor Iscanus is the first annunciation of this change. The dedicatory letter of 1647 gives no hint of it. But it is not until 1650 with the publication of the first part of Silex Scintillans that proof and result appear. (1) Some idea of the reception given to the earlier part may be gathered from the circumstance that the second edition (1655) is composed of the unsold copies of the first part unchanged (with the exception of the prefatory matter and some verbal alterations in "Isaac's Marriage"), and bound with the new and shorter part which has a pagination of its own.

The reason that Olor Iscanus was "condemn'd to obscuritie", together with Vaughan's own explanation of his new condition, is set forth in the Preface to this second edition of Silex. After speaking of

1. This volume contains seventy three poems (including a paraphrase of Psalm 121) totalling just under three thousand lines and has also prefatory material consisting first of a latin poem headed "Authoris (de se) Emblema" which refers to an engraved title-page following it and thirdly of a fourteen line dedicatory poem to Christ. On the upper half of the title-page is a representation of a flaming hear of flint (silex scintillans) dropping blood and attacked by a hand thrust forth from the clouds and grasping a thunder-bolt. See also p.249. Temperance and Patience: "Certaine Divine Raies breake out of the Soul in adversity, like sparks of fire out of the afflicted flint". See also the poem in "Authroposophia Theomagica" Waite p.33. and "The Tempest"

If I must
Be broke again, for flints will give no fire
Without a steel, O let thy power cleer
Thy gift once more, and grind this flint to dust.

p.462.

The edition of 1655 contains 56 poems (including paraphrases of two psalms) totalling 2263 lines. An index to both parts is added in the second. In this second edition the engraved title-page together with emblem and the poem on the emblem has been replaced by a printed title-page. The author's Preface, dated 1654, appears now for the first time and is followed by a number of texts, the dedication (now extended to forty-six lines), and the poem beginning "Vain Wits and eyes".

"lascivious fictions", "idle books", and the "evil disease" of writing them, he adds:

And here, because I would prevent a just censure by my free confession, I must remember, that I myself have for many years together, languished of this very sickness; and it is no long time since I have recovered. (1)

And then he expresses his thankfulness that his "greatest follies" have been suppressed, and that those which have escaped this fate are fairly innocuous and "are interlined with many virtuous, and some pious mixtures". After further condemnation of the flood of profane literature then sweeping over the country he gives in a sentence what he believed to be the clue to his change of convictions and interests:

The first, that with any effectual success attempted a diversion of this foul and overflowing stream, was the blessed man, Mr. George Herbert, whose holy life and verse gained many pious Converts (of whom I am the least) (2)

Between 1647 and 1650, then, Vaughan also had come under the influence of "The Temple", which had been published in 1631.

The question of the extent of Vaughan's "debt" to Herbert has aroused some acrimony (3). The debt was, of course, twofold. And Vaughan, who was never wanting in gratitude where it was due (see his own remarks in the Dedicatory Epistle to Olor Iscanus) acknowledges very freely what seemed to him to be the more important part. The earlier poet's influence had "checked" his blood and "tamed"

1. p.390.

2. p.391.

3. ~~of. "The Match" p.434.~~

it.(1) The record of the conversion to another way of life of one whom he resembled in many respects,- a man of poetical temper, and gifts, meditative habits, deeply religious and finding that religious sense best satisfied by the doctrines and practices of the Anglican communion and yet withal drawn to the world, - the record of the conversion of such a one might well move him. He realized, and probably through Herbert's renunciation of "the way that takes the town", the wastefulness of the continual adjustments necessary for the social success he craved. It seems to have taught that for one of his mobile temperament compromise would nullify and that if he were to keep his sensitiveness he would have to practice the true epicureanism of denial. The many entrances by which ^{his} nature received had their corresponding egresses and he seems to have felt himself governed by so many ill-conciliated impulses that there was danger of his energy splaying out fruitlessly.

Loose, parcell'd hearts will freeze: The Sun
with scatter'd locks
Scarce warms, but by contraction
Can heat rocks;
Call in thy Powers

(2)

Herbert by concrete example may have shown him that the innocuous follies of the ordinary man would prove fatal to him and that triviality, - "fancies, friends, or neues",- (3) was his deadliest enemy. Apparently Vaughan came to feel that the neutral, unalarmed

1. See "The Match" p.434.

2. "The Resolve" p.434.

3. p.433.

state was the state of emergency. Because his conversion resulted in a contracting of his activities and a narrowing of his powers, this redemption from the commonplace cannot be regarded as less catastrophic than the Pauline conversion or less enabling.

To a nature so complex and vagrant even when charged with an integrating purpose, restriction provided as importunate a challenge to arms as Donne's more positive besiegers. Although Donne's struggles are the more cataclysmic and earth-shaking they hardly involved more laceration of soul. (1) Nearly half the poems of *Silex Scintillans* show internecine conflict. As the poem beginning significantly "Lord, bind me up" discloses, Vaughan's is the story of a temperament too various and versatile kept with difficulty to one path; of energy normally spent in divers activities practical and mundane now disciplined into meditation:

I School my Eys, and strictly dwell
Within the Circle of my Cel,
That Calm and silence are my Joys
Which to thy peace are but meer noise.
At length I feel my head to ake,
My fingers Itch, and burn to take
Some new Imployment, I begin
To swel and fome and fret within
Thus do I make thy gifts giv'n me
The only quarrellers with thee,
I'd loose those knots thy hands did tie,
Then would go travel, fight or die.
Thousands of wild and waste Infusions
Like waves beat on my resolutions,
As flames about their fuel run
And work, and wind til all be done,
So my fierce soul bustles about
And never rests til all be out. (2)

1. See "The Relapse" 433.
I had slippt almost to hell
And on the verge of that dark
 dreadful pit,
Did hear them yell.
2. "Misery" p.472.

His confession is not of sin usually so called and generally condemned;
his failing is "good fellowship",

So my spilt thoughts winding from thee
Take the down-rode to vanitie.....
..... Excesse of friends, of words, and wine
Take up my day, (1)

and his prayer

Settle my house, and shut out
all distractions (2)

is the petition of one expansive and sociable in disposition
requesting aid to abjure "This world's ador'd felicity" (3). "Those
knots thy hands did tie" cannot refer to bereavement, sickness or
misfortune in material things because these were "knots" it would
have been futile to propose to "loose". He is referring to a self-
enforced bondage the knots of which would have been only too easy to
untie. (4) The tone of one who has made himself remote from the
struggle by decision, the accent of a painful, but accepted, renunc-
iation, is seldom so plainly heard as in "The World",

I hear, I see all the long day
The noise and pomp of the broad way:
I note their Course and proud approaches:
Their silks, perfumes and glittering Coaches.
But in the narrow way to thee
I observe only poverty,
And despis'd things: and all along
The ragged, mean and humble throng
are still on foot, and as they go,
They sigh and say; Their Lord went so! (5)

More often, as in "Disorder and frailty" (6) the notes are those of

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1. "Misery" p.472.
 2. "The Match" p.435.
 3. "The Request" p.647. See also "The Ornament" p.507.
 4. See "The Ass" p.518, 11.9-10.
 5. p.651.
 6. p.444.

one in medias res who feels that a moment's relaxation would mean defeat. (1)

To the Silurist, vulnerability was in itself a sign of guilt. But his constant self-flagellation and deliberate cultivation of a sense of guilt, of "holy Grief and soul-curing melancholy" (2) show his mind and provide an index to his special motive and mood of self-husbandry, hence of creation. External bustle had been subdued, but the inner condition was always one of crisis. It is not easy to distinguish cause from effect, reason from result, in the "joyes, and tears" (3) alternating in the pendulum swing of Vaughan's spiritual life. But it would seem that he worked on the theory that discontent, - "healing tears", "grief that shall outshine all joys"

grief so bright 'Twill make the Land of
darkness light. (4)

were signs of health and that happiness was to be regarded as a warning. The theory is jocularly expressed in a late secular poem:

The Poet, like bad priest,
Is seldom good, but when opprest:
And wit, as well as piety
Doth thrive best in adversity. (5)

1. His images, however, are not taken from warfare; appropriately enough his figure denoting failure in the spiritual life is that of a withering root, shrivelled "leafs"; a shower represents refreshment; and sap denotes strength. See "Disorder and frailty" p.445; "Unprofitableness" p.441; "The Shower" p.641; "Mount of Olives" p.476; "The Sap" p.475. "The Revival" p.643; "Affliction" p.642.
2. "Fair and yong light" p.513.
3. "Love and Discipline" p.464.
4. "Jesus Weeping" pp. 504-5.
5. "To the Editor of the matchless Orinda" p.621.

For this reason there must be no attempt to cease his oscillations at the point of satisfaction and so endeavour to prolong it. Something of the "nosce te ipsum" principle (1) of the Hermetists seems to have led him to contrive automatic alarms against relapse, mechanical goads to further effort. A study in the self-knowledge which can afford attempts at self-deception as an exercise of strength or discipline or punishment is yielded by the spectral doubts he allows himself:

My forward flesh crept on, and subtly stole
Both growth, and power; Checking the health
And heat of thine: That little gate
And narrow way, by which to thee
The Passage is, He term'd a grate
And Entrance to Captivitie;
Thy laws but nets, where some small birds
(And those but seldome too) were caught,
Thy Promises but empty words
Which none but Children heard, or taught. (2)

Distrust, together with other small self-indulgences, minute iniquities, were part of his scheme because of the extravagant atonement they demanded. Progress was made on the impetus of repentance; the more abject the swing back, the greater the momentum forward.

Thus while thy sev'ral mercies plot,
And work on me now cold, now hot,
The work goes on, and slacketh not,
For as thy hand the weather steers,
So thrive I best, 'twixt joyes, and tears,
And all the year have some grean Ears. (3)

1. See for example Agrippa p.460. "Occult Philosophy".
2. "Repentance" p.448.
3. "Love and Discipline" p.464. See also "Affliction" p.642.

In all this system of artificially induced stimuli and incentives the main lever or fulcrum is a conviction of guilt with the consequent necessity for "purgation" and penance. Even so, and it is a point which needs stressing, the smaller transient wishes were voluntarily sacrificed to a larger ultimate desire, and the result is inadequately defined as "compensation". Life supplied opportunity enough of unhappiness, but self-pity with its negative fruitfulness was exchanged for a more urgent motive. Credit must be given for the magnitude of the conviction which was able to press on through a tangle of lesser conflicts and for the will that harnessed his own weaknesses. And here it may be observed that the fusing of interests occasioned by his conversion has its counterpart in an amalgamation, a coalescence of faculty,- emotion, will, intellect,- with a mixing and a heightening of the senses. It is akin to that hearing with the understanding of the heart (*intellectu cordis audite*) of which Thomas makes mention (1). It is expressed in such phrases as "My gazing soul" (2) "the bloud of all my soul", (3) "As loud as blood" (4) and was responsible not only for a development of consciousness until it partook of his

(1) *Anima Magica Abscondita* p.77.

(2) "The Retreat" p.419.

(3) "Misery" p.474.

(4) "The Stone" p.515. Had it not been for his prose explanation, Wordsworth's "Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman"

In sleep I heard the northern gleams..

...I heard, I saw the flashes drive,
would supply a parallel.

whole nature, but also, it might be thought, for the increased effort of composition and some of the weaknesses in his work. His wit came from him "like bird-lime, brains and all". It was the expression of his wholeness, his total being. The process of Vaughan's kind of poetical osmosis, an absorbing and exudation from every pore, demanded more energy than any function, as, for example, that immediate response to external stimuli displayed in the secular poems, performed singly. And, since his inspiration was henceforth to be more within himself, there was with his new independence some isolation and a too complete reliance on a personal standard. Sometimes, perhaps, he is too thoroughly inward and his thought revolves round some hidden axis. Remembrance of an audience might have cleared away some roughnesses and obliquities in his work.

The fullest account of his "Regeneration" is found in the poem with that title which is given first place in the first part of Silex Scintillans and which owes a good deal to Herbert's curiously incomplete poem "The Pilgrim" (1). The allegory and its interpretation in a general way is clear. The writer, oppressed with a sense of bondage, has stolen out and the poem opens with the contrast presented between the high spring in nature and the spiritual frost within him. So deadly is this frost that it seems to kill the surrounding beauty and he finds his "Primros'd" way transformed into "a monstrous, mountain'd thing". At last his toilsome ascent terminates at the "pinacle" (the point of decision) and there he finds a

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1. It is strange that earlier commentators have not seized on the resemblance or even, as far as I am aware, noted it.

pair of scales with which he weighs first his "late paines" (troubles of ascent) and then his earlier pleasures; the pleasures (with the sense of guilt they occasion) weigh the heavier.(1) On the command of a voice (the voice of conscience) he turns away to the place where Jacob wrestled with God. He then (as the next step in the regenerate life) enters a stately, but shadowed, grove (signifying, perhaps, temptation (2) which in its turn gives way to a new scene (the rewards of repentance or of overcoming temptation) beautiful with flowers and the "vitall gold" of the sun. The only sound breaking the silence is the splash of a fountain, the bowl of which contains "divers stones, some bright, and round Others ill-shap'd, and dull." These are probably, as Mr. Blunden suggests, Herbert's poems and the dull ones are his many imitators. Then his wondering gaze falls on a bank of flowers, some of which are alive to the sun's rays whilst others are strangely, asleep. The flowers may perhaps be interpreted as those souls who have won their way to this Paradise, some of whom seek greater favours whilst others are content to lose the time in slumber, inattentive to the mysterious wind which now blows through the place. The writer, awestricken, seeks to discover the origin of this wind which blows without stirring a leaf, but without success until a voice whispers "Where I please". And the writer in response begs that what he now

1. See also "Repentance" p.449.

But when these came unto the scale,
My sins alone outweigh'd them all.

2. Mr. Blunden, the only critic who has attempted a detailed interpretation of this poem, "On the poems of Henry Vaughan" p.21, suggests that the grove symbolises "a closer walk with God". The passage is obscure, but if it has the particular significance given it by Mr. Blunden, why was Vaughan "amazed" at the beauty of the next scene?

realises is the Breath of God may blow on him, so that before the death of the body, he may already be dead to sin.

The general meaning is at any rate perfectly clear and Thomas' book Lumen de Lumine, besides supplying in connection with this particular poem several instances of that interplay of idea, fancy and phrase so noticeable in the work of the two brothers, has a chapter heading, - "The Regeneration, Ascent and Glorification"-(1) which would stand both as summary and title of his brother's poem.

The next poem is the first of the three in the debate form; in all of them the soul and the body are the speakers. The first entitled "Death" has a good deal of the realism of its medieval ancestors. Death is

A neast of nights, a gloomie sphere,
Where shadowes thicken, and the Cloud
Sits on the Suns brow all the years,
And nothing moves without a shrowd. (2)

But in this particular debate the "flyting" element is non-existent and the Soul addresses the Body as a tried partner in her travels and recalls the experiences they have gone through together from (as it may perhaps be interpreted) the moment of conception through "that night Wee travell'd in" to the longed-for freedom of birth. And now once again in the moment of Death the Body will return to the Earth from whence it came:

But thou
Shalt in thy mothers bosome sleepe
< - - - - - Whilst the Soul is left to face the judgment.

An enigmatic, but rich, poem and one which would reward more attention than it seems to have received.

In the second of the Debate poems, entitled "Resurrection and Immortality", the Soul takes up the common but ungracious stand of a stern school-mistress toward the humble and uninformed Body.

Poore, querulous handfull! Was't for this
I taught thee all that is? (1)

she says, when, after describing exquisitely the "drowsie silk-worme" with her "weake, infant hummings", the Body seeks to take heart of grace from the illustration thus displayed of Providence's care for this least of creatures. But all carping must cease before the Soul's beautiful exposition of a favourite theme of Vaughan's :

For no thing can to Nothing fall...
For a preserving spirit doth still pass
Untainted through this Masse,
Which doth resolve, produce, and ripen all
That to it fall;

The poem continues with a rare blend of Platonic fervour and the sense of calm certainty which belongs to Christianity, the whole bound together and ending on a note of humble and wistful prophecy entirely Vaughan's own:

..... We shall there no more
Watch stars, or pore
Through melancholly clouds, and say
Would it were Day!

The last of the dialogue poems is the very short "The Evening-watch". In it the Body bids a happy adieu to the Soul so that it may rest awhile, but asks like a tired child,

How many hours do'st think 'till day?

to which the Soul replies, less like an Instructress here and more like a kindly nurse:

Ah! go; th'art weak, and sleepe. Heav'n
Is a plain watch, and without figures winds
All ages up.

There is nothing naive in the exalted tone and highly wrought form of "Resurrection and Immortality". But the note implicit in the first and last of these three poems had been heard before in our literature; the shepherds in the first Nativity plays are to be found talking in this way, familiarly, about sacred things.

A dozen or more of the poems in *Silex Scintillans* introduce Biblical figures. They are drawn with all the living grace and freedom of early frescoes and interpolate themselves like bright pages of illustrations amid the more sober discourses on sin and righteousness. As in "Righteousness", the Patriarchs have the leading roles in many of his mentally enacted dramas, and, where Scripture is silent, Vaughan does not shrink from inventing minor details to make the picture of their domestic life more complete. "Isaacs Marriage" shows ~~th~~he felt himself if not a member of the tribe, yet an old friend of the family. So thoroughly was he in spirit one of the Children of Israel that "Egyptian" is among his most defamatory adjectives. (1) Consideration of Biblical personages and happenings also had a practical value in affording example and guidance:

Besides, thy method with thy own,
Thy own dear people pens our times,
Our stories are in theirs set down
And penalties spread to our Crimes. (2)

His picture of the angels who appear to man

And familiarly confer
Beneath the Oke and Juniper (3)

recalls a Claude "Landscape with the Angel", - a seventeenth century background of trees, castle-crowned hill and bridge with the angelic

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1. See "The Relapse" p.433 and "Cock-Crowing" p.488.
 2. "White Sunday" p.485.
 3. "The Jews" p.499.

visitant anachronistic in white wings; but there is also in Vaughan's description of past ages something of the sadness of Poussin mourning a lost Arcadia.

In general, similar treatment is extended to New Testament subjects and here Vaughan's manner is especially reminiscent of the habit of those primitive masters who painted Jerusalem as one of their own turretted cities and made the Madonna in feature and garb one of their fellow citizens. There is almost something of a medieval love of legend-making in his embroidery of Biblical story and a kind of imaginative piety. But beyond the superficial feeling of quaintness induced by his mixture of ancient and modern, his scenes from the Bible done in modern dress demonstrate not only the vitality of the original but the power of the interpreter. Unlike Crashaw, who by exaggeration gives an air of almost grotesque unreality to his Weeper, Vaughan in the poem called by her name (1) gives a simple but timeless humanity to his Magdalen and by the addition of particulars concerning the family seat, Magdal castle, and her (seventeenth-century) style of hair-dressing sheds the light of everyday around her and gives authenticity to the scene. Widely separated epochs are united in his imagination by common, unchanging traits. Evil-doers throughout the ages vary only in name and the heat of indignation into which he here works himself against the Pharisees is identical with that which he felt against both the Egyptians and some of his contemporaries. In the poem "Ascension-day" saints and angels join in the bustle as if to celebrate the triumph of a civic hero:

What stirs, what posting intercourse and mirth
 Of Saints and Angels glorifie the earth?
 What sighs, what whispers, busie stops and stays;
 Private and holy talk fill all the ways?
 They pass as at the last great day, and run
 In their white robes to seek the risen Sun. (1)

So, too, in "The Shepherds" there is the same kind of recreating
 of the scene and in such lines as

And now with gladsome care
 They for the town prepare,
 They leave their flock, and in a busie talk
 All towards Bethlem walk
 To see their souls great shepheard, who was come
 To bring all straglers home (2)

there is what might be called the right kind of "matter-of-factness".

Among the finest of the many fine things in Silex
Scintillans is a group of elegies headed by the sign ¶ (3). Six of
 them are in the first part and two (three, if "Fair and yong light!"
 be counted as an elegy) were added in the second part. All except one
 commemorate with exquisite tenderness some young person recently
 dead and the remaining and best known "They are all gone into the
 world of light!" probably refers to some of the friends he commem-
 orates in separate elegies in Olor Iscanus, as well as to later
 losses.

The most quoted is also probably the finest of these
 poems. In "They are all gone into the world of light!" there is
 no "fine excess" and, because image and thought are so perfectly
 fused, there is no "surprise". The mood is defined and sustained
 as if the theme had been long in his mind and produced itself ready

1. p. 481.

2. p. 471.

3. Not all the poems marked in this way are elegies. "Thou that know'st
 for whom I mourne" p.416; "Come, come, what doe I here?" p.420. "Joy
 of my life! while left me here" p.422; "Silence, and stealth of
 days!" p.425; "Sure, there's a tye of Bodyes!" p.429; "I walkt
 the other day (to spend my hour,)" p.478.

clothed when the moment came for utterance. It shares with a few other great poems the quality of being accepted immediately because of its inevitability in phrasing. (1) But the first two lines each of the fourth and tenth stanzas have something musty and second-hand about them, as if Vaughan had met them in another setting and utilised them here. There is interest in comparing Vaughan's

Dear, beauteous death! the Jewel of the Just,
Shining no where, but in the dark;
What mysteries do lie beyond thy dust;
Could man outlook that mark!

with Raleigh's "Eloquent, just and mighty Death!" and in noting the two aspects worn by the same thing; one to the man of action, another to the contemplative. Nor does a comparison of Vaughan's figure in the last stanza,

Either disperse these mists, which blot and fill
My perspective (still) as they pass,
Or else remove me hence unto that hill,
Where I shall need no glass

with what may have been its original (in the "Religio Medici"),

Those that imagine heaven and hell neighbours..
...do too grossly conceive of those glorified creatures whose
eyes shall easily out-see the sun, and behold without a perspective
the extremest distances... (2)

damage either passage.

If "Silence, and stealth of dayes!" and "Come, come, what doe I here?" appeal by simple directness, "I walkt the other day" is a distinguished example of Vaughan's oblique method.

1. O holy hope! and high humility
High as the Heavens above!

and

O Father of eternal life, and all
Created glories under thee!

2. XLIX.

"Intricate and rare" in process, the poem illuminates en route the dimmer side galleries of Vaughan's mind, and at the half-way point in the fifth stanza there is a moving and skilful abandonment of allegory. Crashaw's treatment of a similar notion in "Upon the death of Mr. Herry's" seems by comparison external and rhetorical. In all of these elegies, the tone of resignation adds to the sense of suffering they convey and the pitiful counting of days, even hours,(1) that have elapsed "Since thou art gone" show a life divided in two, into before and since. He forearms by forewarning himself against ultimate forgetting by insisting on its inevitability:

Sure, there's a tye of Bodyes! and as they
 Dissolve (with it) to Clay,
 Love languisheth, and memory doth rust
 O'r-cast with that cold dust....
 false, short delights
 Tell us the world is brave,
 And wrap us in Imaginary flights
 Wide of a faithfull grave. (2)

In all of the poems is the sense that this kind of grief is sent to remind those left that this is not their abiding city, that earthly ties and the flesh may be less strong,

That heaven within him might abide,
 And close eternitie.

In all of them is the thought that the dead act as beacons, "Pillar-fires", pilots:

Gods Saints are shining lights: who stay
 Here long must passe
 O're dark hills, swift streames, and steep ways
 As smooth as glasse;
 But these all night
 Like Candles, shed
 Their beams, and light
 Us into Bed. (3)

-
1. p. 420, 425.
 2. p.429.
 3. "Joy of my life!" p.423.

And in all of them is the assurance that the dead are happy in a heaven which preserves them "most fair and young"(1) It is not by the presentation of the consolations of Christian theology, however, that these poems will live,- beautiful as many of these ideas are. It is rather in the picture they present of one passing through an experience common to all men and, because of greater capacity, suffering more than most men and availing himself of the anodynes invented by man for the dulling of pain. Although some protest might be registered at such needless self-chastisement as

But 'twas my sinne that forc'd thy hand
To cull this Prim-rose out, (2)

Vaughan is prompted by the instinct which is not the monopoly of holy and humble men of heart; he shares in the universal groping to discover a reason and a plan. His faith is reassuring to most beholders and his expression of it here has a general appeal. These laments are full of human grief for one carried off to "some other bowre" (3) into inaccessibility. They have nothing of the sublimity of Milton's threnody on the transient beauty of the world and Wordsworth's conception of identity engulfed,-"Rolled round in earth's diurnal course"-has nothing in common with the spirit of these poems where pathos and a sense of personal loss is uppermost.

"The Search", composed in trance-like mood, scene

1. "I walkt the other day" p.478.

2. "Thou that knowest" p.417.

3. Op.cit. p.478.

succeeding scene, with the rapidity of things imagined by a crystal gazer, has a couple of lines which both in feeling and manner recall something, but something so elusive and intangible that pursuit of it seems almost a waste of spirit:

Never did tree beare fruit like this,
Balsam of Soules, the bodyes blisse.' (1)

The subject and alliteration recall Gerard Manley Hopkins and his lines:

Thou mastering me
God! giver of breath and bread;
World's strand, sway of the sea;
Lord of living and dead;
Thou has bound bones and veins in me,
Fastened me flesh (2)

and then led by the same poet's "Harry Ploughman",

Hard as hurdle arms

the trail is found with Piers and so finally a little farther back we arrive at the journey's end with

Puhte me paet ic gesawe syllicre treow

and we realise that perhaps unknowingly Vaughan has mustered by association and reminiscence the splendour and the pathos of the Dream of the Rood, and with it some of the riches of that ancient literature of the Tree of Glory, geared with gold, brightest of beams.

"Peace", (3) a relic, perhaps, of Vaughan's soldiering days, stands out for completeness of visualisation and compactness of structure. The chief work is done in the first four lines, but with unwonted steadiness Vaughan manages to effect an appropriate diminuendo in the same key instead of the collapse which a fine opening

1. p.406.
3. p.430.

2. "The wreck of the Deutschland"

too often heralds.

A comparatively unknown poem, "The Pilgrimage" (1) in its opening three verses supplies one of the few examples extant of Vaughan succeeding mainly by artistic intelligence and critical accuracy of arrangement. The lines have a calculated evenness of colour and weight and they are perfectly controlled and timed.

As travellours when the twilight's come,
And in the sky the stars appear,
The past daies accidents do summe
With, Thus wee saw there, and thus here.

The Jacob-like lodge in a place
(A place, and no more, is set down,)
Where till the day restore the race
They rest and dream homes of their own.

So for this night I linger here,
And full of tossings too and fro,
Expect stil when thou wilt appear
That I may get me up, and go.

Wordsworth, when the effect aimed at was monotone and monochrome, neutrality of manner, with the employment also of the natural order of the words, hardly excelled these verses. (2).

In the better known of Vaughan's two poems entitled "The World" (3) the first great announcement, "I saw Eternity the other night", is followed by detailed interpretation, dictated by private bias, which is not part of the apocalyptic, impersonal vision to which he returns in the last stanza. But Vaughan never excelled in realism this etching, sombre and acid-bitten, of statesman and miser. Remarks on this poem are best confined to Vaughan's technical accomp-

1. p.464.

2. A commentary on poetic method is supplied by the fifth verse where the tone deepens, the pulse quickens as if with greater personal feeling. The matter of the verse is borrowed from Boethius; an extended paraphrase will be found in Vaughan's translation of Thalia Rediviva p.630.

3. p.466.

lishments and here much might be said in praise of the craftsman able not only to evolve a rhythmical plan unpredictable in fluid movement but able to repeat the marvel in four stanzas. Nor is it possible to pass unnoticed the instinct or acquired acumen which led him to bind together the first three lines of each stanza with rhyme and so provide for the chief statement a strongly fortified bulwark about which the succeeding rhythms flow, break and recede.

Perhaps some reference to the first of the poems entitled "Mount of Olives (1)" sheds light on the urbanity of the long couplets in the second "Mount of Olives" (2).

An unaccustomed mood of serenity,

Such a rich air of sweets, as Evening shows
Fand by a gentle gale Convey and breath
On some parch'd bank, crown'd with a flowrie wreath

is mirrored in phrases which suggest that he had perhaps been perusing the works of Denham or of Randolph and those other "learned swaines" who had contributed to the Annalia Dubrensis and who had thus inspired or provoked him to sing of the as yet neglected Mount of Olives. (3)

1. p. 414.

2. p. 476.

3. p. 414. Cotswold, and Coopers both have met
 With learned swaines, and eccho yet
 Their pipes, and wit;
But thou sleep'st in a deepe neglect
Untouch'd by any; And what need
The sheep bleat thee a silly lay
 That heard'st both reed
 And sheepward play?

"Abel's blood" harks back also to the strong eloquence found in

Olor Iscanus,

O accept
Of his vow'd heart, whom thou hast kept
From bloody men! and grant, I may
That sworn memorial duly pay
To thy bright arm, which was my light
And leader through thick death and night (1)

and proves Vaughan a warrior still.

There are many other poems in this volume which repay detailed attention,— "The Ornament", a pre-Bunyan vision of Vanity Fair; "And do they so?"; "The Sap"; "The Timber"; "Vanity of Spirit", probably the best single illustration of his quality; "The Stone"; "The Retreat"; "The Ass"; "Childe-hood"; "The Night"; but these all gain by being grouped with others of mutual relevance. Few of Vaughan's poems are perfect units. Considered against the background of his general thought, individual poems stand out as brief separate statements in a larger argument. Or they are like the Usk with its pools where the rapid flow of the current is temporally checked but, having emerged from one slow eddy, it hastens on to the next. So Vaughan halts to ponder, but leaves afterthoughts, foreshadowings, linking poem to poem.

CHAPTER 4.

The Prose Works, 1651-1655.

The composition of Silex Scintillans was not the sole fruit of Vaughan's conversion and the resulting spiritual activity of the years 1651-1655. This period saw also the publication of his little known prose works, or "interpretations", as Dr. Grosart terms them. Most of them are translations with latitude but in others Vaughan has committed unacknowledged burglary. (1) Unlike the verse translations which are mainly secular, Vaughan's prose is wholly religious. But although controversial matters and politics occasionally enter, Vaughan does not follow the example of his illustrious contemporary and make the productions of his left hand a vehicle for the conveyance of his views on religion as one of the "three species of liberty which are essential to the happiness of social life". Vaughan's are personal meditations and personal exhortations unfettered by general considerations of Church policy or the hyper-subtleties of theological disputation.

Even if little of it is entirely "original", all is worth attention as indicating the lines of Vaughan's thinking, the extent of his reading, the range of his interests. When he has

1. Mr. Martin in his notes has dealt with the sources of Vaughan's prose and his treatment of them.

thrown off his singing robes he is expounding himself as truly as in his poems and indeed the personality of the man comes through in some ways more distinctly since he talks at greater length. The natural result of this freedom is the looser texture, the lower key, which belongs to prose. Naturally less finely parsimonious in words than Silex, the prose, whilst dealing with the same themes as the poems, is winged by fervour rather than by art. It belongs to a world apparently inoculated against humour.

The short pamphlet, Of the Benefit Wee may get by our Enemies, a Discourse written originally in the Greek by Plutarchus and Englished from the Latin of ... Reynolds by H.V. Silurist was published in 1651. It opens with a passage showing Vaughan in his element discoursing of "Mankind in that first age of the world" and giving a sketch of that early and simple life. On further reading it proves to be as matter-of-fact an essay on the uses of enemies as Bacon's on the manifold uses of friends. With the same arguments as he employs in Silex Scintillans in "Affliction" (1) Vaughan shows how enemies may be turned to good; as God by the judicious mixture of frosts and shows binds and cherishes the powers of man, and as sicknesses have their disciplinary value, so enemies may well be a spur to endeavour and watchfulness. Though less closely written than Bacon's, this essay is almost as rich in graphic phrases, some of them of a Baconian terseness:

For as long as wee have an enemy to
consume and weare out our ill affections upon
wee shall give the lesse distast to our friends. (2)

-
1. p.439.
 2. p.107.

We may learn from an enemy

as from a kind of cheap school-master. (1)

and

We should pass by a tongue given to detraction
as by a rock used to the froth and scumme of the
waves. (2)

Backed up as it is by classical example and enlivened by many a strange anecdote, the discourse provides one of those shrewd attempts to show the reasonableness of virtue and the philosophical roots of practical affairs, which were so appreciated in Vaughan's day.

Two short treatises, Of the Diseases of the Mind and the Body, both published in 1651, one from Plutarch and the other from Tirius, "a platonick Philosopher", show Vaughan's professional interest in this question, and anticipate dimly modern theories of psychotherapy. Not even Vaughan can make Tirius anything but wearisome as he slowly unwinds all the details of the analogy between a prince and the soul, the people and the body, thereby proving that diseases of the soul are worse than diseases of the body. The involution of the argument is mirrored in the meandering style and Vaughan must have fled with joy to the Plutarch. The Plutarch he produces unwithered, though abridged, (it is the shortest of Vaughan's prose works) in this brief non-technical article on a subject of enduring interest, written in a stimulatingly professional manner, short, balanced and antithetical in structure:

Moved then with these reasons, I hold an Outward
blindnesse more tollerable than an Inward and the paine of
the Gout, than the Dotage of the mind. (3)

-
1. p.104.
 2. p.105.
 3. p.112.

In Guevara's Praise and Happinesse of the

Countrie-Life, (1) Vaughan again had a congenial and familiar subject. There is a strong utilitarian element about this account of life with three acres and a cow. High up on the list of advantages is the fact that a man's importance is greatly magnified in the country. nobleman or citizen will find more of honour, reputation and authority living on his estate in the country than at court, for

There the lustre of greater persons makes theirs to be of no notice; but in his Country-house he is Lord alone, and his Wife is Lady, there he is really honour'd and admir'd of all (2)

Very sinister is the allusion to young physicians

This Privilege also the Country hath above other places, That there are in it neither young Physicians, nor old diseases. (3)

Was he even then pondering over the assertion made in Hermetical Physic (4) "A new Physician must have a new churchyard"? (5)

The entire ingenuousness and the very individual turn of the phrasing tempt quotation, but perhaps of more interest as being a foreshadowing of what was to be a favourite topic for Vaughan to dwell upon and brood over in Silex Scintillans is his remarks about a primitive patriarchal society, a society which shows the Royalist principle carried into domesticity:

O too too fortunate, and in every Circumstance most blessed and happy Husband-men! who marry their Children to their neighbours, and live alwaies within the breath of their Sons in law, their grand Children, and their families. (6).

1. From the title-page it would appear that Vaughan translated direct from the Spanish. A Latin version of the original was, however, published in 1633 (Martin) and it seems likely that Vaughan's was a translation of this Latin.

2. p. 124.

3. p. 128.

4. p. 588.

5. p. 588.

6. p. 133.

The Mount of Olives, written in 1651 as shown by the dedicatory letter to Sir Charles Egerton, but not published until 1652, comprises three pieces of which the first and longest is a small manual of devotion. The manual consists of brief sermons or "Admonitions" on such subjects as the spiritual uses of night followed by prayers to be said on waking and on rising, or on "How to carry thyself in Church", and giving advice on meditation. A table of contents was appended so that the reader could turn immediately to the appropriate place. That the little manual was prepared to meet the special situation in which the devout found themselves at this time is proved by the Preface which is so full of a sense of "The Trouble" and which refers malevolently to those "who assume to themselves the glorious stile of saints" (as the Cromwellians called themselves) and have no need of "these helps" (1). Although as he says in the Preface, Vaughan has avoided the "many fruitlesse curiosities of Schoole-Divinity" he has not avoided the common fault of devotional prose,—that of lapsing into mere Biblical quotation and of making his book into a pasticcio culled from Patristic writings. He himself however in speaking of his Sacred Poems has given a hint of the interest which this volume has for us when he speaks of his fear

lest instead of Devotion, I should trouble
thee with a peece of Ethics. Besides, thou hast
them already as briefly delivered as possibly I could,
in my Sacred Poems.

The Ethics to which he refers is undoubtedly the poem entitled "Rules and Lessons" already published in the first part of *Silex Scintillans*; nor is it difficult to discover the same mood in his

meditations on the Communion in The Mount of Olives as in his sacred poems on the same subject, or in the prayers he suggests in time of persecution and heresy and adversity as in his various poems on the Civil War.

Bound with the Volume bearing the general title The Mount of Olives is a kind of sermon called "Man in Darkness, or A Discourse of Death". From a literary and humane point of view this is far more valuable than the first part of The Mount of Olives, principally because it is less of a tessellation of pious opinions and more Vaughan. The piece warrants special attention also because it has something of what has come to be thought a seventeenth attitude towards life (which means towards death) and shows that distinction of style which seems to have been the rightful heritage of the writers of serious prose in that century. If analysed it can be seen to be in three parts; the first part illustrates the shortness of life and the inevitability of death in stately and musical phrasing:

The Contemplation of death is an obscure melancholy walk, an Expatiation in shadows and solitude but it leads unto life, and he that sets forth at midnight, will sooner meet the Sunne, than he that sleep it out betwixt his curtains..... The first man that appeared thus, came from the East, and the breath of life was received there. Though then we travel Westward, though we embrace thorns and swet for thistles yet the businesse of a Pilgrim is to seek his Countrey. But the land of darknesse lies in our way, and how few are they that study this region, that like holy Macarius walk into the wilderness, and discourse with the skull of a dead man? We run all after the present world, and the Primitive Angelical life is quite lost. It is a sad perversnesse of man, to preferre warre to peace, cares to rest, grief to joy, and the vanities of this narrow Stage to the true and solid comforts in heaven. (1)

The second part consists in an almost Mohammedan attempt to convert the reader by force; and is resented as such. The rôle of browbeater of the unregenerate sat far more easily on Milton than on the Silurist and we are not convinced by Vaughan's threats. Vastly more persuasive is the poetical "Ubi sunt.,?" lament for the "great Merchants of the earth":

Where is now their pompous and shining train?
Where are their triumphs, fireworks, and feasts, with all
the ridiculous tumults of a popular, prodigious pride?
Where is their purple and fine linen, their chains of
massie gold, and sparkling ornaments of pearls? Where are
their Cooks and Carvers, their fowlers and fishers? Where..
.....? (1)

Poetical it should be. It is a rough translation of Petrarch (De Otio Religiosorum, lib.11), and it has behind it a sorrowful train of dirges for vanished beauty, all with a similar burden:

Hwaer cwom mearg? hwaer cwom mago? hwaer cwom mappumgyfa?
Hwaer cwom symbia gesetu? hwaer sindon seledreamas?

The last section describes with almost Miltonic vehemence the tortures awaiting the unrepentant and it is clear that in Vaughan's nature there was room for sternness.

In 1652 comes also "Man in Glory: or, A Discourse of the blessed state of the Saints in the New Jerusalem". The letter to the reader, perhaps, though unwittingly, gives the clue for Vaughan's desire to translate this rather undistinguished tract of Anselm's. Anselm, had been deprived of his See just as the Silurist's twin and his friend Thomas Powell had been deprived of his living, for

Striving to keep entire the Immunities of the Church
(which the spirit of Covetousnesse and Sacriledge did then
begin to encroach upon) (2)

1. p.172.

2. p.192.

The dissertation itself recounts very methodically the joys of heaven reduced under headings a) for the body, as Beauty, Activity and so on and b) for the soul, as Wisdom, Friendship. Unfortunately the allurements of the headings is lost in the aridity of the treatment and style generally; One can only wish that Vaughan had felt as free to translate with latitude in this treatise as he did in some of his others. Heaven then might have had a more decorative and potent appeal and the writer's method would have been to decoy men, rather than argue them, into righteousness.

The Epistle Dedicatory dated 1653 of the volume entitled Flores Solitudinis published in 1654, is of biographical interest, and may perhaps be thought to shed some light on the composition of the second part of Silex Scintillans. As the title-page informs us, these flowers of solitude were collected during "his Sicknesse and Retirement" and the tone of lassitude and weariness is apparent all through his letter to Sir Charles Egerton, in the Preface to the Reader and especially in the first of these four discourses, the one entitled "Of Temperance and Patience". This discourse, translated from the Latin of Nieremberg, is a mild exhortation of egregious length (it is easily the longest of the devotional prose works) to all men to obtain these two virtues named in the title which, according to Nieremberg, comprise the art of living. Vaughan's brief inserted comments and his longer omissions (1) cannot disguise the fact that the original is written pedestrianly, has a drearily didactic intention, and that it resembles a wide desert having the small oasis of a vivid phrase at infrequent intervals.

1. See Mr. Martin's notes.

Its companion discourse "Of life and Death" has the same author, but the style is unrecognisably exalted either by the translator or, and this is more likely, by the subject. To us it might seem that "A Cypress Grove" had given final utterance to the theme of "O World! O Life! O Time!" It appears ^{however} that in Vaughan's day each man thought it incumbent upon him to produce his version or paraphrase. Life and

this hospital and valley of villanies which we
call the world (1)

conspire to act as foil against which the manifold benefits conferred by death shine more clearly. Although the horrors of vermiculation are characteristically not forgotten and its inevitability is utilised as chief argument for a calm reception of the dissolution of the body, death is acclaimed also as a positive agent and as the releaser of the soul. In its riddling, paradoxical turns of thought it recalls the Religio Medici. Nor is it too high praise to suggest that at times its music has some of the notes of Urn Burial:

Life is a wild and various madnesse, disturbed with passions, and distracted with objects; Sleepe (like Deathe) settles them all; it is the minds Sabbath, in which the Spirit, freed from the Senses, is well disposed and fitted for Divine intimations (2)

Life is a fraile possession, it is a flower that requires not rude and high winds, but will fall in the very whispers and blandishments of fair weather. (3)

Sleepe is nothing else but death painted in a night-peece; it is a prelibation of that deepe slumber, out of which we shall not be awaked until the Heavens be no more: We go to bed under a Scene of Stars and darknesse, but when we awake, we find Heaven changed, and one great luminary giving light to all. (4)

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1. cf. "A Cypress Grove" "this woeful hospital of the world". There is a curious anticipation of Marvell's fancy in this discourse "Of life and Death": "So the Cogitations of a Christian, which are the roots by which he sticks to Heaven (for every Christian is a tree reversed,) when they look towards the west, or setting point of life, are healing and salutiferous." p.296.
 2. p.292. 3. p.300. 4. p.304.

The third of the Flores Solitudinis is a translation of an epistle of Eucherius entitled "The World Contemned". The title is sufficient comment on the subject matter and the Tract is written in a style of almost Augustan plainness, so smooth as to enhance the monotony of the adjurations given. Very much more palatable is "Primitive Holiness set forth in the Life of blessed Paulinus" (1) After a general introduction serving to convey to the reader the general standards of holiness by which the subject of the biography is to be judged, Vaughan outlines his method of narration:

In the explication of his life I shall follow first the method of Nature, afterwards of Grace: I shall begin with his Birth, Education, and Maturity; and end with his Conversion, Improvements, and Perfection. (2)

This, the most original of Vaughan's prose works, is also in many ways the most attractive, and breathes the charm of his personality. His various convictions play through the work, appearing and disappearing, blending, sometimes lying side by side, as they existed in his mind. His eyes stray, as always, to the past for the real poetry of living; earth at present is not worth the enjoying; it is corrupt and "poysoned with the curse" and affords the most unhappy contrast with the golden age in which Paulinus was born "when Religion and Learning kissed each other, and equally flourished". Vaughan's High Church sympathies

assert themselves in his insistence on the holiness of the priesthood:

1. Vaughan may have become acquainted with Paulinus in his work on Ausonius. There seems however, to have been two contemporary Paulinus both connected with Bordeaux and both connected with Ausonius. The correspondence quoted by Vaughan between Ausonius and Paulinus will be found in Ausonius' Epistles to his pupil who was afterwards Bishop of Nola. There is ~~extant~~, however, a Latin poem of some six hundred lines called "The Eucharisticus" which was formerly attributed to St. Paulinus of Nola. The history of the author differs in important points from the known history of Vaughan's hero and it is surmised that the author of this poem was the grandson of Ausonius. See introduction to Loeb edition of Ausonius and "The Eucharisticus". Mr. Martin and Miss Guiney in their respective editions give references to Vaughan's sources for his life of Paulinus
2. p.340.

"every man can speak, but every man cannot preach". This is dangerous ground; the atmosphere grows tense whenever Vaughan comes near anything which reminds him of contemporary affairs. And so, becoming malevolent, he continues:

We have amongst us many builders with hay and stubble, but let them and those that hired them, take heed how they build; the trial will be by fire, and by consuming fire. The "hidden things of dishonesty, the walking in craftiness and the handling deceitfully of the word of God" they are well versed in, but true sanctitie, and the Spirit of God, which St. Paul thought he had, I am very sure they have not. (1)

The Royalist in him comes out in his remarks concerning "the greatest part of men, which we commonly terme "the populacy", which is a stiffe, uncivil generation", without any honour or goodness and capable of nothing but self-seeking. Finally he inquires contemptuously:

What virtue or what humanity can be expected from some son of a butcher? (2)

It would not be possible however for Vaughan to continue long in this strain, and his treatment of charity shows a profound sense of pity as well as his own benign piety. Charity is a relique of that early life in Paradise and pity (3) is the strongest argument that we are all descended from one man. And, with a gracious sophistry, Vaughan proves pity to be as valuable to its owner as a rare jewel inasmuch as he will quickly discover in all distressed persons kindred with whom he had not hitherto been acquainted; nor is it difficult after reading his last utterance on the subject to see the country doctor noting with compassionate eye

the respective status of man and beast and after grave reflection coming to this conclusion:

The afflictions of man are more moving than of any other creature; for he only is a stranger here, where all things else are at home. (1)

Vaughan can hardly take a place among our greatest biographers; he is not critical; the work is deficient in perspective and is not well proportioned. In the end the personality of the writer is clearer than that of the saint he is describing. But as an essayist on saintliness, or sensitiveness to the woes of the world, or some of the other graces of Christianity, especially when, as in the present instance, all these things are gathered up and exemplified concretely in a person, then Vaughan is rival to Walton. He is less garrulous perhaps, but as serene in outlook, as limpid in style and he has the same sense of humble devoutness both to God and to his subject. Were it not that he lacks the faintly acidulous humour that contributes so much to Fuller's powers as raconteur, Vaughan would be also of the company of the author of the lives of the worthies and the "Holy and Profane state".

Vaughan's next excursion into prose, the third in length, his last, and in many ways most important, was his selection from the Hermetical Physick of Nollus. Because for various reasons to be mentioned later, there is little doubt that Hermetical Physic and philosophy influences very extensively what might be called Vaughan's secular thinking, some account of the theories associated with the Hermetists is necessary.

The origins of Hermetical doctrines are wrapped in mystery. Greece had her own Hermes of the winged hat, sandals and "rod twy-serpented" who was herald of the gods, patron of farmers, god of science and inventions, of eloquence and other exercises of the mind. Egypt had her Thoth, counsellor and friend of Osirus, also founder of arts and sciences and later dignified by the epithet "Trismegistus" ("superlatively greatest"). The two gods and their reputations became mixed, but at what date no one is able to say with definite authority. During the third century the name Hermes Trismegistus seems to have been regarded as a convenient pseudonym for the authors of the various syncretistic writings, in which it was sought to combine neo-Platonism, Philonic Judaism, and Cabalistic Theosophy (1)

Few of these early Hermetic writings, and then only in Latin and Arabic translations, survive. (2) The Hermetic art was the name given to Chemistry on the supposition that Hermes Trismegistus was the inventor of Chemistry or that he excelled in it, prior to Aesculapius. Very early in the middle ages this art developed an offshoot known as alchemy and it was this branch which later identified itself with the cabalistic notions of the Rosicrucians and finally monopolised the

1. cf. Sir Epicure Mammon:

I'll shew you a book where Moses and his sister
And Solomon have won her of the art,
Ay, and a treatise penn'd by Adam -
The Alchemist Act 11. sc.1.

2. The best known of them is the Divine Pymander, a book made up of statements about nature, the origin of life, medicine the orders of the celestial beings

name "Hermetical". (1)

Hermetical philosophy is one of the most curiously fascinating mixtures of philosophy, science and religion that man has achieved in the course of his ancient search for an explanation of the universe. The inclusion of Platonic doctrines guaranteed that it should have a considerable element of mysticism. The art of its devotees was a divine gift; its secrets were revealed to a very few; those who possessed it could only enjoy it fully by stripping themselves of all sin (2). The very patois of Alchemy is highly mystical and symbolical and there is much that is quite unintelligible in it when taken literally. (3). The principles of mysticism are, in fact, applied to matter,- to things on the physical plane; it was an attempt to prove by material means the validity of a mystical view of the Cosmos (4). To the Hermetists all forms of matter were one in

1. Thomas Vaughan in 'Magna Adamica' traces the art from Adam.

2. Surly says of the Alchemist:

Why I have heard he must be homo frugi
A pious, holy, and religious man,
One free from mortal sin, a very virgin.

The Alchemist, 11.1.

3. It is caricatured in the Alchemist:

Subtle: Was not all the knowledge

Of the Egyptians writ in mystic symbols?
Speak not the scriptures oft in parables?
Are not the choicest fables of the poets,
That were the fountains and first springs of wisdom,
wrapp'd in perplexed allegories? 11.1.

Thomas Vaughan's works supply abundant example.

4. The commonest allegory of the mortification of the flesh is found in the teaching that all metals have to be stripped of their outward properties before the inner essence or kernel can be reached or utilised and the figure of the transmutation of base metal into gold symbolised the raising into grace or re-birth of the soul. So that according to Helvetius, who claimed actually to have been in possession of a stone which turned other metals into gold and himself to have performed the magnum opus, ("The Golden Calf" Ch.1V The Hermetic Museum Vol.11.p.298) "The secret of Alchemy is the destruction of the body, which enables the Artist to get at, and utilise for his own purposes, the living soul."

origin. Soul only was permanent; the body or outward form i.e. the mode of manifestation of the soul, was transitory and one form might be transmuted into another. From this sprang the doctrine of "sympathy",— that tie or influence existing between bodies separated in space. If the universe is essentially one, then there is a correspondence or analogy between, and the same laws operate in, the spiritual and physical realm. Hence came the theory of the macrocosm (the external world) and the microcosm of man's body. Believing in a universal principle moving through and ruling man and nature; believing that the same laws operate through man and nature and that by discovering the secret, so the nature and manifestations of the soul might be understood, the Hermetists came finally to believe that this power was resident in a substance, the philosopher's stone, the elixir of life, a tincture, the quintessence. Hermetical philosophy, then, was a mixture of science, philosophy and religion and was to explain man and the universe.

But Hermetic philosophy itself was a secondary system, derived from Christianity and Platonism, and it had many adversaries. On the secular side it was regarded with fierce antipathy by the orthodox scientists, who, following Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, and later, Bacon, were content to advance slowly but, as they considered, surely, along well worn paths by induction and book knowledge. Hermetists went directly to nature for their information and their conclusions were the result of actual experiment. Thomas Vaughan may perhaps be permitted to act as spokesman:

I quitted this book business and thought it a better course to study nature than opinion. (1)

1. Anthroposophia Theomagica Ed. Waite, p.11.

Since the doctrines of Aristotle's great antithesis were early enshrined in Hermetical beliefs, the history of its vicissitudes adds something to the history of an ancient feud,— that between science and art, logic and imagination, reason and intuition. On the scientific side the great name in Hermetical tradition is Paracelsus, a figure never to be seen clearly or judged dispassionately because of the obscurity of the atmosphere, dimmed by legend and myth, which surrounds him like some of the fumes from his own alembics. His apocrypha suggests all the enchantments of life lived precariously amid crucibles, retorts and pelicans, in chambers garlanded with limp skeletons and alive with the bubbling of cauldrons and the ghibbering of apes. All the paraphernalia of charlatanry is there and more than the usual romance.

On the religious side the vendetta between the Schoolmen of the type of Thomas Aquinas and those, such as Raymund Lull and Cornelius Agrippa, interested in Hermetical and occult doctrines was no less fierce. If Paracelsus was the most picturesque personality among the saints of the cult, Agrippa may be thought of as its great apologist. His De Occulta Philosophia (of which an English translation appeared in 1651) was the completest and most honoured text-book among the Hermetists. Probably it was he among the Hermetists who first taught that the human mind was part of nature and enjoined that observation of the self which became one of their tenets:

Whosoever therefore shall know himself, shall know all things in himself; especially he shall know God, according to whose Image he was made; he shall know the world, the resemblance of which he beareth. (1)

1. Agrippa, "Occult Philosophy", trans. J.F. p.460.
cf. Agrippa. In man "there are the vegetative life of plants, the senses of animals, a celestial spirit, angelical reason and divine understanding, together with the true conjunction of all these towards one and the same and and divine possession"

From an early date alchemists were viewed with mingled awe and suspicion, as persons having commerce with the devil; This was one of the reasons alleged by the schoolmen for their rather pharisaical attitude to Hermetical doctrine. (1)

Actually, those genuine seekers after truth who were of the Hermetical persuasion seem to have conferred inestimable benefits on the scientific thought of the day. With its insistence on experiment and first-hand observation, Hermetic philosophy demanded of its exponents both daring and imagination and it is no mere coincidence that a century which witnessed a recrudescence, with all its abuses, of interest in occult lore, saw also far-reaching discoveries

1. Roger Bacon was among the first to be accused of dealings with the black art of sorcery and many lesser ones were to suffer for what seemed their necromantic practices. Several developments from Hermetic doctrines brought still more orthodox disfavour upon them. In 1614 there was published at Cassel in Germany a treatise called "The Discovery of the Fraternity of the Meritorious Order of the of the Rosy Cross, addressed to the Learned in General and the Governors of Europe". In it was outlined a scheme whereby those interested in Alchemy were to make themselves known to the Brethren of the Rosicrucian Fraternity by writing treatises on alchemistic art. The whole thing seems to have been a tremendous publicity venture for a young Lutheran Divine named Valentine Andrea. Many however, like Eugenius Philalthes, *Anima Magica Abscondita* thought the movement of enough importance and value to write a book on it. Perhaps Hermetical Philosophy's most sinister yet picturesque alliance with the Devil was manifested in the outbreak of witchcraft during the early part of the seventeenth century. cf. Ben Jonson's opinion of the Rosicrucian movement:

..... the chimera of the Rosie-cross,
 Their seals, their characters, hermetic rings,
 Their jem of riches, and bright stone that brings
 Invisibility, and strength, and tongues.

Underwoods. "Execration upon Vulcan"

p.399.

in science. The age of rationalism was beginning but empiricism was to have a place in it. Reason was to be allied to experience, which in science meant observation and experiment. Thus Hermetical philosophy, though changed, was re-animated.

In literature its percussions are felt sometimes strongly, sometimes remotely; sometimes as an alien invasion, sometimes as that universal explanation and panacea that it indeed sought to be. Aubrey under the portion of his Miscellanies headed "A collection of Hermetical Philosophy" gives valuable testimony to the impression the art made on an impartial antiquarian:

Natural Philosophy hath been exceedingly advanced within fifty Years last past; but methinks, 'tis strange that Hermetick Philosophy hath lain so long untoucht. It is a Subject worthy of serious Consideration: I have here, for my own diversion, collected some few Remarques within my own Remembrance, or within the Remembrance of some Persons worthy of Belief in the Age before me.

Donne, (1) though giving allegiance to Scholastic philosophy, bestows more than a mere glance of curiosity at its rival. The Hermetic doctrine of "antipathy and sympathy", at least, Donne feels is worthy of refutation and he admits that Paracelsus is honoured, though unworthily, as author of the new science:

Then Galen, rather to stay their stomachs than that he gave them enough, taught them the qualities of the four elements, and arrested them upon this, that all differences of qualities proceeded from them. And after (not much before our time), men perceiving that all effects in physic could not be derived from these beggarly and impotent properties of the elements, and that therefore they were driven often to that miserable refuge of specific form, and of antipathy, and sympathy, we see the world hath turned upon new principles which are attributed to Paracelsus, but (indeed) too much to his honour.

Gosse 1.175.

1. Miss Ramsay in her book "Les Doctrines Medievales" pp 272-280 Donne deals more fully with Donne's attitude to Paracelsus and so although the subject deserves fuller treatment than I have given it here, it seems better to give a general reference to Miss Ramsay's book.

In his sermons, also, Donne has no compunction in quoting Agrippa's definition of "the natural spirit" (1)

The natural spirit is a mediate substance of which the soul is united with the body and the flesh, and by which the body lives and performs its functions. (2)

And even if he finally decides that no confidence can be placed in the scientific theories of the Hermetists, and that Paracelsus was one of the coadjutors of Beelzebub, Donne at least in Ignatius Conclave had reason to be grateful for the store of picturesque images with which the art supplied him. Alchemy, the restorative properties of gold, the elixir, quintessence, the tincture, the theory of the microcosm and macrocosm, all appeal to the poet's imagination and are employed by him.

In this matter, as in all others, Sir Thomas Browne pursues his independent course. How far he gives intellectual assent to the Hermetical philosophy admits of a wide solution. He can hardly be said, however, to be committing himself when he writes :

Now, besides these particular and divided Spirits, there may be (for ought I know) an universal and common Spirit to the whole World. It was the opinion of Plato, and it is yet of the Hermetical Philosophers (3)

He is known to have corresponded with Lilly the astrologer and reckoned worthy of credence Dr. Lee, the alchemist who claimed to have turned pewter into silver; his belief in witchcraft was tragically demonstrated. Nor can his definition of what for him constituted grounds of belief be thought to shed much light on his creed:

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1. Alford VI 45. Quoted by Miss Ramsay. "Doc. Med." p.235.
 2. Occult Philosophy p.461.
 3. Religio Medici. XXXII (Part 1)

I am now content to understand a mystery without a rigid definition, in an easie and Platonick description. That allegorical description of Hermes (Sphaera cuius centrum ubique, circumferentia millibi) pleaseth me beyond all the Metaphysical definitions of Divines. (1)

In less equivocal fashion, however, he salutes one of the Platonic conceptions of the philosophy of Hermes,

The severe schools shall never laugh me out of the philosophy of Hermes, that this visible World is but a Picture of the invisible, wherein as in a Pourtraict, things are not truly, but in equivocal shapes, and as they counterfeit some more real substance in that invisible Fabrick.

(2)

He is dubious about the medicinal value of gold (3); astrology he treats benevolently (4); he alludes in passing to the tincture (5) and to "The secret sympathies of things" (R.M.XlX) Paracelsus he mentions several times, generally disapprovingly, but once as an authority on medicine (6) but in Christian Morals (7) besides several allusions to Trismegistus' sphere, there is a disapproving mention of Trismegistus' dogmatism. The theory of the macrocosm and microcosm receives his unqualified assent. (8) But it is in the cardinal doctrine of Hermetical science that the Physician of Norwich shows most affinity with the art and hence with Vaughan. It is from a study of "Nature, that universal and publick manuscript" (Part 1 R.M.XVI) that advance in knowledge may be expected:

1. Religio M. Part 1. 10.
2. Religio Medici Part 1.Xl1.
3. Pseudodoxia Epidemica 2.5.
4. Pseudodoxia Epidemica 4.13 and R.M. XVll1.
5. Letter to a Friend p.390.
6. Letter to a Friend p.372.
7. Part 2. Chap.3.
8. See Appendix for passages illustrating his attitude.

pp 345, 306

The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar heads that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works; those highly magnify him whose judicious enquiry into His acts, and deliberate research into His creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration. RM 1.13.

So, Browne, like Vaughan, is not one of those Christians who

disdain to suck divinity from the flowers ,.....

... And thus I call the effects of nature the works of God, whose hand and instrument she only is; RM.XVI

Thomas Vaughan's attitude is much more strongly marked than Donne's or Browne's or the Silurist's. For external evidence we have the already quoted testimony of Anthony `a Wood to his fame as

a great chymist, a noted son of the fire, an experimental philosopher, a zealous brother of the Rosicrucian fraternity,

Butler's "Character of an Hermetic Philosopher" for which it was generally considered Thomas sat, and Powell's commendatory verses (1) Conclusive proof of his adherence to Hermetic principles is to be met on every page of his writings. It is as a Hermetist that he writes and his books are composed solely in support of Hermetical doctrine against that of the Schoolmen and for the exposition of the art. Of his great hero Cornelius Agrippa he says

He indeed is my author, and next to God I owe all that I have unto him. Anthroposophia Theomagica, Ed. Waite.p.50.

Even if Henry had not been congenitally inclined to the occult, the close tie of affection and association between the brothers would render it almost impossible that he should escape contact with this, the life long enthusiasm of his twin. But the Silurist could never

1. p.36. See Waite's edition of Thomas Vaughan's works p.Xiii.

accept anything entirely as it was presented to him. And so, whilst we find many of his views coloured by Hermetical notions, often he will be discovered using terms and phrases of the Hermetical art figuratively or with private meanings and reservations. His system does not lie foursquare with that of the Hermetists and where he borrows he has interpreted in a more delicate fashion than his brother and contemporaries. But a knowledge of Hermetical principles performs the same office here as a familiarity with the complete volume from which a man frequently quotes. It offers vast resources of suggestion and enrichment, as if these single coins of his were but a token of untold wealth hoarded away. And where he has imperfectly explained himself, the traditions he worked upon often yield a solution.

His poems, particularly his religious poems, offer the most interesting and probably, finally, the most reliable proof of the Silurist's acceptance and treatment of some Hermetic doctrines. But direct evidence of his views is to be found in his translations, published in 1655, of Nollius' work on Hermetical Physick. Vaughan's book is a selection from the original and made more valuable to us by the translator's additions and explanations. (1)

The superiority of Hermetical Physic, over the theories of Galen is emphatically asserted from the beginning and proof given in examples of illnesses ~~which~~ cured by the Hermetists which were considered incurable by the Galenists.(2) Vaughan's addition to his original is valuable evidence of his own opinion of the value of

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1. Mr. Martin in the notes to his edition has illustrated Vaughan's relationship to Nollius.
 2. p.549.

direct experiment:

Now all the knowledge of the Hermetists proceeds from a laborious manual disquisition and search into nature, but the Galenists insist wholly upon a bare received theorie and prescribed Receits, giving all at adventure, and will not be perswaded to inquire further then the mouth of their leader. (1)

But, he adds, the ideal seeker after truth must be "unbiassed and addicted to no Sect". The first precept given is to lead a pious and holy life; (2) meat should be "simple and unarted" because

Nature is one, therefore doth she most delight in one kinde of meate and drink. (3)

The best kind of medicine to take in the spring is one impregnated with the

Physicall tincture (4) but others use only the phosophicall stone... the dose of the universall medicine, is the weight of one graine. (5)

Study of "the greater World" reveals the laws governing "the lesser World", that is in the body of man(6)

The diseases affecting man are either "Mercurial, cold and moist; others sulphureous, hot and dry" (7)

and the places in which they are generated, such as

the inferiour Region, the breast, the stomach, and the belly; as in the superiour.. which parts do exatly quadrate and correspond with the airy Region, and the subteraneous Concavities of the earth. (8)

Paracelsus, "the great father and leader of the German Philosophers" , is quoted in several places (9) with much respect and true to Hermetic doctrines the writer insists on the power of the imagination both to make/ and to

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| 1. p.550. | 2. p.552. | 3. p.555. | 4. p. 557. |
| 5. 9.558. | 6. p.561. | 7. p.562. | 8. p.562. |
| 9. pp 571, 577, 572. | | | |

cure disease, and gives examples of what modern psychology would recognise as obsessions, hysteria and extreme suggestibility (1) There is a "Universal" Medicine, a "natural medicine" which could be given to all sick persons regardless of the nature of their illness (2) which is comparable in power only to the Philosopher's Stone in the adjacent realm of alchemy and to Tartar, that almost universal cause of disease discussed in the earlier part of this book (3). The good Physician must be a sound Christian and also a student of nature and her ways of healing, and again Vaughan's comment on his original is illuminative:

And after all the coy of Academical licenced Doctors he onely is the true Physician, created so by the light of Nature, to whom Nature her selfe hath taught and manifested her proper and genuine operations by Experience. (4)

Among a number of good reasons why no Physician can cure some diseases is that "the time chosen for healing, together with the indisposition of the Stars, oppose the cure". (5) And again in a discussion of a Physician's duties we find Vaughan adding to the original in insisting on the Physicians' own observations being of importance. (6) The close connection between religion and this physic is demonstrated very plainly at the end of the treatise; no medicine is ever to be administered without sanctifying it "with the blessed name of Jesus Christ" (7) and

When the Patient is delivered from his disease, and restored to his former health, let him heartily and solemnly give all the glory to the Supreme, All-Mighty Physician. and let not the Physician forget to performe his duty, by a solemn and thankful acknowledgement of God's gracious con-
cessions, by choosing and enabling him to be his unworthy instrument to restore the sick. (8)

This treatise, of course, deals only with one branch of Hermetic art, - medicine. But even so, although partially detached from its background of Hermetical theory, it does illustrate some of the tenets, the insistence on a study of nature, the mingling of scientific, religious and philosophical which comprised the Hermetists' faith.

It is probable that both the brothers were in their early days interested in Hermetical philosophy primarily in their capacity as men of science. As Henry says in a letter to Aubrey dated June 28th 1680

I had but little affection to the skirts and lower parts of learning; where every hand is grasping and so little to be had - but neither nature nor fortune favoured my ambition. (1)

The material and scientific side, - the experimental part of it, - at first was the attraction. So much may be gathered from the Silurist's Preface to Hermetical Physic:

For my part I honour the truth where ever I find it, whether in an old or a new Booke, in Galen, or in Paracelsus.. I wish we were all unbiassed and impartial learners, not the implicate, groundlesse Proselytes of Authors and opinions, but the loyall friends and followers of truth. (2)

That the pseudo-science of alchemy had never any very strong hold on him is suggested by the reference in "To Amoret Weeping" to "base mud, and Alchymie" (3) and that it was later to become entirely repugnant to him is proved by his statement in Thalia Rediviva:

And my false magic, which I did believe
And mystic lies, to Saturn I do give.
My dark imaginations rest you there. (4)

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1. p.672.
 2. p.548.
 3. p.14.
 4. "The Importunate Fortune" p.614.

But that he was to the end even more favourably inclined to astrology than his fellow physician of Norwich is clear from part of the letter quoted above:

That the most serious of our profession have not only an unkindness for, butt are persecutors of Astrologie: I have more than once admired: butt I find not this ill humour amongst the Antients, so much as the modern physicians, nor amongst them all neither. I suppose they had not travelled so far, and having once entered upon the practise, they were loath to leave off, and learn to be acquainted with another world. (1)

Later there is little doubt that the religious and philosophical aspects loomed largest. The Christian element in Hermetical Philosophy would appeal immediately; its chief exponents had always kept in close touch with Catholicism, even when as in the case of Roger Bacon, they were suspected of being in close touch also with the evil one. Thomas has stated this belief as the chief theme of *Anima Magica Abscondita*. To one as deeply interested in his profession as Vaughan, the combination of medicine and religion would have a very potent appeal. He had already stated that

Every physician that desires to cure sick persons well and happily, must be a sound Christian, and truly religious and holy... The object of a physician is to be religious and he is unworthy to be permitted to be a Physician whose practice hath no other aim than to hoard up for himself the richness of this world. They are all impostors and faithless mountebanks, who professe Physik and its great ornament Chymistry out of such a sordid uncharitable and unjst design. (2)

In both the brothers' attitude to Hermetical Physic the features it has in common with Christianity are emphasised. (3)

The affinities with Christianity were not on any formal side; they consisted rather in the stressing of the "otherworldliness" which is one of the salient doctrines of Christianity, but which per-

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1. pp 672-3.
 2. p.579 Hermetical Physic.
 3. Agrippa p.176.

sisted in other religions and had existed some centuries before Christianity. The doctrine of Forms, Ideas and Reality as enunciated by Plato had made converts before the birth of Christ, and probably the chief value of Hermetical Philosophy to Vaughan was that it introduced him to Platonian, to a larger way of considering the things of this life and gave him a new set of values. To catch Platonism, people must be predisposed to it, and in this Vaughan was eminently eligible.

If Vaughan's prose has not been valued in the past it is because it has not been known. We can only bewail the absence of that

most accurate Treatise of Meteors, their Generation, Causes, qualities, peculiar Regions and Forms: what spirits governe them, and what they signifie or fore-shew.

which in Hermetical Physick (1) Vaughan had promised the reader he would "shortly communicate to him, (according to the Hermetic principles)" a treatise which might have ranked perhaps with Aristotle's lost discourse on Comedy. (2) Even so, hortatory and moralistic as much of Vaughan's prose is, for a complete picture of the man a knowledge of it is indispensable. It is not too much to say that all the concepts and most of the characteristics, all save those moods of mystical intuition, found in his poetry, - love of a primitive patriarchal existence and of that unshifting lodestar of his affections, - the

1. p.561.

2. Perhaps the treatise was to have been the joint production of the twins. Thomas in his address to the Reader in "Euphrates" speaks of a meteorology: "What I now reserve as to philosophical mysteries may be imparted hereafter in our meteorology." Waite p.386.

distant past; interest in the relationship between mind and body; reverence for nature and for the universal spirit in nature; devotion to the Christian faith and practices; his charity,- all are to be found represented in diluted form in his prose.

The prose, too, enables us to fit Vaughan into his place in the century in style no less than choice of subjects. As with Bacon, it is impossible to classify Vaughan's prose as ornate or plain. The variety of styles, from the brief antithetical fashion of the translation of Plutarch to the periodic rich manner of his version of Guevara, prove that that facility, the imitative power, that easy versatility which Vaughan feared in the composition of his poems was present with him also in the writing of prose. In his chameleon prose no style as unmistakably Vaughan's as that of Silex Scintillans is to be found. But a comparison of his Prefaces^{and} letters, with The Mount of Olives and Primitive Holiness indicates that where he is engaged in uttering his own thoughts without an original in front of him, his style is flexible, direct and graceful. In diction Vaughan's prose does not differ fundamentally from that of his poetry: which is to say that it is generally plain with Latin or learned words occasionally interspersed.(1) Less tumultuous than Milton's, less troubled and obscure than Donne's, less sumptuously rhythmical than Browne's, less efflorescent in phrasing than that of Jeremy Taylor, Vaughan's prose nevertheless has the sonorous quality which is the hall-mark of this age, with the richness of illustration, and the sombre music of its diction.

Such as
1. "Volutation", "oblectation", "dedignation"

CHAPTER 5.

After Silex Scintillans: life; Thalia Rediviva; letters; last years;

Obscurity shrouds Vaughan's doings between the publication of the second part of Silex in 1655 and the issue of Thalia Rediviva in 1678. It is not easy from Anthony a Wood's account to decide the decade in which Vaughan, after having followed those pleasant paths of poetry and philology in which he had become "noted for his ingenuity", applied himself to the study of physic. A Wood makes no mention of Silex Scintillans, and his term "afterwards" i.e., presumably after the publication of Olor Iscanus in 1651 rather than just after its composition earlier, is too vague to be of much service:

Afterwards applying his mind to the study of physic, became at length eminent in his own country for the practice thereof, and was esteemed by scholars an ingenious person, but proud and humorous.

A Wood's phrasing suggests that a good number of years was to elapse after the composition or publication of Olor before Vaughan took up his new study and that still more years were to pass before he was to practice. The first part of Silex shows very definite signs of an interest in medicine, but mainly on the theoretical and chemical side; in the second part, however, it would appear that the student has emerged from the laboratory and observed at first-hand the ravages of

pain and disease. Moreover, in a letter to Aubrey dated June 15th, 1673, Vaughan states that his profession is physic and that he has been engaged in it for many years:

My profession allso is physic wch I have practised now for many years with good successe (I thank god!) & a repute big enough for a person of greater parts than my selfe. (1)

There is nothing here which can be called decisive evidence either way, but the most likely conjecture is that, armed with the Bishop's licence, Vaughan began to practice as a doctor at the time of or soon after the publication of the second part of Silex Scintillans in 1655.

Information concerning a physician's life in the seventeenth century is not lacking though very few details concerning the Silurist's are available. From our knowledge of Sir Thomas Browne's activities and those of Herbert's "Country Parson" it is clear that the functions of parson and physician overlapped and that physic and divinity were administered almost impartially, perhaps simultaneously. In that hilly country, means of transport would be limited to horseback and the picture drawn in Olor Iscanus (2)

Just so jogg'd I, while my dull horse did trudge
Like a Circuit-beast plagu'd with a goutie Judge,

might well be prophetically descriptive of the country doctor who was later to go on his rounds among the Silurians. Of his personal habits the most noticeable is his early rising (3), a habit associated always in his mind with meditation and worship, though it may have been a matter of professional necessity almost as much as private choice.

1. p.668.

2. p.52.

3. See "Vanity of Spirit" p.418; "The morning-watch" p.424;
"Rules and Lessons" p.436; "The Dawning" p.452;
"The Day-spring" p.643.

He found time for angling and it is more than possible that the Usk flowing past his door at Newton, with a salmon pool but a hundred yards distant, supplied him with the salmon which he passed on with a homily to Dr. Powell. (1)

The Restoration did not give Vaughan the unalloyed happiness that it might have been expected to bring to so ardent a Royalist. Times were still evil, and men's ways still unjust (2) and Vaughan, as for example in "The true Christmas", seems to have become more rigid in his condemnation of such pleasures as the Court of Charles II certainly did not eschew. Thomas' Memoriae Sacrum reveals that their father died in 1658 and an event of the same kind, commemorated in the poem "Daphnis", occurred to swell the woes of the decade after the Restoration. This was the decease of Thomas who, as the Silurist relates in letters to Aubrey, (3)

died (upon an imployment for his majesty)
within 5 or 6 miles of Oxford in the seaven & fortieth
year of his age, upon the 27th of Februarie, in the
yeare 1666. & was buried upon the first of March. (4)

The actual prose account in the letters is an unemotional announcement, but "Daphnis" adds confirmation to the other evidence as to the profound affection existing between the two brothers. This grief, arising from the loss of an attachment based as much on the logic of community of tastes, together with equality of status, as on the fraternal tie, was a thing with which one equipped by the years with the philosophic mind could cope more certainly than with that other, commemorated in the Silex elegies, in which there seems to have been a strain of unreason as if that younger love were of its own nature particularly uncertain and perilous.

1. "De Salmone" p.649.
3. p.667.

2. "Daphnis" p.659.
4. p.670.

Approximations of date have again to suffice when the question arises of Vaughan's second marriage. It would seem from the pedigree in the Harleian MS (1) that Vaughan's two wives were sisters, Catherine and Elizabeth Wise respectively, and that by Elizabeth there were four children in addition to those left by Catherine. The "Etesia" poems of Thalia may well refer to this second courtship as the "Amoret" poems of the 1646 volume may have been inspired by Catherine. On the subject of marriage generally, Vaughan is reticent but lines such as

for marriage of all states
Makes most unhappy, or most fortunates;

in "Isaads Marriage" have a heart-felt ring about them as if they proceeded from experience.

Vaughan's letters supply one or two small facts concerning his life in his "Cambrian solitude" (2). During June, 1673, he spent several days in Brecon

attendinge our Bishops Lady in a tertian
feaver, & cannot as yet have the leasure to step home
(3)

but he was back again at Newton by July 7th (4). Business in Glamorganshire detained him in that county for "the best part of the month" of November, 1675. (5) But an even more interesting fact is recorded in the already quoted letter of June 15th, 1673. In the "short Catalogue" he gives of his works in included

Thalia Rediviva, a peece now ready for the
presse, with the Remaines of my brothers Latine Poems.

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1. See Chambers Biographical Note p.xix, Muses' Library.
 2. p.601.
 3. p.667
 4. p.671.
 5. p.671.

This mention of a volume which was not to be given to the world until five years later is not the only indication that some, at least, of the poems in Thalia Rediviva were composed long before its publication in 1678. The poem entitled "The King Disguised" goes back to 1646 and "On Sir Thomas Bodley's Library; the Author being then in Oxford" may belong to an earlier date still; (1) "To the pious memorie of C.W. Esquire" must have been written fairly soon after the subject's death in 1653; for the same reason the poem on Judge Trevers must belong to 1656. "The Nativity", it is explicitly stated, was "Written in the year 1656". The commendatory poem by Dr. Powell and the three poems in this volume addressed to him obviously belong to a date anterior to his death in 1660 and Orinda had seen a number of these poems by 1664. (2)

In 1678 "Thalia Rediviva: The Pass-Times and Diversions of a Country-Muse..... with some Learned Remaines of the Eminent Eugenius Philalethes" was duly put forth. It contains no author's preface and by reason perhaps of its secular portion seems, like Olor Iscanus, to have been almost disowned by its maker. The contents of Thalia Rediviva may be divided into three; first in order and great^{-est} in bulk are the secular and early poems totalling over eight hundred lines; next come translations from the Latin; finally

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1. The theme is the secret journey of Charles to Newark in 1646 and it was "Written about the same time that Mr. John Cleveland wrote his" i.e. in 1646. Vaughan may have been with the King's troops at Oxford in 1645.
 2. Her commendatory poem "...upon these and his former Poems" was surreptitiously published in 1664.

finally there is the section headed "Pious thoughts and Ejaculations" composed mainly of religious poems and totalling just over 730 lines.(1) Some of the prefatory matter has interest. The epistle dedicating the work of "these Twin Poets" to the Earl of Worcester, who was a distant kinsman (2) is written in a strange Euphuistic style by one, J.W., who may also have written the commendatory poem signed "I.W. A.M. Oxon", and whose main interest, judging from this letter, seems to have been astrology. I.W. continues in the same style in his address To the Reader and manages not only to echo Vaughan's own words at the beginning of the 1646 volume (3) thereby drawing attention to the remarkable similarity in the style of these two addresses, but in his praise of the Silurist contrives also to paraphrase Milton on Shakespeare. This subtle compliment is followed up by a reference to the poems in this volume as mere "Diversions" but valuable inasmuch as "the matchless Orinda" commended them. Orinda herself voices the esteem in which she holds the Silurist and his work in the opening commendatory poem,- a poem as notable for the just comparison made of his secular and religious verse as for neatness of phrasing. The expertness of execution commanded by Orinda is painfully lacking in Dr.

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1. Thalia Rediviva contains 2102 lines excluding commendatory poems, of which 54 are in Latin and 452 are translations from Latin.
 2. Frances Somerset, granddaughter of Henry, Earl of Worcester, married William Vaughan of Tretower, the poet's great-great-grandfather.
 3. Vaughan, "the Dregs of an Age" p.2 cf. I.W. "the Lees and Dregs of time" p.596.

Powell's lines and in the Pindarics of "N.W. Jes.Coll. Oxon" it might be thought that fancy outstrips ability. (1) I.W.'s heroic couplets are less forced, if less aspiring, and convey something of that sense of the retrieval of lost poetic power with which Thalia seems to have impressed beholders, as if it had been for some time generally considered that the Silurist had abandoned the craft.

Vaughan's own productions begin with a poem "To his Learned Friend and Loyal Fellow-Prisoner, Thomas Powel" under the heading "Choice POEMS on several occasions", but it is discovered to be, in more senses than one, a false start. The jugglery with the parallelism between magnetism and friendship was hardly worth the performance and it is with the next poem, "The King Disguis'd", (2) that Thalia Rediviva and its pagination begins. But even this composition, inscribed in the riddles and hieroglyphs of which it makes mention for all its fervent loyalty can hardly evoke much response and it is not until the second poem, "The eagle" that Vaughan fulfils some of the claims made on his behalf by his sponsors. This is the poem which seems to have impressed N.W. and I.W. and it is of a nature calculated to arouse attention, if not admiration. Much in the conventionalised description which at first sight is puzzling, perhaps unsatisfactory, becomes clearer if what is probably his original be kept in mind. Medieval Bestiaries (or possibly the original of the Old English Bestiary, the *Physiologus* of Thetbaldus) with their Natura aquile and the Significacio, Vaughan would find a congenial study, and in this

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1. Apparently of later date since reference is made to the "declining years" of "the Uskan Swan"
 2. Among Thomas' Latin "Remaines" in this volume is a poem on Charles 1st.

poem the Significacio is not less plain than in its ancestors:

I will not seek, rare bird, what Spirit 'tis
That mounts thee thus; I'll be content with this;
To think, that Nature made thee to express
Our souls bold Heights in a material dress. (1)

"To Mr. L. upon his reduction of the Psalms into Method" however effective when read as satire cannot be regarded as a fortunate attempt when taken seriously, but the next poem, "To the pious memorie of C.W. Esquire", as noble a survey of a man's achievement as Vaughan ever essayed, ranks among the best in the volume. Vaughan in his role of

The Just Recorder of thy death and worth
gives a measured praise to which the measured advance of the heroic couplets he employs is accurately fitted, admirably suited. Whilst general agreement is likely to be felt with the terms of Mr. Blunden's allusion to "the maturing mood" of this poem (2) a mood mature inasmuch as the picture includes life going on in the background and public duty, social obligation, some in remembering the memorial poems in Silex may dissent from the conclusion that this is Vaughan's "greatest elegy". But all here is under control and deliberate and

Like a fix'd watch, mov'd all in order, still;
The Will serv'd God, and ev'ry Sense the Will! (3)

whilst the others with their elusive rhythms are more like the delicate, wandering airs struck from an Aeolian harp, evocative rather than completely expressive.

1. p. 607.

2. On the Poems of Henry Vaughan, p.23.

3. p.610.

Among those poems of astrological interest (1) which give a peculiar flavour and piquancy to this volume but do little to raise its status poetically, the most eloquent is undoubtedly that on "The importunate Fortune". Contributing also to the oddly mixed impression given by this collection are the three poems (in addition to those on Etesia) which seem to be connected with the Orinda circle. (2) One at least of these "Fida: Or the Country-beauty", - with its unfortunate beginning,

Now I have seen her; And by Cupid
The young Medusa made me stupid! (3)

its geographical survey of the subject's charms enlivened by illustrations fetched from the Elizabethan storehouse of lilies, coral and rose-buds, the banality of its final couplet, - is of the standard of the 1646 volume, whilst the "To Lysimachus" has the half-cynical keenness of observation and the masterful sweep of movement to be found in Olor Iscanus.

The seven poems to Etesia (one of them is in Latin), which conclude the secular original portion of the book, are difficult to place chronologically. Whilst their Jonsonian echoes, (4) their lightness of versication and displayed artifice of style (5) together

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1. See for example "In Zodiacum Marcelli Palingenii p.611 "To I.Morgan"
 2. "To Lysimachus, the Author being with him in London" p.612; (p.617
"Fida: Or the Country-beauty: to Lysimachus" p.618; "Fida forsaken"
p.620.
 3. p.618.
 4. p.623. "Have you observed how the Day-star"; p.625 "My brighter fair."
 5. p.625. See for example "(By no storms vex'd)" p.624. "Arm'd with
no arrows"; "Which no age tames" p.625; "mangled by no Lictors
axe" p 29; "did with no stormes dispute" p 68.

with the extravagance of the protestations, belong to the days of Amoret, there is, apart from the question of the difficulty Vaughan might have felt in addressing Amoret and Etesia simultaneously, a closeness in the weaving, an almost epigrammatical pointedness in expression which came after he had absorbed the lessons Donne had to give. Concerning the nature or genuineness of the passion declared and its connection with Vaughan's second wife, there can be no final pronouncement. None of these secular poems can be assigned with any definiteness to a date after his conversion and the second marriage almost certainly did not take place until some time after the publication of the complete Silex. The Fida and Lysimachus poems especially, possibly also those to Etesia, may well have been poetic exercises addressed to members of Orinda's circle. On the other hand, that on "Etesia absent", with its

But to be dead alive, and still
To wish, but never have our will:
To be possess'd, and yet to miss;
To wed a true but absent bliss:
Are lingring tortures, and their smart
Dissects and racks and grinds the Heart! (1)

if without a good basis in fact, proves Vaughan to have been on occasions as perfidious as any of his fellow bards.

Interposed between Thalia Redivia and the poems going under the heading of "Pious thoughts and Ejaculations" are the translations from the Latin.(2) As with those in Olor Iscanus, their function may be to increase the bulk of an otherwise too slender volume and also perhaps (since part of the "Consolation" is included) to bridge the gulf between secular and divine.

1. p.627.

2. See p . 63 et seq. and p.71 et seq.

As the title indicates, most of these poems, twenty in all, deal with various phases or aspects of the spiritual life. They are far closer to Silex Scintillans in style as well as in matter than to the first section of *Thalia Rediviva*. The ancient themes occupy Vaughan still. "Looking back" is another, though perhaps more serene, restatement of a familiar mood of retrospect. *Newton*, its orchard and bee-hives, and the country surrounding were the inspiration for "The Bee",

Here something still like Eden looks,
Hony in Woods, Julips in Brooks:
And Flow'rs, whose rich, unrifled Sweets
With a chast kiss the cool dew greets, (1)

until in line fifty-two the spirit of *Savenarola* comes upon the Silurist. "Retirement" offers one facet of the old passion for earth in her dual capacity,

Fresh fields and woods! the Earth's fair face,
God's foot-stool, and mans dwelling-place (2)

and "The World" presents the other side,- Vaughan's long discovered hatred for a "false and Foul World" which obliterates by its machinations the lessons and gifts of Earth. That the years had not diminished the cause for fear which was partly at the root of the abhorrence is made plain by the fervour of "The Request":

O thou! who did'st deny to me
This world's ador'd felicity,
And ev'ry big, imperious lust,
Which fools admire in sinful Dust;.....
Keep still my weak Eyes from the shine
Of those gay things, which are not thine,
And shut my Ears against the noise
Of wicked, though applauded Joys. (3)

Such poems as these reward detailed inspection. But, just as single

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1. p.652.
 2. p.642.
 3. p.647.

pieces in Silex gain coherence and force by being grouped with those to which they are akin, so the chief poems of "Pious thoughts and Ejaculations" are best considered with Vaughan's dicta in other volumes. So treated they illuminate and modify and are themselves given outline and depth.

Among the shorter unrelated compositions, "the Shower" is remarkable for the way in which the Crashavian ebullience, which gives a sense of strain to the beginning, disappears and the piece settles down into as dulcet and unaffected a representation of a mood of refreshment as Vaughan ever created.

Many fair ev'nings, many Flowr's
Sweeten'd with rich and gentle showers
Have I enjoy'd, and down have run
Many a fine and shining Sun;
But never till this happy hour
Was blest with such an Evening-shower! (1)

This transference inward of actual happenings in nature is duplicated in "The Revival" where in such lines as

Hark! how his winds have chang'd their note,
And with warm whispers call thee out.
And frosts are past, the storms are gone:
And backward life at last comes on. (2)

it is impossible to say where actuality ends and allegory begins.

But probably it will be generally agreed that the poem most liberally and variously requiting attention is "Daphnis: An Elegiac Eclogue". "Daphnis", written in commemoration of Thomas' death in 1666, is not only Vaughan's longest poem; it is the last which can be dated with any exactitude and, as his sole excursion into the pastoral form, it marks a new departure. These last two facts when combined epitomise tendencies observable in his later development

and perhaps when analysed even do much to explain the silence of his last years. For all the direct touches of country life, "Daphnis" has the traditional machinery of pastoralism and is something of a confession of an acceptance by Vaughan of convention in art, hence it may be discovered also, of a less individual, less subjective and flexible, standpoint in other matters. His precedent here was found more probably in Jonson's "Sad Shepherd" than in the "Shepheardes Calender" or "Lycidas" or the "Epitaphiour Damonis". (1) Where, as for example in the November elegy, Spenser revels in intricacy of melody and upon the artificiality of the pastoral form superimposes the artificiality of antique language or imagined "rusticall rudenesse", Vaughan cannot omit "swift Isca" or the things actually seen in Siluria and follows Jonson in marrying rural and courtly and in taking a via media between a strict observance of the form and the extreme freedom Spenser allows himself.

Even had the Virgilian quotation affixed to the title-page of Thalia Rediviva not been the one prefixed also to the 1641 folio of The Sad Shepherd, there is reminder enough in diction, chiefly in this poem but also in those to Etesia and in "The true Christmas", that the sway Jonson held over the first volume had now returned though with diminished force. The passage descriptive of Daphnis' escape from the evils of the day is but a paraphrase by the same hand of a passage in Olor Iscanus (2). But that this employment

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1. Menalcas, one of the interlocutors, bears the same name as the shepherd for whom Colin Clout is forsaken (S.C. June) and in both "Daphnis" and Spenser's February eclogue the felling of an oak-tree is utilised for the purpose of allegory; both contain hardly veiled references to contemporary happiness; stylistically there is some kinship in the use to which alliteration is put in these two poems. But these chance likenesses are not sufficient to counterbalance the essential dissimilarity.
 2. p.55.

of what had become a conventional idiom was no momentary remembering of outgrown things, isolated or casual, is established by the replicas discoverable in other poems of this volume of the new kind of description of landscape so evident in "Daphnis". It is a sort of delineation not necessarily composed of, but owning a near kinship to, the spirit of the idiom which reappears in this book; whilst richer and deeper, it is yet a development of the earlier secular attitude rather than an expansion of the convictions expressed in Silex. (1)

The Reader coming across such lines in "Daphnis" as

The greenwood glitter'd with the golden Sun
And all the West like Silver shin'd; (2)

is reminded of the bright and hard enamel work of "The Recovery"

Fair Vessell of our daily light, whose proud
And previous glories gild that blushing Cloud:
Whose lively fires in swift projections glance
From hill to hill, and by refracted chance
Burnish some neighbour-rock, or tree, and then
Fly off in coy and winged flams agen: (3)

and of the generalised and formal treatment of external nature seen incidentally in such poems as "To the Editor of the matchless Orinda" or "Retirement" or "The Bee" and in the surface sketches of 1646 or the translation of Ausonius. The extent to which this second change in vesture is indicative of an inner mutation, whether conversion or reversion, can only fully be gathered by comparison with earlier utterances. But there is no doubt that nature's purport to Vaughan came to assume a more orthodox, perhaps more ordinary, shape and that the change in this, one of his cardinal doctrines, was emblematic of others.

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1. cf "A Rhapsodis" p.10. 11.11-14.
 2. p.656.
 3. p.644.

From the self-denunciations of Silex Scintillans

uttered chiefly against dilettantism and framed to meet his special purpose, there is a change in Thalia Rediviva to a more mechanical view of evil. "The World" of Silex, emblem of matter hence of evil, has in the poem similarly named "The World" in Thalia, narrowed into a term mainly descriptive of society and its iniquities. From criteria continually shifting and re-adjusting themselves to person, hour, circumstance, in themselves forming a seismograph and seismometer for the registering of the smallest movement in the spiritual life and requiring constant tuning and attention, there is with his adoption of the cruder system of absolute standard,--(even when evidenced in so slight or elementary a fashion as the general condemnation of specific acts or classes of persons shown in "The true Christmas" or "The Bee",-- a relaxation of tension. The possession of a table of sins and a code of penalties doubtless tended to economy in nervous energy and hence assisted production on a lower level. It may be that Vaughan gained release by utterance from a state of preternatural stimulation where intuition was so sharpened as to make all judgments and values subjective, tentative, provisional and so more accurate. It may be that Vaughan whilst losing that extreme inner alertness found ease in a greater external rigidity and was able to devote himself to his profession and domestic affairs and live more as other men. As a man he may have gained the equivalent of what he lost as a poet. Some such reasons may be given to explain the lighter tone and to the falling off in power of Vaughan's last publication. Perhaps also the silence of the last seventeen years of his life may be accounted for similarly.

Even though the period from the publication of Thalia Rediviva in 1678 to Vaughan's death in 1695 is as undocumented as the earlier part of his life, yet the way in which these seventeen years were passed is a matter of less hazardous conjecture. Whatever his feelings may have been on the first publication of Olor Iscanus, Vaughan probably felt some gratification at its re-issue in 1679. That he continued successfully to practise as a physician in the neighbourhood of Llansantfrees is gleaned from his letters. These letters to his cousin Aubrey and à Wood show that the Euphuistic epoch of his prefaces was over but that the days of the epistolary art were for Vaughan as yet uneclipsed. Not of the day, however, but of Vaughan's own kind, is the humble and dignified courtesy of his thanks to Aubrey:

Breckon December 9th 75.

Your lre of the 27th of November I received butt the last week..... how wellcom it was to me (after your long silence) I will not goe about to express: butt assure you, that noe papyrs (wch I have the honour somtymes to receive from very worthie persons,) refresh me soe much, nor have soe dear an entertainment as yours. That my dear brothers name (& mine) are revived, & shine in the Historie of the Universitie; it is an honour we owe unto your Care & kindnes: & realie (dear Cousin!) I am verie sensible of it, & have gratefull reflections upon an Act of so much love, and a descendinge from yor great acquaintance & Converse to pick us up, that lay so much below you.

With the decline of his physical powers, perhaps also as a result of years of discipline, that exuberant, sometimes restless, vitality which had most perfectly condensed itself in the religious verse, that "proud and humorous" quality which in Olor Iscanus had found outlet in satire, mellowed (or so the letters seem to indicate) into a serener, more passive acceptance of good and ill. Although he

may have been spared such crushing personal sorrows as the death of "W" seems to have been, there is no reason to suppose that the usual disadvantages of age passed by him. There was no retraction of that quiet but startling utterance made in The Life of Paulinus:

Friendship is a thing much talked off, but seldom found; I never knew above two that loved without self-ends.(1)

His earlier sight of Eternity, however, did not spoil for Vaughan the satisfaction arising from the pursuit of his two chief interests, medicine and poetry. The momentary glimpses given by his correspondence of the foreground of Vaughan's later life are sufficient for the reader to gain some idea of the panorama beyond. We learn that his interest in "natures Dispensatorie" (December 9th. 1672)⁽²⁾ continued unabated and that by 1680 his predilection for astrology led him heartily to condemn "modern physicians" who

have not only an unkindnes for, butt are persecutors of Astrologie (3)

He was for a time in that year "a great way from home" and it was in that year that Aubrey in a letter to Wood stated that his cousin had a "great & steady practise". Vaughan lived to see another Revolution and in the year following he was, according to his letter to Wood dated March 25th. (4) recovering from "a tedious and severe sickness" and continued a "very weak and forlorn Clinic". In 1691, claiming that he had the gift of the next presentation of the benefice he

1. p. 353. The same may be said of the statement in Silex, "The Stone":

Man I can bribe, and woman will
Consent to any gainful ill. p.514

But some of the bitterness here may be attributed to poetic licence

2. p. 672.

3. June 28th. p. 672.

4. p. 674.

entered a caveat against any institution to the vicariate of Llandevalley.

The last letter, addressed to Aubrey and dated October 1694, is as appropriate a leave-taking as poet ever made. In it he expresses a happy enthusiasm about his researches into the mysteries of "the antient Bards" and an account, which he has found in a grammar, of the "later Bards" who had "several sorts of measures & a kind of Lyric poetrie.... This vein of poetrie they called Awen, which in their language signifies as much as Raptus, or a poetic furor".

Then follows the story of a young orphan lad who kept sheep on the mountains and who one day dreamed that

he saw a beautiful young man with a garland of green leafs upon his head, and an hawk upon his fist: with a quiver full of Arrows att his back, coming towards him (whistling several measures or tunes all the way) and att last lett the hawk fly att him. wch (he dreamt) gott into his mouth and inward parts, and suddenly awaked in a great fear and consternation: butt possessed with such a vein, or gift of poetrie, that he left the sheep and went about the Countrey, making songs upon all occasions, and came to be the most famous Bard in all the Countrey in his time. (1)

He died in 1695, on the 23rd of April,- the day of the year richest in such anniversaries,- and was buried in Llansantfread Churchyard, within call of that stream he had apostrophised earlier,

But Isca, whensoe'r those shades I see,
And thy lov'd Arbours must no more know me,
When I am layd to rest hard by thh streams,
And my Sun sets, where first it sprang in beams,
I'll leave behind me such a large, kind light,
As shall redeem thee from oblivious night. (2)

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1. p.675. It may be suggested in passing that the "John David Rhees or Rhesus" mentioned in this letter is the "Rice of Chester" and the "Rhaesus Cestrensis" alluded to in Thomas Vaughan's Euphrates p.397 400, and 407, whom Mr. Waite was unable to identify *See footnote p.397 Waite's edition of The Works of Thomas Vaughan, & Martin, p.707.
 2. "To the River Isca" p.39.

The inscription on his tombstone,- "Quod in sepulcrum voluit",- has seemed to many to offer the most perfect epitome of his humble piety:

Servus inutilis
Peccator maximus Hic iaceo
Gloria! † Miserere!

Some may perhaps find an even fairer synopsis of a life given unself-consciously to service and of a spirit ultimately so gracious and so grateful in the last sentence of that letter to Aubrey which is the last utterance of Vaughan's to come down to us:

Dear Gomsin I should & would be very ready to serve you in any thing wherein I may be usefull, or qualified to doe it, & I give you my heartie thanks for yor continued affections & kind remembrances of

Sr
Yor most obliged & Faithfull
Servant,
Hen: Vaughan. (1)

To complete the testimony, perhaps it should be added that he died without making any will and fulfilled, partially at any rate, the prophecy made in Silex Scintillans,

When I am gone,
I shall no ward-robcs leave
To friend, or sonne
But what their own homes weave. (2)

The value of his personal property proved to be £49. 4. 0₃,-a modest sum even in those days.

1. p.675.
2. p. 422. "Content"
3. Entry Book, Hereford Will Office. Chambers.

CHAPTER 6.

Attitude to nature. (1)

Vaughan left for his readers' guidance no definition of the term "nature". But his usage suggests always that he was in accord with his contemporaries in thinking of "nature" as the natural universe as distinguished from God or from art. Although a systematic body of doctrine concerning nature, external or human, is not to be found in Vaughan, yet with all his inconsistencies and the blind alleys in which determined seekers may find themselves, enough remains to give him an important place among pioneers in poetry.

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1. It was at first intended that this chapter should contain a complete account of Vaughan's relation to Hermetical Philosophy and should supply the chief research point of this thesis. To that end a good deal of reading in occult philosophy and consideration of Vaughan from this point of view was undertaken. This chapter (except for a final revision, mainly of phrasing) was as it now stands by March 1932 and a summary was read at a Seminar during that month. On the publication in June, 1932 of Miss Holmes' book "Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy" (embodying the results of five years study of the subject) I decided not to attempt to utilise Miss Holmes' valuable data and to offer these observations simply in illustration of the mode and sources of Vaughan's thought. Apart from the obvious difference in quality, it will be seen that my standpoint differs from that of Miss Holmes. Where Miss Holmes has focussed the interest on the great exponents of the Hermetic art, I have endeavoured primarily to expound the Silurist's views, incidentally showing his relationship to the Hermetists. A few points, not touched upon by Miss Holmes will, therefore, be found in this chapter. I am conscious that both the account of Hermetic Philosophy contained in the chapter on Vaughan's prose and that embodied in this chapter on Vaughan's doctrine must seem sketchy. The reason is that I came to the conclusion that to go beyond Miss Holmes' researches would take far longer than anybody wishing to deal also with the literary aspects of Vaughan's work could afford to spend.

The quotation from the **Book of Job** on the title-page
of the second edition of Silex Scintillans

Where is God my Maker who giveth songs in the night?
Who teacheth us more than the beasts of the earth, and
maketh us wiser than the fowls of heaven? (1)

with its linking of God, man and nature seems to be intended to indicate that theme or motif of the poems following. That he had worked out a creed on this triangle with God at the apex is fairly obvious from the eagerness with which he invites others to share it. But as his work stands, discrepancies and gaps offer targets and loopholes to any detailed criticism. The precise relationship between God and nature, for instance, is not very consistently set out. Where a direct statement is made Vaughan is impeccably Christian; the theology that he accepted taught that God had created the universe but was above it. So that consciously, at any rate, Nature was to Vaughan one of the manifestations of the power of the God he addresses as

Father of Eternal life, and all
Created glories under thee! (2)

But where he allows himself to be discursive, his utterances show him to have been the framer of his own metaphysics and to have verged occasionally on that so-called Pantheism with which the Christian mystics have been frequently charged.

As the remarkable poem, "Ressurrection and Immortality",

1. The Authorised Version has a colon between the verses and so makes the second verse descriptive of "God my Maker" and not a separate question. It is not possible, however, to take Vaughan's change a sign of any uncertainty as to the answer and the first question.
2. p.484.

evidences, with its Christian resurrection of the body and its platonic immortality by the absorption of the individual into a circular and endless scheme of things, Vaughan has his moments of belief in a Soul of the World working in all things and uniting them: (1)

For no thing can to Nothing fall, but still
 Incorporates by skill,
 And then returns, and from the wombe of things
 Such treasure brings
 As Phenix-like renew'th both life, and youth;

For a preserving spirit doth stil passe
 Untainted through this Masse,
 Which doth resolve, produce, and ripen all
 that to it fall;
 Nor are those births which we
 Thus suffering see
 Destroy'd at all; But when times restles wave
 Their substance doth deprave
 And the more noble Essence finds his house
 Sickly and loose,
 He, ever young, doth wing
 Unto that spring,
 And source of spirits, where he takes his lot
 Till time no more shall rot
 His passive Cottage. (2)

And the elaborate machinery of the universe works so smoothly as to seem almost self-sufficing.

Numerous references are made to his scientific experiments and actually his science explains much that in such a poem as "Ressurrection and Immortality" appears as poetic generalisation. (3) The Soul offers to the timid body demonstrable proof discovered in observation and experiment:

Poore, querulous handfull! was't for this
 I taught thee all that is?
 Unbowel'd nature, shew'd thee her recruits,
 And Change of suits
 And how of death we make a meere mistake,
 For no thing can to Nothing fal..... (4)

1. Thomas Vaughan believed in an Anima Mundi See "Anima Magica Abscondita" ed. ante. p.78.
2. p.401.
3. See also "The Stone" p. 514; letter to Aubrey, June 28th., 1680 pp 672-3 of which the clearest is the well-known
 I summon'd nature: peirc'd through all her
 Broke up some seales, which none had touch'd before. (store,
 "Vanity of Spirit" n.418.

And Vaughan's science assists in the working out of the details of many of his conceptions. The power which keeps in motion the complex system he envisages, Vaughan, with his alchemical interests, calls "Magnetism". All things, animate and inanimate, belong to a vast system consisting of a series of mutual (1) attractions between two objects. The movements thus brought about, though discernible as innumerable separate pulsations, sweep as one irresistible tide round the world and contribute thus to the sense of cosmic rhythm which is implicit in much of his work and which held so large a place in his imagination.

Magnetism is the power which gives the consciousness of the approach of daylight to the Cockerel:

Their magnetisme works all night,
And dreams of Paradise and light. (2)

"Commissions from Divinitie" are responsible for the subsistence in general ~~in~~ of "all things" and this includes the provision of a "Subject" on earth which causes the star to

stream & flow,
And wind and curle, and wink and smile, (3)

The "restless, pure desire And longing" of the subject on earth

are the Magnets which so strongly move
And work all night upon thy light and love,

In addition to the conspiracies of those "within the Line" there are secret understandings, hidden affinities between objects far removed:

Some kinde herbs here, though low & far,
Watch for, and know their loving star. (4)

1. In his poem "To his learned Friend and Loyal Fellow-Prisoner" Thomas Powel (T.R) he repudiates any theory of attraction that would seem to make it one-sided.
2. p.488.
3. Both "The Starre" p.489 and the poem "Cock-crowing" p.488 illustrate throughout Vaughan's theories of the power of magnetism. As Mr. Martin has pointed out in his note on "The Starre" Vaughan may have taken his theory from his brother's works or direct from Cornelius Agrippa. See Appendix also "To Etesia (for Timander) the first Sight" p.623
4. "The Favour" p.492.

and the theory of Magnetism is seen to be linked with the ancient doctrine of the Hermetists expounded perhaps most completely in Boehme's Signatura Rerum . It is a doctrine which teaches that all things on earth have their counterpart in a higher system and bear the mark or "signature" of their star. The Silurist makes direct reference to "All that have signature or life" (1) and his debt to Hermetical philosophy is here more directly traceable not only inasmuch as the lines just quoted from "The Favour" are closely related to a passage in the works of the devoted Hermetist, Thomas Vaughan,(2) but also by the Silurist's own addition to the original in his translation of Nollus* work on Hermetical Physic:

Thou must diligently read the Bookes of the Hermetists,
De signaturis rerum, That is to say, Of those impressions and
Characters, which God hath communicated too and marked (as I may
say) all his Creatures with. (3)

Boethius' Chain of Love, Vaughan apparently thinks, is not quite intelligible as described in the Consolations and he accordingly interpolates parenthetically his explanation. He purposes to recount:

What fix'd Affections, and lov'd Laws
(Which are the hid, magnetic Cause;)
Wise Nature governs with. (4)

In the spiritual world some reflection of this same Cause can be observed:

Tis a kind Soul in Magnets, that attones
Such two hard things as Iron are and Stones,
And in their dumb compliance we learn more
Of Love, than ever Books could speak before. (5)

-
1. p. 449.
 2. He shall know the secret love of Heaven and earth and the sense of that deep Kabalism: "There is not an Herb here below, but he hath a star in Heaven above, and the star strikes him with her beam and says to him: Grow" (Lumen de Lumine p.299.)
Waite.
 3. p. 583.
 4. p.630.
 5. "To his Learned Friend and Loyal Fellow-Prisoner" p.603.

How came that joy which "tramples on doubts and despair" down to earth? Did it grow a wing for the descent?

Sure, holyness the Magnet is,
And Love the Lure, that woos thee down. (1)

Not referred to specifically as Magnetism but probably to be identified as part of its operations, is a certain vital influence whose function it is to unite distant things:

Absents within the Line Conspire, and Sense
Things distant doth unite. (2)

The power which unites "things distant" is that which also, as Vaughan in continuing explains, brings it to pass that

Herbs sleep unto the East, and some fowles thence
Watch the Returne of light. (3)

The "line" (4) referred to above seems to be one of the channels of influence radiating from a magnetic "centre". To Vaughan the centre is the seat and reservoir of all energy though in its actual functions,

For things of weight hast to the Center (5)

and

As bodyes swarm to th' Center (6)

-
1. "The Queer" p.539.
 2. "Sure, there's a tye of Bodyes" p.429.
 3. Ibid. p.429.
 4. At times he extends the meaning of this word "line" to signify a general connection or area of influence, cf
 But thou beneath the sad and heavy line
 Of death, dost waste all senseless, cold and dark
 "The Timber" p.497.

and

Man of old
Within the line
Of Eden "Ascension Hymn p.483.

could enjoy unclouded intimacy with heaven. See also "To Mrs. K. Philips" p. 62; "Retirement" p. 463; "The Constellation" p.469.

he with Traherne (1) seems to have anticipated Newton in a description of the laws of gravitation. But without an agent, the centre remains isolated and virtually impotent :

For things thus Center'd, without Beames, or Action
Nor give, nor take Contaction. (2)

If the "line" is the avenue of communication between the centre and the object to be reached, the "ray" seems to be the local vehicle of power. In Vaughan's system, rays act as important and mysterious a part as they do in Physics today. A "vitall Ray" gives strength to the "drowsie silkworme" (3) ; those who now only see "darkly in a glasse"

Shall with Inlightned Rayes
Peirce all their wayes;
And as thou saw'st, I in a thought could goe
To heav'n, or Earth below
To reade some Starre, or Min'rall (4)

At midnight, says this watcher of the stars:

1. See "Centuries of Meditation" for Trahernes views on the "centre" as the seat of influence:

Yet I have found that things unknown have a secret influence on the soul, and like the centre of the earth unseen violently attract it. We love we know not what, and therefore everything allures us. As iron at a distance is drawn by the loadstone, there being some invisible communications between them, so is there in us a world of Love to somewhat, though we know not what in the world that should be.
and C. of M. 1.56.

As on every side of the earth all heavy things tend to the centre; so all nations ought on every side to flow in unto it. In Vaughan's work the centre appears chiefly in metaphor: p.450.

Sin triumphs still, and man is sunk below

The Center p.440. "Corruption"

He is the Center of long life, and light. "Repentance" p.450.

O for thy Center and mid-day! "Childe-hood" p.521.

And some third place their Center make "To his learned friend & Loyal Fellow-Prisoner" p.604.

The Circle, Center and Abyss
Of blessings p.651.

2. "Sure there's a tie" p.429.
3. "Resurrection and Immortality" p.400.
4. Ibid p.402.

I doe survey
 Each busie Ray
 And how they work and wind...
 What Emanations,
 Quick vibrations
 And bright stirs are there? (1)

It is as though this imaginative experimenter had some inkling of the potentialities of ether and light waves and was trying to display them as ~~operantse~~ ingnature. Magnetic "influence" seems mainly to affect inanimate objects and it is probably but Vaughan's general label for the laws governing the material universe; higher members of creation, man and beasts live and move according to the dictates of "Sense". Springs for example, and "carelesse ranks of flowers"

have no sence
 But the loose tye of influence. (2)

The possession of "sense" indicates the presence of a kind of natural intelligence above instinct. It seems to prove the existence of a sensitiveness which has some power of response:

Thy Soul....
with a nobler influence
 Works upon all, that claim to sence. (3)

or of a primary consciousness, ^akind of basic sentience, sometimes prophetic, sometimes dim:

where there is no sence,
 There is no Passion, nor Intelligence. (4)

1. "Midnight" p.421. cf. Boethius (Metrum 7) p.80; "Chearfulness" p.429. "The Jews" p.499; "The Agreement" p.529; "To Etesia" p.623. "The Recovery" p.645. "The Nativity" p.646 for other references to "rays".
2. "To Amoret gone from him" p.8. Other allusions to this "sense" will be discovered in "Death" p.399 and on p.401. Among Vaughan's contemporaries only Traherne, (and he may have been disciple rather than fellow) in marking off "sense" from the "senses" gives the same significance as Vaughan intends, that of spiritual or mental power as distinguished from any "influence" or law governing the physical universe:

Sence did his Soul with Heavenly Life inspire
 And made him seem in Gods Celestial Quire. Wade p 219
 See also Wade p 235 and C. of M. 1.51.

3. "The Character, to Etesia" p.625
4. "To his learned Friend and Fellow-Prisoner" p.603.

The saying "Etenim res Creatae exerto Capite observantes expectant revelationem Filiorum Dei" fills Vaughan with joy and, stating rather than questioning, he asks confidently

And do they so? have they a Sense
Of ought but Influence? (1)

Other members of creation, normally of the humble kind to be ruled by "influence" are under special circumstances exalted into the higher category of those with "sense". Stones are of this favoured class and have at least one advantage over man who

Knocks at all doors, strays and roams,
Nay hath not so much wit as some stones have
Which in the darkest nights point to their homes,
By some hid sense their Maker gave. (2)

They not only have the ability to feel,

Stones are deep in admiration
but they are endowed with ^{the} potential ^{ability} communicating their
sensations:

And stones, though speechless, are not dumb (3)

It is a potentiality which becomes almost menacingly symbolical of the capacity of the whole of nature to discern man's "dark designs" and its power to betray them:

Hence sand and dust
Are shak'd for witnesses, and stones
Which some think dead, shall all at once
With one attesting voice detect
Those secret sins we least suspect. (4)

The reason for the peculiar status of the stone, which may be discovered through a reference to the Book of Joshua placed at the head of the poem

1. p.432.
2. "Man" p.477.
3. "The day of Judgement" p.531.
4. "The Stone" p.515.

entitled "The Stone" (1), sheds some light on the processes of Vaughan's mind and the sources of his beliefs, and, incidentally, on the difficulties besetting any commentator. Vaughan's allusions to the Philosopher's stone hint at a mixed origin for his interest in the special qualities of stones. But it was Joshua's use of a stone as a witness of the covenant between Israel and the Lord, coupled doubtless with the prophecy from Revelations which he quotes (2) that exalted its kind in perpetua, and gave it "sense" as a heritage. "Pure" science is hardly to be discovered in so loyal a son of his century as Vaughan. Almost as mysterious is Vaughan's "glass", his ubiquitous instrument. As often happens with Vaughan the clue to its complete deciphering is to be found in the Scriptures. The connection of

For now we see through a glass, darkly
but then face to face: now I know in part; but then
shall I know even as also I am known. 1. Cor.13.12.

with

Then I that here saw darkly in a glasse
But mists, and shadows passe,
And, by their owne weake Shine, did search the springs
And Course of things
Shall with Inlightned Rayes
Peirce all their wayes. (3)

and perhaps

But I (Alas!)
Was shown one day in a strange glass
That busie commerce kept between
God and his Creatures, though unseen (4)

gives symbolic ^{application} ~~appreciation~~ and depth to the accounts of his frequent peerings into the distance. Whether it be to Speculum or lens, Vaughan's

1. p.514.

2. "The Mutinie" p.469. cf. also "Rules and lessons" p.436.
"their starre, the stone, and hidden food" and
"Jacobs Pillow, and Pillar" p.528:
Yea Bethel shall have Tithes (saith Israels stone).
The reference is to Genesis 28.22.

3. "R & I" p.402.

4. "The Stone" p.515.

references are coloured by the implications of his original:

As time one day by me did pass
 Through a large dusky glasse
 He held, I chanc'd to look
 And spyed his curious book
 Of past days, where sad Heav'n did shed
 A mourning light upon the dead. (1)

Any attempt at an exact explanation of Vaughan's theories concerning Magnetism, its "influence", its "lines", its "rays", its "centre" and the power he names "sense" must be a severe test even to the ingenious. His method was always eclectic and shows itself so here in its admixture of Biblical and astrological material. If the formula for what he calls Magnetism could be discovered, the greatest mystery of his system would be solved. Though it seems to answer in character with what soon after was to be called gravitation, there are times when this Magnetism, whose influence in various guises penetrates and manifests itself in the most remote places, seems to correspond in many respects with that remoter harmony, rhythm and order in, and controlling, the universe, ~~to~~ which the Pantheist sings. But an occasional reference to "God and his creatures", the "Father of Lights", serves to remind us that such an interpretation of his utterances would not have commended itself to Vaughan. Man is bidden "Observe God in his works" (2) and the Silurist would never have permitted himself to think, much less to utter, such a thought, that this great system was self-evolved. It is, perhaps, the Almighty's chief agent, but it has not usurped His power. He is not only Creator but also Controller.

1. "as time one day by me did pass" p.512. See also "Isaacs marriage" p.408. "The Constellation" p.469. "The Proffer" p.487. "The Seed growing secretly" p. 511. "L'Envoy" p.542.

2. "Rules and Lessons" p.438.

Mention of other important agencies in the astrologers' world and in the occult philosophies as made in Vaughan's work. But, as is shown in his use of the word "glass", these terms are used figuratively and, whilst providing a clue to his interest and the fields of speculation with which he was most familiar, they are not necessarily tokens of belief. His frequent references to the "Elixir" (1) do not show him as a believer in, or seeker after, a material substance but demonstrate simply that with all seekers after truth, whether mystic or scientist, he sought one common principle in all things and was very willing to utilise for metaphor Hermetical terms conveying abstract truths pictorially.

Important for an understanding both of the man and his work and interesting as a sidelight on contemporary thought as are Vaughan's endeavours to lay bare with the aid of Hermetic Philosophy the mechanics of the universe, it is not until Man and the moral element enter that the results of Vaughan's "attendance upon (rather than speculations into) Nature" clothe themselves in universality and penetrate the domain of poetry. The process is described in "Vanity of Spirit":

I summon'd nature... ..
 and having past
 Through all the Creatures, came at last
 To search my selfe, there I did find
 Traces, and sounds of a strange kind.
 Here of this mighty spring, I found some drills,
 With Ecchoes beaten from th'eternall hills. (2)

Having found these "drills" or streamlets, having discovered in himself a counterpart of the external world, he would find also among Hermetical

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1. "H. Scriptures" p.441. "Affliction" p.459. "Repentance" p.448.
 The "Starre, the stone, and hidden food" "CockeCrowing" "Rules & Lessons
 p.436.
 2. p. 418.

theories some which would lend support to his view not only of himself as an epitome of the larger life of the creatures, but of Man, even the human body, as a précis of the world, the universe in little. (1) Both Herbert in his poem "Man" before Vaughan and Traherne after Vaughan gave voice to this same belief,

What powerful Spirit lives within!
 What active Angel doth inhabit here:
 What heavenly light inspires my skin,
 Which doth so like a Deity appear!
 A living Temple of all ages, I
 Within me see
 A Temple of Eternity!
 All kingdoms I descry
 in me

(2)

and helped to swell the tradition built by Agrippa, carried on by Boehme and supported also by the Silurist in "Affliction" (3) "Mans fall, and Recovery" and by Eugenius Philalethes. (4) From the self-examination recommended by Agrippa it follows that Man shall know

1. Pico della Mirandola. (quoted by Pater, "The Renaissance").

Tritum est in scholis esse hominem minorem mundum, in quo mixtum ex elementis corpus et spiritus coelestis et plantarum anima vegetalis et brutorum sensus et ratio et angelica mens et Dei similitudo conspicitur:- "It is a commonplace of the schools that man is a little world, in which we may discern a body mingled of earthy elements, and ethereal breath, and the vegetable life of plants, and the senses of the lower animals, and reason, and the intelligence of angels, and a likeness to God. "

2. Dobell p.153.

3. p.459.

4. Miss Holmes op.cit. p.31 et seq. has dealt more fully and technically with this point and gives important references to Weigel (with whose work I was not familiar). It seemed best to allow my more elementary observations to stand as they were without endeavouring to amplify them with Miss Holmes' researches. Miss Holmes' conclusions confirm my statements though, if I understand her aright, Miss Holmes goes farther than I should care to go in stressing Vaughan's dependence on a definite tradition. §

"Lumen de Lumine"p.290.

What comfort he can have and obtain, from Stones,
Plants, Animals, elements, Heavens, from Spirits, Angels, and
every thing. (1)

and shall recognise that the fountain of his own being is coincident
with that of all life. A "Spirit-wind" blows through all, like a current
of universal being (2). In this way, the material theory of "influence"
becomes translated into the semi-mystical doctrine of "sympathy". Just
as "influence" radiated from the "centre", so all life issues from one
and is one and the "tye of Bodyes" (3) serves to demonstrate the one-
ness of living creatures. It is only when Vaughan interprets nature thus
in terms of himself that his theories persuade and convict.

This watcher and attender upon Nature's ways has discovered
truths unrecognised by the careless observer and seeks to make public the
wisdom enshrined in old saws which have since been misinterpreted.

Hedges have ears, said the old sooth,
And ev'ry bush is something's booth; (4)

This "cautious fools" misconstrue and, fearing a human eavesdropper, they
forget that the ubiquitous apparently insentient members of creation

Hear, see, speak,
And into loud discoveries break,
As loud as blood. (5)

And, although "Wise Nicodemus" took the precaution of coming by night for
his interview, witnesses were not lacking:

1. Occult Philosophy p.460.

2. cf. Thomas Vaughan: "For this spirit is in man, in beasts, in vegetables
in minerals; and in everything it is the mediate cause of composition
and multiplication. Anthroposophia Heomagica p.41. and
"The world - which is God's building - is full of spirit, quick and
living." Anthroposophia Heomagica p.8.

3. "Sure, there's a tye of Bodyes!" p.429.

4. "The Stone" p.515.

5. Ibid.

trees and herbs did watch and peep
And wonder, while the Jews did sleep. (1)

Things which seemed "dull and dead" and "wholly inanimate" are acutely sensitive to the least movement both in the physical and in the spiritual world and have a sense of approaching wonders:

Can they their heads lift, and expect
and grone too? why th' Elect
Can do no more. (2)

So, too

Trees, flowers and herbs, birds, beasts and stones,
That since man fell, expect with groans,
To see the lamb (3)

To Vaughan the whole of nature is as one body with one nervous system. A movement or touch is mysteriously felt in the extreme parts of the organism; countless repercussions and echoes pass the word along and in a moment the whole creation is alert and waiting "some sudden matter" (4) And like a single and perfect structure made up of different but agreeing members, and different elements in Nature fit harmoniously into their appointed places; most delicately the lesser consonances resolve themselves into the greater and "all have their keyes, and set ascents." (5)

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1. "The Night" p.522.
 2. "And do they so" p.432.
 3. "Palm-Sunday" p.501.
 4. "The Dawning" p.452.
 5. p.461.

Spiritus intus alit and through the universe there is unity in essence and in obedience to one law. Man only, in his wantonness and to his own ruin, shatters the concord. In his unsullied state, he is, although endowed with higher faculties, brother to all these other Sons of God, "thy other Creatures";(1) subject to the admonition "Walk with thy fellow-creatures" (2); one of the trinity of "trees, beasts and men" (3). By thus raising the whole of creation to quasi-human status, Vaughan shows himself something of a Franciscan with a belief in the brotherhood of all things living, and a feeling of fraternity made stronger by the homely ties of the similarity of the burdens to be borne and the parity of the difficulties to be faced. "The comely, spacious whale", the "carelesse sparrows", "the harmless, yong, and happy Ass" the glow-worm and man, these to Vaughan as to St. Augustine, are all God's beasts.

But man has been beguiled by toys of his own making and the perfect rhythm to which the rest of creation moves only brings into stronger contrast man's lack of direction,

The World
Is full of voices; Man is call'd, and hurl'd
By each, he answers all,
Knows ev'ry note, and call,
Hence, still
Fresh dotage tempts, or old usurps his will. (4)

This restlessness of Man as a subject of melancholy wonderment comes out in many poems (5) and then the writer glides into puzzled brooding over

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1. "And do they so" p.432.
 2. "Rules and Lessons" p.436.
 3. "The Book" p.540.
 4. "Distraction" p.413.

the difference between nature performing her ordered round, and man driven hither and thither by contradictory impulses.

I would I were a stone, or tree,
 Or flowrs by pedigree,
 Or some poor high-way herb, or Spring
 To flow, or bird to sing!
 Then should I (tyed to one sure state)
 All day expect my date;
 But I am sadly loose, and stray
 A giddy blast each way. (1)

He watches the birds keeping the seasons "like watchful clocke" (2)
 the bees hiving and the flowers rising with the sun, "early as well as late", and muses with heavy heart on the strange divergency in ways between these humbler members of creation and the most glorious of all in potentiality:

Man hath stil either toyes, or Care,
 He hath no root, nor to one place is ty'd,
 But ever restless and Irregular
 About this Earth doth run and ride,
 He knows he hath a home, but scarce knows where,
 He sayes it is so far
 That he hath quite forgot how to go there. (3)

It is with some awakening of hope in his heart that Vaughan calls upon Man to take heed of the lessons nature proffers him; all his experiences have an analogy in nature,- let man therefore study her ways and be wise. He who can have

A lesson plaid him by a winde or wave (4)
 can discriminate easily between real and feigned joy. An example for man with his many interests and his necessary commerce "with poor dust"

1. "And do they so" p.432.

2. cf. p.66. Vaughan's translation of an epigram on clocks:

Times-Teller wrought into'a little round,
 Which count'st the days and nights with watchful sound.

3. "Man" 477.

4. p.491.

is offered by the "restless, vocall Spring" which flows and sings in many places and yet "keeps untainted" (1). The interruption of the brook's course by a deep fall and its subsequent "longer course more bright and brave" to Vaughan provides the clearest allegory of man's earthly course, its terrifying interruption by death and then its "glorious liberty" in a channel uninterrupted with "Cataracts and Creeks" (2). A scorching Welsh summer, - "This late, long heat"- broken by a tempest of refreshing rain, provides an instance of Heaven's care not only for the dying flowers on nature's bosom, but if Man will only believe it, of God's care for the unhappy children of men:

O that man could do so! that he would hear
 The world read to him! all the vast expence
 In the Creation shed, and slav'd to sence
 Makes up but lectures for his eie, and ear (3)

One example only of nature failing in wisdom comes within Vaughan's experience; the salmon (4) swallows the bait as incautious man falls a prey to an angling world. Thus, rather than seek to frame an intellectual justification of the ways of God to man, Vaughan searches and finds that apology for which man is questing in the works of His hands.

It is probably in the intense realisation of a common life in creation and of such analogies between man and nature and of the lessons to be learned from nature's unhurried processes that Vaughan's greatness lies. The conception of nature as sacred hieroglyphics predominates in Silex Scintillans but the history of Vaughan's ideas as traced in broad

1. p.452.

2. "The Water-fall" p.537.

3. See "Providence" p.505.

4. "De Salmone" p.649.

outline through Olor Iscanus up to Thalia Rediviva shows that this conception developed, matured and perhaps altered. In the 1646 volume nature is thought of in terms of a happy comradeship; the Usk, for instance, is an indispensable accessory to all his facts. He rejoices in the careless and scattered beauties round him without attaching any deep or hidden meaning to their presence or activities. As suggested before, the Priorie Grove at the end of the first volume shows the first linking of man and nature in the poet's mind, but even so, the element of fancy is to the fore. Olor Iscanus is essentially Vaughan's Book of Acts and shows him in the centre of a circle of friends; human nature in the bustle of society occupies him. But the title, the first poem and the ease with which in the translations he can turn a descriptive phrase point to a consciousness full of the fruits of observation and sympathy. In the prose works many of the conclusions elaborated or accentuated in Silex emerge either in germinal form or with the tenseness considerably loosened, if not lost, amid the slacker rhythms. "The Praise and Happiness of the Countrie-Life" is the theme in more than the translation of Guevara. Perhaps nature has not taken to herself so distinctly the attributes of teacher and revealer of divine truth but she appears as an example of harmonious processes and hence as an influence toward simpler and purer modes of living. Thalia Rediviva, though more like an anthology than a symposium, offers a point of view which seems to combine the other stages (the first perhaps does something to nullify the central position) and so presents an average conception differing from, or perhaps diluting, the mystical apprehensions of Vaughan at his most vigilant. Less the enigmatical, more the external, aspects of nature concern him and these poems are eloquent

of life comfortably passed amid influences benignant and calming through the avenue of the senses. "Christal Fountains and fresh shades" (1) offer unfettered enjoyment and their tuitionary value becomes coincident, not primary. "Retirement" sums up what was probably Vaughan's final attitude:

But rural shades are the sweet fense
Of piety and innocence.
They are the Meek's calm region, where
Angels descend, and rule the sphere:
Where heav'n lyes Leiguer, and the Dove
Duely as Dew, comes from above.
If Eden be on Earth at all,
'Tis that, which we the Country call. (2)

But the lasting, central impression is that of the Vaughan who with intense, clairvoyant gaze spies the shadows of eternity in some gilded cloud or flower, and, feeling "through all this fleshly dresse Bright shootes of everlastingnesse" can suggest with such power a vision of those transitory glories.

"Sermons in stones", however, does not measure entirely Vaughan's interest in the "scene of fine sights" (3) in front of him. The pageant is always a morality but loses none of its splendour thereby. Nature's aspects and her activities are, it is true, part of the furnishings of his mind and his indispensable tools. But they are not valued solely for their parabolic uses; he loves them also for their immediate delight to the eye and ear. Though they point mystically onwards beyond appearances, yet he makes pause at beauty in form and colour. The fervour of the exclamation "Dear stream! dear bank" has often been

1. "The Bee" p.652.

2. p.642.

3. "Daphnis" p.656.

commented upon. But just as informative is his habit of speculating on the private life of the object that has attracted his notice and of writing minute biographies with portrait and character-sketch. So deeply has the scene entered his imagination that in the dead of winter he is able to comfort himself with a picture of spring:

So have I known some beauteous paisage rise
In suddain flowres and arbours to my eies,
And in the depth and dead of winter bring
To my Cold thoughts a lively sense of spring. (1)

"Fruitful beds and flowery borders" are, in general, a sign of Vaughan's landscape and apparently "Storms turn to music" at his presence as well as at the rainbow's. Neither carnivorous animal nor devouring sea appears in Nature beheld through Vaughan's perspective. The only hint of unkindness is that provided by the viper which

lodg'd in Flow'rs
Its venom through that sweetness pours (2)

His canvas is small and vividly impressionistic. Though the scene is tranquil there is none of the sleepiness of atmosphere, the laziness of movement slowing down into immobility of the life of English pastures. Vaughan's was a hilly country with "rapid streams" which

shifting channels here restore,
There break down, what they bank'd before. (3)

Like the country doctor "jogging" on his rounds, the prospect he viewed daily showed nature at peace, but about its business,

Like to the watrie Musick of some Spring,
Whose pleasant flowings at once wash and sing. (4)

And so once again it is true that for Vaughan the face of things is both spectacle and symbol.

1. "Mount of Olives" p. 476.
2. "The World" p.650.cf Chaucer Squires tale.
3. Ibid p.650.
4. "To Sir William D'avenant" p.64.

It is the poetical fusion of the two that gives to Vaughan the distinction of singing a new song. Incisiveness such as Marvell's is bred of calculation and a self-possession which forsook Vaughan in reverie; "Nature's mystic book" was to the "easy philosopher" of Nunappleton House a "light mosaic" to be read with great interest, but without awe. Donne found science and scholastic philosophy more to his casuistical purposes.⁽¹⁾ Jonson kept nature strictly subordinate to art. The Elizabethians commercialised nature for poetry's sake and used her as an inexhaustible fund of similes. Chaucer in neat, brief phrases showed both observation and sympathy to be part of his equipment as a poet and Middle English lyrists celebrated exquisitely the blossom on the spray; but neither recognised in the object of their song a new road to infinity. Medieval bestiaries lost the animal in the allegory. The centuries can be searched back to the Phoenix and the Riddles before anything like Vaughan's seriousness in conceiving of Nature or his realisation of her double claim on man come to light. It is typical of Vaughan that his affinities in this, as in most things, should be so far in the past and the Anglo-Saxon endowment of the forces of Nature with personality and volition show where among his predecess-

1. But cf. Donne. Holy Sonnets. Grierson p.326.

Why are wee by all creatures waited on?
 Why doe the prodigall elements supply
 Life and food to mee, being more pure than I,
 Simple, and further from corruption?
 What a death were it then to see God dye?
 It made his owne lieutenant Nature shrink,
 It made his footstool crack, and the Sunne winke.
 Grierson l.336.

Donne in "the Second Anniversary" described Elizabeth as one
 Who with Gods presence was acquainted so,
 (Hearing, and speaking to him) as to know
 His face in any naturall Stone, or Tree,
 Better than when in Images they bee. l.451.

ors Vaughan would have found some response to his own reverence for the divinity in common things. Old English poetry, if not mystical, yet views natural phenomena in a way that is not entirely material. The cuckoo sings a warning to the sea-farer; the ocean, hail, and frost are a source of emotion to man and they enter vitally into his primitive philosophy. ~~Herbals~~. Nature as healer of physical ills is to be met with in the Leech book of Bald, first of the English Herbals and the first modern text book in Vaughan's own profession. To discern the face of the weather was then an important part of every man's business and the divination of the ~~moods~~ of the elements was part of every man's lore.

But Vaughan could be only remotely a legatee of this poetry with its brooding apprehension of undefined powers. His theories are indebted to nothing uttered in poetry before his day and ultimately he is the sole generator, as he was in his own day the sole expositor, of doctrines since made familiar by others. Of external contributing influences on this side of his genius first place must be given to Hermetical Physic, with its emphasis on the study of nature as the key to knowledge,--even to the secret of life,-- towards which he must have been drawn by a strong natural predisposition, but which probably deepened his exploratory bent. The scientific experimenter was from the beginning a worshipper (1) and he was easily to be won by any philosophy, such as the Neo-Platonism supplied by the Hermetists, which would connect in an authoritative manner nature and divinity. Vaughan's

1. Vaughan's was "an attendance upon (rather than speculations into) Nature". Letter to Aubrey. p.672.

is a unique doctrine, uncopied and uncopiable; and it is improbable that Hermetic philosophy did anything more than confirm ideas of his own evolving and strengthen tendencies inherent in him.⁽¹⁾ But by its linking as of equal importance of science, religion, philosophy and nature,^{he} was perhaps helped in the correlation he was trying to achieve of his intuitions concerning man, nature and heaven. The scrutiny of physical mysteries on which he prided himself has not seemed to posterity to warrant much attention but by his linking of the other elements, religion and philosophy,- Vaughan opened the way to a far more exalted and metaphysical conception of external nature than had been shown in English poetry before. It is perhaps not wonderful that the pioneer was unable to foresee how far a consistent pursuit of his principles would have taken him. He stops short on the threshold of explorations into human nature and it is a younger contemporary, Traherne, who undertakes the rôle of Joshua and shows how the laws of nature govern also the human mind.

Many questions are raised, but chiefly as to what shape Vaughan's thinking would have taken had he lived in any other century, and as to how far he was restricted by his creed. His theology is in the orthodox seventeenth century mould and his experience has affinities with the happy piety of Walton on the one hand and with the agonised remorse for sin of Donne on the other. If the theory and system of redemption based on a literal interpretation of the Bible was powerful

1. Euphrates. Waite. p.396.

cf. Thomas Vaughan "Nature whose pupil I was had even then awaken'd many notions in me which I met with afterwards in the Platonick Philosophie". It should also be noted that Donne was familiar with Hermetical doctrine but it was the scientific side of that philosophy which appealed to his imagination and which he used as sources of poetic imagery.

enough to induce so independent a thinker as Milton to use it, small surprise can be felt when the more pliant Vaughan accepts it. But some of the interest of his work lies in the evidence it provides of the oscillations of his spirit between a view of the universe which identifies creator and creation and the Christian religion to whose doctrine in matters of faith and conduct he had given his conscious assent. It is his gropings to unite the two by a special philosophy and the introduction of a new subject into verse which mark him out as a pioneer in English poetry.

CHAPTER 7.

Views on pre-existence; childhood; the past.

The Renaissance coming late to England had liberated intellectual forces which not only swept through the main halls of the still intact edifice of medieval religious thought, but which sometimes became trapped in the smaller chambers and pursued its way into temporally disused wings looking out on strange places. It was natural that a religious age should concern itself with the history of the Soul, but it was left to an age of experiment in science to attempt to frame a geography of Eternity and means of ascertaining the location of the individual Soul at a given moment. Since the fact and circumstances of a post-mortal life without end were fairly well established by Christian theology, speculation tended to centre in that first Eternity unassailed as yet by mortality. This attempt to reclaim the vast provinces neglected by Holy Writ was the work of a strong current of Neo-Platonism which had made familiar the idea of the endless life of the soul with God, ultimate haven of spirits and beginning also. To self-confessed Platonists like those at Cambridge headed by ~~M~~ore, it was a matter of professional interest; they were the Doctors best qualified to deal with abstractions, to discourse of

pros and cons in technical terms and give judgment. But Platonism offered suggestions, if not explanations, to other minds,—more poetical but perhaps philosophically less diligent, less responsible,—who, abhorring a vacuum, sought a population in what were else the waste spaces of eternity. It was mainly the Phaedrus with its imagery that carried the subject of Pre-Existence into literature and gave it there some of the insubstantial grace of a recurring mirage.

In the austerer strongholds of divinity the problem danced like an ignis fatuus over the Schoolmen's sometimes dank and forbidding fens. Writers of sermons and other serious prose seem to have found themselves compelled to choose between the competing claims of Traducianism and Creationism, both of which denied an ante-mortal life of the soul, or St. Augustine's half-heresy of Infusionism. (1) But poets and prose-writers alike could take refuge in that spacious sanctuary, the doctrine of the Creator's prescience and of the existence of souls before Time in the foreknowledge of God. It was in this sense that so orthodox a Catholic as Dante could explain:

Lo testo intende mostrare quello che fa la nobile anima ne l'ultima etade, cioe nel senio. E dice ch'ella fa due cose: L'una, che ella ritorna a Dio, si come a quello porto onde ella si partio quando venne ad intrare nel mare di questa vita. (2)

And this port for the setting out and harbour for returning was the "Là dove io t'amai prima" of Michelangelo. (Sonetti)

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1. Traducianism. The doctrine that human souls are propagated by generation together with the body.
Creationism. The doctrine that each human soul is separately created with each body.
Infusionism. Augustine's "Creando infundit et infundendo creat" (See Donnes references to the doctrine). The doctrine that the human soul is pre-existent to the body, and is infused into it at conception or birth.
 2. Convivio 4.28. I am indebted to Professor Richardson of the University of Birmingham for the reference.

Platonism was not entirely responsible for the "other-worldliness" in the thought and literature of the first part of the seventeenth century. There is first a sense of fatigue, perhaps of reaction from the physical activity of the preceding age. Later, with the positive troubles of the Civil War, a deeper note of widely-spread pessimism is heard and a general desire for escape seems to have arisen. Some release from present woes might perhaps be gained by the thought of this life simply as a brief interruption of paradise. Eternity thus analysed might to some have seemed eternity multiplied, with a proportionate diminishing of the evils of this life; to others it might seem more reassuring because more comprehensible when so partitioned.

The theory of knowledge as reminiscence apparently drew less attention, but some of the potentialities of metempsychosis exercised a subtle, half-menacing fascination over an age which believed still in witchcraft. Some interest in what was felt to be one of the more elusive and tantalising problems confronting the thoughtful appears in various stages, rudimentary or fully-fledged, in the majority of characteristic seventeenth century writings. Not the least valuable witness of the ubiquity of the notion is the species of anti-masque taken mainly from Lucian in "Volpone" in which metempsychosis is ridiculed.

That the thought of pre-existence had profoundly interested Donne is obvious from a letter he wrote to Sir Thomas Lucy from Mitcham (1). In it he discusses the two chief theories as to "how this soul is begun in us" and regrets that the Church has given no final ruling,

(1) IN 1607 (9th October). See also Appendix p 303

Christian religion presuming a soul, and intending principally her happiness in the life to come, hath been content to accept any way which hath been obtruded. Hence it is that whole Christian Churches arrest themselves upon propagation from parents: and other whole Christian Churches allow only infusion from God. In both which opinions there appear such infirmities as it is time to look for a better ... (1)

After having sketched the difficulties inherent in both theories he goes on to promise an account of his meditations on the subject:

yet because I have meditated therein, I will shortly acquaint you with what I think, for I would not be in danger of that law of Moses, That if a man dig a pit and cover it not, he must recompense those which are damnified by it, which is oftentimes interpreted of such as shake old opinions, and do not establish new as certain, but leave consciences in a worse danger than they found them in.

The letter containing his conclusions was either never written or has been lost, but in another letter, this time to Sir Henry Goodyere, he seems to indicate in passing a belief in Infusionism, in what Browne stigmatises as "that rhetorical sentence.. of Augustine" (2)

As our Soul is infused when it is created, and created when it it is infused, so at her going out, Gods mercy is had by asking. (3)

Professional fear of misleading his flock and putting himself "in danger of that law of Moses" is perhaps responsible for the more conservative tone of his sermons. But doctrinal substance, even when, as in the Sermon (LXXXiii) "preached at a marriage" in support of the orthodox theme of the "minority" of the soul compared with God, the

1. Gosse Vol.1.p.175. "Letters of John Donne".

2. See Appendix p.304

3. Alford VI.322.

But where in another place (Sermon XLIX) he quotes Augustine, Donne seems inclined to mix Infusionism with Creationism:

As Saint Augustine cannot conceive any interim, any distance between the creating of the soul, and the infusing of the soul into the body, but eases himself upon that, Creando infundit, et infundendo creat, The creation is the infusion, and the infusion is the creation, so.....

"ancient of days", often becomes obscured in the hypnotic eloquence of its phrasing:

.... and to be so helped in me, and helped by me, to have his glory thereby advanced, Christ hath married my soul: and he hath married it in aeternum, for ever; which is the third and last circumstance in this spiritual, as it was in the secular marriage.

And here the aeternum is enlarged; in the secular marriage it was an eternity in the Book of Life, in God's eternal decree for my election, there Christ was married to my Soul. Christ was never in minority, never under years; there was never any time when he was not as the ancient of days, as old as his Father. But when my soul was in a strange minority, infinite millions of millions of generations, before my soul was a soul, did Christ marry my soul in his eternal decree. So it was eternal, it had no beginning..... and as he hath married me to him, in aeternum, for ever, before all beginnings, and in aeternum, for ever, without any interruptions, so I know, that when he loves he loves to the end..(Alford 1V.p.42.)

It is not until he forsakes the cooler element for metre that Donne, foreshadowing in this the more decided action of a later post, ventures to affirm the possibility of individual, perhaps sentient, pre-existence of the soul:

Our souls, whose country is heaven and God her Father
 Into this world corruptions sink is sent,
 Yet so much in her travail doth she gather
 That she returns home wiser than she went. (1)

Prompted by his hydroptique thirst not only for learning but for all branches of experience, Donne holds that a sojourn in the world, sink of corruption, place of travail though it be, at least provides an opportunity for gaining wisdom. Leaving aside with all its sinister invention "The Progresse of the Soule", Donne's version of Pythagoras, as an exercise in agility rather than an expression of his belief that

this soule
Had first in paradise a low, but fatall roome,

it is clear that Donne's adventurous spirit was more interested in what is to come than in what has been. The earlier experience of Heaven occupies him mainly in its relationship to that which is to follow the death of the body:

But must wee say she's dead? may't not be said
That as a sundred clocke is peecemeale laid,
Not to be lost, but by the makers hand
Repollish'd, without error then to stand,
Or as the Affrique Niger streame enwombs,
It selfe into the earth, and after comes
(Having first made a naturall bridge, to passe
For many leagues) farr greater then it was,
May't not be said, that her grave shall restore
Her, greater, purer, firmer, then before?
Heaven may say this, and joy in't, but can wee
Who live, and lacke her, here this vantage see?
What is't to us, alas, if there have beene
An Angell made a Throne, or Cherubin?
Wee lose by't.

(1)

A thread of speculation on these points can be seen interwoven in all that issued from the extravagant and irregular head of Sir Thomas Browne. The semi-legendary figure of Pythagoras seems, like that of Paracelsus, to have half-attracted, half-repelled him. But, although, as he says near the beginning of the Religio,

I have often admired the mystical way of Pythagoras,
and the secret magick of numbers, (2)

he warns his readers against "the fancy of the Pythagorean metempsychosis" (3) and against thinking "after the old Pythagorean conceit". (4) Again hearers are advised

Let Pythagoras be thy Remembrancer, not thy textuary
and final Instructor. (5)

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1. "An Anatomie of the World. A Funerall Elegie." 211.
 2. 1.12.
 3. Christian Morals part 2.5.
 4. Christian Morals. 3.14.
 5. Christian Morals 3.21.

Further on in the Religio, indeed, he endeavours to clear Pythagoras from the imputation of having fathered this absurdity,

I cannot believe the wisdom of Pythagoras did ever positively, and in a literal sense, affirm metempsychosis, or impossible transmigration of the souls of men into beasts,(1)

and makes it plain that he himself repudiates the doctrine:

Of all metamorphoses or transmigrations, I believe only one, that is, of Lot's wife.

Over the doctrine of reminiscence he casts his own particular trailing clouds of verbal glory, as if the necessary abandonment of a literal acceptance of the theory harrowed him.

Would Truth dispense, we could be content, with Plato, that knowledge were but remembrance; that intellectual acquisition were but reminiscential evocation, and new Impressions but the colouring of old stamps which stood pale in the soul before. For what is worse, knowledge is made by oblivion, and to purchase a clear and warrantable body of Truth, we must forget and part with much we know.(2)

But on the wider question of the pre-existence of the soul, he is content to flash his momentary enquiring ray without endeavouring too strenuously to

apprehend the ideated Man as he stood in the intellect of God upon the first exertion of creation. (3)

The Traducianism to which his investigations as a medical man, rather than abstract theorising, seem to have led him, definitely rules out any possibility of an ante-terrene existence of the soul of the individual. But to the cautious doctrine of Being in the foreknowledge of God he gives eloquent assent, both in direct testimony:

I was not only before myself but Adam, that is, in the idea of God, and the decree of that synod held from all eternity, (4)

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1. 1.37.
 2. Pseudodoxia Epidemica To the Reader.
 3. See Appendix p.304
 4. Religio Medici 1.LIX

and in the more decorated turnings of impersonal speculation,

Where we were when when the foundations of the earth
were lay'd, when the morning Stars sang together and all the
Sons of God shouted for joy, He must answer who asked it; who
understands Entities of preordination and beings yet unbeing;
who hath in his intellect the Ideal Existences of things, and
Entities before their Extances. Though it looks but like an
imaginary kind of existency to be before we are; yet since we
are under the decree or prescience of a sure and Omnipotent
power, it may be somewhat more than a non-entity, to be in that
mind, unto which all things are present. (1)

Perhaps the most indefatigable of all enquirers into
matters concerning the soul was Henry More, (2) Cambridge Platonist(3)
poet, adversary of Eugenius Philalethes, who in 1647 published in a
collected edition of his works, a poem entitled "The Prae-existency of
the Soul" (4) dealing exclusively with that problem.

More accepts the Plotinian conception of man as

A spark or ray of the Divinity
Clouded in earthly fogs, yclad in clay,
A precious drop sunk from Aeternitie,
Spilt on the ground, or rather slunk away

And imagines myriads of souls awaiting the creation of "vital Orbs"
or worlds and entering them as soon as made.

But infinite Myriads undipt as yet
Did still attend each vitall moveing sphear,
And wait their turnes for generation fit
In airy bodies wafted here and there
As sight and sympathy away did bear. (5)

He dismisses as erroneus both Traducianism (88) and Creationism (92)
and claims that in truth the Soul is the result of emanation,

By flowing forth from that eternall store
Of lives and souls ycleep'd the World of life.(6)

1. Christian Morals. Part III. XXV.

2. A student also of "Egyptian Trismegist" (Psychozoia 1.48. Ward's life
of Dr. Henry More, ed. Howard. London 1911. p. 63. et seq)

3. Coleridge calls the group "Plotinists rather than Platonists". Notes
on English Divines (London, 1853).

4. See Bullough p. 248. Philosophical poems of Henry More ed. Bullough,
Manchester University. See also, besides numerous scattered references,
"Psychozoia" Canto 2, in which More depicts the origin of souls, the
country in which they live and the manner of life there.

5. 12.

6. 95.

More is uncertain whether the individual soul exists ante-natally, or whether it emerges for the first time at birth from Psyche the World-Soul, but he tends to believe in

A prae-existency of souls entire
And due returns in courses circular (1)

In the lamentable controversy which took place during 1650-1651 between More and Thomas Vaughan, pre-existence was one of the points at issue. Eugenius Philalethes in "The Man-Mouse" and "The Second Wash" seems to assert a belief in reminiscence as a proof of the existence of the individual soul before its material embodiment. (2). But argument becomes obscured in invective and it is safer to turn to his non-polémical (if any of Thomas Vaughan's works can be so termed) writings for an expression of his considered opinion. And even here it is obvious that he is not so curiously concerned with the details of the subject as to place his position beyond doubt at first sight. Actually doubt enters his mind so little as hardly to leave room for speculation; his convictions, whilst implicit throughout his utterances, seldom focus themselves into direct statement. On the subject of Palingenesis he is silent, but the soul, it would seem, was sentient before birth:

Man had at first - and so have all souls before their entrance into the body - an explicit methodical knowledge; but they are no sooner vested but that liberty is lost and nothing remains but a vast confused notion of the creature. (3)

The certainty of a boundless past linked to an endless future making one ubi of spirits from which life on earth is but a brief excursion,

1. p.97-100

2. Thomas reminds More that, according to Plato, the knowledge which souls attain to in the body is but a remembrance of what they formerly knew, before they were embodied. The Man-Mouse.

Waite (Appendices) p.470

In The Second Wash he states that "before the immersion in matter" the soul was a "knowing, intelligent spirit". Waite (Appendices) p.472

3. Anthroposophia Theomagica p.10.

is the unmentioned foundation of most of the lesser Hermetical theories which he expounds at such length. Proof of the acceptance and assimilation of Plato's formulation of the belief in the divine origin, pre-mortal existence and post-mortal return to its source of the human (not necessarily individual) soul is given in the plainness and loftiness of the phrasing wherewith Thomas Vaughan clothes his conception:

I look on this life as the progress of an essence royal: the soul but quits her court to see the country. Heaven hath in it a scene of earth, and had she been contented with ideas she had not travelled beyond the map.....Thus her descent speaks her original. God in love with His own beauty frames a glass, to view it by reflection. But the frailty of the matter excluding eternity the composure was subject to dissolution. Ignorance gave this release the name of death, but properly it is the soul's birth and a charter that makes for her liberty. She hath several ways to break up house, but her best is without a disease. This is her mystical walk, an exit only to return. When she takes air at this door, it is without prejudice to her tenement.
(1)

Death is recusus vitae in absconditum not the annihilation of any one particle but a retreat of hidden natures to the same state they were in before they were manifested.... Thus the earthly parts - as we see by experience - return to the earth, the celestial to a superior heavenly limbus and the spirit to God that gave it. (2)

Such clarity in imagery and simplicity of statement is but the reflex of a clear intellectual apprehension of the fact, and Thomas' effect here contrasts greatly with the tortuous complications of his allegories and the fantastic doublings of thought when, as in his work on occult philosophy, he is uncertain of his ground.

1. Anthroposophia Theomagica p.5.

2. Ibid p.52. See also p.46.

With varying degrees of earnestness all the vital spirits of the age gave consideration to the theories of pre-existence, re-incarnation, reminiscence and the Silurist was no exception. But he, like his brother, takes a Via media and never committed himself to the utterance of a belief in a conscious ante-natal existence of the individual. Still less, of course, is there any suggestion of a previous incarnation. The nearest to such an intimation is to be found in "The Retreate" with its

Before I understood this place
Appointed for my second race,

and less suggestive of a personal pre-existence, more characteristic of his general attitude, is the analogy with human experience supplied by "The Water-fall" (1)

Why, since each drop of thy quick store
Runs thither, whence it flow'd before,
Should poor souls fear a shade or night,
Who came (sure) from a sea of light?

The indestructibility of the human soul and its continuity in an eternity of which life on earth is but a middle phase is one of his cardinal themes. "Resurrection and Immortality" with its mention of "that spring, and source of spirits" where body and soul shall be re-united makes plain Vaughan's idea of a perfect revolution, a complete circle, as the figure illustrating Man's place in Eternity. (2)

Perhaps with Donne's application of it in mind, Vaughan in Olor Iscanus shows the principle working in the physical universe:

As th'Elements by Circulation passe
From one to th'other, and that which first was
Is so again, so 'tis with you; The grave
And Nature but Complott, what the one gave,
The other takes. (3)

1. p.537.

2. See also Vaughan's translation of Boethius 2.3 p.631 and "Repentance"
3. "The Charnel-House" p.41. p.449.

Time, with the world, is seen as but the shadow of the great Ring of Eternity:

I saw Eternity the other night
Like a great Ring of pure and endless light,
All calm, as it was bright,
And round beneath it, Time in hours, days, years
Driv'n by the spheres
Like a vast shadow mov'd, In which the world
And all her train were hurl'd.

Other poems using less abstract language are occupied with this same conception of the future and end as a return to the past and beginning and man's place in that circuit. He

.... shin'd a little, and by those weak Rays
Had some glimpse of his birth.
He saw Heaven o'r his head, and knew from whence
He came (condemned,) hither,
And, as first Love draws strongest, so from hence
His mind sure progress'd thither. (1)

"Here we have no abiding city" became for Vaughan so basic a doctrine that he uses the terms "heaven" and "home" interchangeably. Like the spirit of the righteous man (2) which "Still homewards flies",

Celestial natures still
Aspire for home. (3)

Man "ever restless and Irregular"

knows he hath a home, but scarce knows
where,
He says it is so far,
That he hath quite forgot how to go there. (4)

and

trees, herbs, flowres, all
Strive upwards stil, and point him the way home. (5)

1. "Corruption" p.440.
The figure of "first love" as emblematic of early goodness is to be found also in "The Retreat" p.419 and "The Constellation" p.470.
2. "Righteousness" p.525.
3. "The Palm-tree" p.490.
4. "Man" p.477.
5. "The Tempest" p.461.

"And why then" asks Vaughan,

And why then grieve we to be sent
Home by our first fair punishment.....
Alas! my God! take home thy sheep;
This world but laughs at those that weep. (1)

The only remedy for this and other evils is not to forget the soul's
"first birth" (2) and "fill thy brest with home" (3)

That Vaughan was attracted by the idea of an ante-natal state as an explanation of present feeling is obvious. But the attraction is expressed in a series of affirmations which have not passed through the stages of argument; which are the result of visual conception, not of logical deduction; which have been emotionally realised, not intellectually apprehended; whose impulse is religious and personal not philosophical. If Platonism supplies the imagery, underneath there is the Christian dogma of an eternal God, foreknowing and foreseeing. Vaughan's speculation is bolder in phrasing, but actually hardly more liberal than that of others who considered themselves entirely orthodox and resolves itself into little more than a belief in re-incorporation with the Divine Life (alternatively "the wombe of things" (4)) that gave being. Indeed Vaughan by his emphasis on childhood gives the impression of using as his primary notion the indisputable fact of man's fall from a sinless state in Eden (he uses the words Paradise and Eden almost interchangeably), and from thence arguing back or extending retroactively the paradisaical state of happiness and innocence to a period before birth. A slight shifting of emphasis, an admission, very easy

1. "Fair and yong light" p.514.

2. "The Sap" p.475.

3. "The Proffer" p.488. There is a humorous reference to traduction in the Epistle Dedicatory Thalia Rediviva and to infusion in "To his friend" p.44.

4. p.401. "Resurrection and Immortality"

for Vaughan to make, of the validity of Platonic doctrine, and the "vast Eternity" from whence we came ceases to be a desert, and becomes opulent with activity and experience, and peopled. (1)

As in the kindred matter of pre-existence, Vaughan is at one with his generation in its interest in childhood and the Fall. So, many and so complicated were the fantasias composed on these themes that it is not always possible to decipher the primary subject or basic idea. To some of the hardier and more vehement spirits the circumstance of the first man's fall was viewed as the archetype of the drama being eternally re-enacted in the life of each man of all succeeding generations; and sin, with the atonement, took chief place in their disputations. In other more delicate and less theological minds, the emphasis was on the experience of the individual. The prismatic radiance of childhood and the following disenchantment which they themselves had undergone were taken as the epitome or symbol of the tragic adventures of the human spirit in eternity and came to be the focal point of their musings.

Seventeenth century literature supplies examples of both methods of approach, though the first is commoner. The first, with its dependence on Biblical authority, is found chiefly in sermons and prose; but the greatest poem of the century is also the greatest representative of Hebraic teaching on man's first disobedience and its

1. In his translation of Nieremberg's "Of Life and Death", Vaughan had the opportunity, which he did not take, of defending or censuring the implied condemnation of the theory of pre-existence: "If Soules were Preexistent as one Origen dreamt, as Cebes, Plato, Hermes, and the other Philosophers, the great Father of Hereticks, have affirmed" p.282.

consequence. Vaughan, though his stress is differently placed, cannot ignore it,

for that Act
That fel him, foyl'd them all,
He drew the Curse upon the world, and Crackt
The whole frame with his fall. (1)

Among lyrists the subjective point of view was bound to have more appeal. These utilised their own experience and, whilst acknowledging Scripture as their chief authority, they also employed Platonism freely as a rational justification of their own intuitions when they strayed beyond Biblical territories. But to all of them, whatever particular facet they treat, the subject was invested with both cosmic and personal meaning. And much of their preoccupation with man's early state of innocence and his fall from it was due to the conviction that in the sorrows of their day they were experiencing the direct result of that first sin.

It is this fact of sin, his own and mankind's, that looms largest in Donne's view and casts its shadow over the past both of the world and the individual. The soul of man, it is true has " a natural disposition to moral goodness, as the body hath to health".(2) But the forces of evil are not merely arrayed in visible battalions; they are more like hereditary disease within, foredooming to evil:

Therein lies the soul's disadvantage, that whereas the causes that hinder the cure of a bodily wound, are extrinsic offences of the air, and putrefaction from thence, the causes in the wounds of the soul, are intrinsic, so as no other man can apply physic to them; nay, they are hereditary, and there was no time early enough for ourselves to apply anything by way of prevention, for the wounds were as soon as we were, and sooner.(3)

1. "Corruption" p.440.

2. Sermon XLIX. "Preached upon the Penitential Psalms" Aiford II p.407.

3. Ibid. Sermon XLIX "Preached upon the Penitential Psalms" Aiford II. p.407.

Even the child, therefore, cannot escape the taint:

Here was a new soul, but an old sore; a young
child, but an inveterate disease. (1)

Just as to be born was not a matter of the writer's choosing, so sin, which comes automatically with birth, was thrust upon him:

....We cannot conceive any interim, any distance,
between the infusing and the sickening, between the
coming and the sinning of the soul. So that there
was no means of prevention; I could not so much as
wish, that I might be no sinner, for I could not
wish that I might be no child. (2)

The doctrine of original sin may with the years have become a matter of personal conviction to the Dean of St. Paul's exhorting a congregation of probably uninformed persons, but it seems not to have held the younger Donne, the poet. Such is perhaps a legitimate inference to be drawn not only from his meditations on pre-existence, but also from his apparent reference to an early sinless state:

If our Soules have stain'd their first white, yet wee
May cloth them with faith, and deare honestie,
Which God imputes, as native puritie.
(3)

Browne's convictions are finally and clearly stated in the Religio Medici. The doctrine of original sin he accepts so wholeheartedly as to make him view the states of childhood and guilt as inseparable:

I find in my confirmed age the same sins I
discovered in my youth; I committed many then because I
was a child: and because I commit them still, I am yet
an infant. (4)

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Grierson l.185. "To Mr. Rowland Woodward" written probably before
1605.

4. l.XLII.

This, probably,- together with that sense of a sudden degradation from a pre-terrene paradise into the mortal state of evil with sorrow which is less marked in Browne,- is the attitude predominating among the Silurist's contemporaries. A few, however, see the paradisaical condition carried over after birth into childhood. From a state essentially good and circumstances of corresponding happiness, any change must be a descent. But the declination may be stealthy and unrealised by the victim, so gradual that the first few years of life may remain spiritually almost stationary. Infancy is thus an extension of the primal felicity of which man is only a short leaseholder. The apotheosis of the child-nature resulting from this conception is seen first, perhaps, in John Earle's Microcosmographie published in 1628, with its character of "A Child":

He is nature's fresh picture newly drawn in oil; which time, and much handling, dims and defaces. His soul is yet a white paper unscribbled with observations of the world, wherewith at length it becomes a blurred note-book. He is purely happy because he knows no evil, nor hath made means by sin to be acquainted with misery.....His father hath writ him as his own little story, wherein he reads those days of his life that he cannot remember, and sighs to see what innocence he has outlived. The elder he grows he is a stair lower from God..... Could he put off his body with his little coat, he had got Eternity without a burden, and exchanged but one heaven for another.

Traherne, the great apostle of Childhood, was (1) as yet unborn, but the space intervening is filled by the Vaughan brothers. Thomas, conscious ever of the divine origin and past of the human spirit, is inclined to find in Adam's history an allegory of each man's course:

1. ~~See p~~ (in Earle's day) See p 275

He was excluded from a glorious Paradise and confined to a base world, whose sickly, infected elements, conspiring with his own nature, did assist and hasten that death which already began to reign in his body. Heaven did mourn over him, the earth and all her generations about him. He looked upon himself as a felon and a murderer, being guilty of that curse and corruption which succeeded in the world because of his Fall. (1)

His attention is caught by the antithesis between the divinity in man and his present baseness:

When I found out this truth, that man in his original was a branch planted in God and that there was a continual influx from the stock to the scion, I was much troubled at his corruptions and wondered his fruits were not correspondent to his root. (2)

The change, he decides, has come about imperceptibly; To man earth is at first

a glorious, transparent room, a crystal castle, and he lives like a familiar in diamonds,

he is caught inextricably in her snares and

at last the earth grows over him out of the water, so that he is quite shut up in darkness. (3)

Thomas Vaughan's conclusions on this point owe less to theology or philosophy than to observation. And his consideration of childhood is approached from the angle of a personal experience which included study of nature and her effects:

This consideration of myself when I was a child hath made me since examine children, namely, what thoughts

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1. Magia Adamica 143
 2. Anthroposophia Theomagica p.10.
 3. Aula Lucis p.329. It is hardly necessary to point out the affinity in thought of this passage with Wordsworth's Ode.

they had of those elements we see about us; and I found thus much of them that Nature in her simplicity is much more wise than some men are, with their acquired parts and their sophistries. Of a truth I thought myself bound to prove all things, that I might attain to my lawful desires... A child, I suppose, in puris naturalibus, before education alters and ferments him, is a subject hath not been much considered, for men respect him not till he is company for them, and then indeed they spoil him. Notwithstanding, I should think, by what I have read, that the natural disposition of children, before it is corrupted with customs and manners, is one of those things about which the ancient philosophers have busied themselves, even to some curiosity. (1)

For the hiatus between care-free infancy and harassed maturity, blame must be laid on the exchange of natural desires for the ambitions imposed by society:

We see little children, who are newly come from under her i.e. Nature's hand, will be dabbling in dirt and water, and other idle sports affected by none but themselves. The reason is they are not as yet captivated, which makes them seek their own pleasures. But when they come to age then love or profit makes them square their actions according to other men's desires..... Now, Nature is a free spirit that seeks no applause. (2)

So that it is the child as nature's creature, unspoiled by the action of the world, which arouses Thomas' reverence.

Thomas Vaughan's utterances on the subject, like those of Henry Vaughan, were made between 1650 and 1655; so that it is idle here to argue questions of precedence or influence. What is immediately visible on comparison is the similarity of their views. But that which in the prose-writer appears as neutral, soberly clad statement of fact, in the work of the poet springs into motion, alive and urgent, with alternately the weight of a proclamation and the persuasiveness of an appeal.

1. Euphrates p.396.
2. Coelum Terrae p.201.

Remembrance of a compulsory forsaking of "the sea of light" from which came the "poor souls" of men, that

sudden translation from the Empyrean light, into the darke and grosse prisons of flesh, and this inferiour World; .. such a strange and unexpected change (like a great and violent fall,) (1)

does not dispel the auroral hue which to the eyes of the older exile surrounds the newcomers. Sin also bulks largely in his thoughts, but, with his quasi-Pelagian view of a conflict (the result of which, however, seems to be fore-ordained defeat) the child has a temporary reprieve. Thus "The Burial Of an Infant" becomes the occasion of an aubade, sung to celebrate an escape to familiar surroundings, rather than an elegy.

Blest Infant Bud, whose Blossome-life
Did only look about, and fal,
Wearyed out in a harmlesse strife
Of tears, and milk, the food of all;

Sweetly didst thou expire: Thy soul
Flew home unstain'd by his new kin,
For ere thou knew'st how to be foul,
Death wean'd thee from the world, and sin.(2)

Current theories would do much toward moulding the expression of his thought, but the particular poignancy of Vaughan's poems on childhood is due to the phenomenon of his own experience. The phantasmal child Vaughan haunts his maturity and the adult regards it with a kind of envious tenderness, as if his connection with it had been lost. This ghost of ideal childhood perhaps finds its most perfect monument in the poem entitled "Childe-hood" with its

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1. Of Life and Death p.283 The parenthesis is Vaughan's addition to the original.
 2. p.450.

Dear, harmless age! the short, swift span,
 Where weeping virtue parts with man;
 Where love without lust dwells, and bends
 What may we please, without self-ends.....
Which Angels guard, and with it play,
 Angels! which foul men drive away.
 How do I study now, and scan
 Thee, more than ere I studyed man,
 And onely see through a long night
 Thy edges, and thy bordering light!
 O for thh Center and mid-day!
 For sure that is the narrow way. (1)

This poem makes it clear that it is not children, but childhood with which Vaughan is in love. He kept his own unsullied memories of childhood in some sealed casket and felt that here was the sole repository of joy and the sole inspiration for the present. Time he resolutely divides into past, present, and future; there is a boundary wall between them and they are absolute in themselves. The present

9 x My days, which are at best dull and hoary,
 Their glimeringe and decays. (2)

in which he includes the immediate future of life "in this windy world" is "a long night" (3) so vexed with difficulties that he will not willingly linger over it:

haplesse I still weep;
 Weep that I have out-liv'd
 My life, and unreliev'd
 Must (soul-lesse shadow!) so live on,
 Though life be dead, and my joys gone.
 (~~As time by me did pass~~) (4)

He uses it only to point and emphasise as an example of evil. And although he enjoys discussing his chances of happiness in the world of light, it is clear that Heaven's promise of a repetition of past happiness is that which gives him the keenest joy in anticipation.

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1. p.521.
 2. "They are all come into the world of light" p.484.
 3. "Childe-hood" p.521.
 4. p.513. "As time by me did pass".

Only the two extremes of the journey offer any matter for satisfaction and it is only of the past that he can speak with any authority. Interwoven with joy in his memories is sorrow at the diurnal lengthening of the distance between the present and "that plaine" hovering perilously on the horizon, and fear lest the vision of "That shady City of Palme trees" should fade and he be compelled to surrender it entirely as a mirage.

To Vaughan, the sense of man's tremendous falling off in grace and loss of God's favour because of sin is made more real by the hopelessness of his own position:

Why is my God thus slow and cold,
When I am most, most sick and sad?
Well fare those blessed days of old
When thou didst hear the weeping Lad! (1)

"Looking back" he sighs for the days and nights of his "first, happy age; An age without distast and warrs" (2). Lost amid the blasts of storms and tempests of the spirit he cries:

I've lost
A traine of lights, which in those Sun-shine dayes
Were my sure guides, (3)

Driven almost to desperate measures against the "men or war", he is restrained by the words of Scripture forbidding conquest by the sword and prays for "a sweet, revengeless, quiet minde" and

a heart as milde
And plain, as when I was a childe. (4)

To the Silurist, infancy has some of the attributes of its angelic guardians and playfellows and can "Teach age, the Holy way" (5).

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1. "Begging" p.500.
 2. p.640.
 3. "Mans fall, and Recovery" p.411.
 4. "The men of War" p.517.
 5. "As time one day" p.512.

Its pedagogy is thus in direct contrast with the "black art" dispensed by the adult. The years bring only evil accretions - "all that age doth teach, is ill" (1) - and there can be no remedy until mankind obeys the injunction given to the Pharisee,

wash till thy flesh
Comes like a childes, spotless and fresh.
(2)

But to Vaughan himself, the loss was irretrievable:

I cannot reach it; and my striving eye
dazles at it, as at eternity. (3)

Most memorable of all with its note of supplication, of vain entreaty, for the return of his early sinless state and the companions of his innocence, is "The Retreate", with the Phaedrus in the foreground and a vast shadowy hinterland of Platonic philosophy. His praise of childhood and his comparison of it with the "youthful and fair" in Nature, - a lamb, or dove, and flowers, - (4) become more significant when viewed in connection with his utterances condemning the world, its "lov'd wisdom" and

the dreadful brink
And precipice it leads to. (5)

In them both is a horror of the compromises, the softening of unvarnished truth, which "complying with the world" seemed to him to demand. And the peculiar blessedness of childhood stands revealed as an un-effaced sensitiveness; a freedom from the shackles with which social Man has bound himself, and so ultimately in an instinctive obedience

1. "Childe-hood" p.521.
2. "St. Mary Magdalen" p.509.
3. "Childe-hood" p.520.
4. "Childe-hood" p.521.
5. "The hidden Treasure" p.520.

to those laws of Nature of which Vaughan was the faithful psalmist.

The thought of the world and its complex social devices always sets Vaughan's mind wandering to Eden and the childhood of the world when God walked in the garden and angels visited the earth; (1) when life was lived in tents surrounded with flocks and conveniently situated for wells and fountains,

and still Paradise lay
In some green shade, or fountain,
Angels lay Leiger heré; Each Bush, and Cel,
Each Oke, and high-way knew them,
Walk but the fields, or sit down at some wel,
And he was sure to view them. (2)

He mourns the passing away of the excellent society of those days composed of angels "Patriarchs, Saints, and Kings" (3) and, like fallen Man,

sigh'd for Eden and would often say
Ah! what bright days were those? (4)

The Patriarchal life of the Old Testament was enchanted for him by time's distances and he is continually referring back to check present experience by that perfect example and model of what life should be. The poem "Religion" gives a kaleidoscopic view of the pastoral life of Genesis as if this kind of life were of its own nature the life lived religiously:

My God, when I walke in those groves,
And leaves thy spirit doth still fan,
II see in each shade that there growes
An Angell talking with a man.

1. "Ascension" Hymn p.483.

2. "Corruption" p.440.

3. "The Shepherds" p.470.

4. "Corruption" p.440.

Under a Juniper, some house,
Or the coole Mirtles canopie,
Others beneath an Oakes greene boughs,
Or at some fountaines bubling Eye;

Here Jacob dreames, and wrestles; there
Elias by a Raven is fed,
Another time by th'Angell, where
He brings him water with his bread;

In Abr'hams Tent the winged guests
(O how familiar then was heaven!)
Eate, drinke, discourse, sit downe, and rest
Untill the Coole, and shady Even. (1)

Shut out of its former happiness by sin, even the Palm-tree suffers
this nostalgia for Eden, and

like a male-content
It thrives no where. (2)

The significance of the Rainbow as a "pledge of peace" lies in its
linking with the present of the time

When Terah, Nahor, Haran, Abram, Lot,
The youthful worlds gray fathers in one knot,
Did with intentive looks watch every hour
For thy new light, and trembled at each shower. (3)

Few others of Vaughan's age betray the same spirit. Browne, for
example, who in Christian Morals (4) with a sudden access of realism
bluntly observes,

The world was early bad, and the first sin the most
deplorable of any.... It may be feared that their sins
kept pace with their lives,

would have had small sympathy with his fellow physician in this matter.

The nucleus or core of all Vaughan's meditations on the
subject is the recollection of the intensity of his own youthful happin-

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1. p.404.
 2. "The Palm-tree" p.490.
 3. "The Rain-bow" p.509.
 4. Part 3.1.

ess, but it is an easy step for him to think of all ages sufficiently remote as sharing the secret. The searchlight imagination of the poet plays on the mass and picks out new and changing shapes. From a rapt poring over the image of his early transfigured self he moves to make antiquarian guesses at life when there were giants in the earth and men of renown. Quite naturally the golden age of the world for him coincided with its infancy and his heroes were the Biblical mighty men which were of old. The thought of the many advantages of being a Patriarch lead him on to become mystically sociological. He contrasts contemporary communal life, so haphazard and scattered, unhappy and disunited, with that compact tribal society all radiating from a central power and strengthened by it. And the outlines of the earthly Patriarch become blurred and finally lose themselves in the amplitude of the benignant Pater Omnipotens of Vaughan's faith. The first erring children of men become confused in his mind and multiply into the innumerable sons of God who were going astray so disastrously in the middle of the seventeenth century. Abel's blood "still vocal" still complained "of bloody Cain" and Cromwell's troops showed their descent very clearly.

His desire to obliterate the present, with all its woes, manifests itself diversely. Boethius, with his backward look and love of the "Felix prior aetas" the "mores priscos", is the philosopher Vaughan most delights to honour by translating, and even his self-chosen title of Silurist shows this same endeavour to identify himself with an earlier age.

CHAPTER 8.

Style

Vaughan's reputation must, undoubtedly, stand or fall by his religious poems, the work of his maturity. But the tendency to ignore his secular poems almost entirely has had at least one unfortunate result. It has led to a somewhat one-sided view of his powers, and particularly, though indirectly, to an unduly sweeping condemnation of his technical shortcomings. Were the accusations confined only to what at first glance seems an inefficiency, an awkwardness in handling his tools, the matter might be allowed to rest there as of little importance. But criticism is inclined to speak deprecatingly of his style as if that, too, disclosed a general incompetency in expression.

Fuller knowledge of his best work confirms the suspicion raised by his single excursion into pastoral that Vaughan had little instinct to save himself in time and energy; few poets have availed themselves so little of the various labour-saving and effect-producing devices legitimately open to him. The great contemporary example in this matter seems not to have converted him. But that the renouncement of all claims to address the sensual ear, the dedication of his gift to a piping to the spirit, the change from popular to unpopular, was

entirely voluntary and not due to lack of aptitude is proved by his mastery of conventional technique in the first two volumes where he works almost entirely in the current idioms and formulae. Few, if any, precedents were available to encourage him in an undertaking attended by so much risk.

Both explanation and justification can be discovered in Vaughan's attempt and achievement to sing a new song based on a new theory. For Vaughan's were not the hit or miss performances of the amateur, still less of a careless dilettante. In the same way that a later poet was to fear poetic diction as a "mechanical device of style," and because of its obscuring effect, so Vaughan distrusted all artifice and for the same reason. Any short cuts which might, in fact, lead astray, he rejected and in this showed a sophistication the credit for which is often denied him. His later style was the result of an amalgam of qualities in which cogitation on poetry, its nature, aims and subjects had its full share. And if he had but a fragmentary general philosophy of art, he went far toward evolving his own theory of poetry.

Noticeable in this, as in all his thinking, is an insistence on penetrating to first principles. So anxious is he to have the foundation firmly built, the framework strongly erected, that often details and, particularly, illustrations, which would have added greatly to the value of his utterances are omitted. Although for example, the basic elements of his theory of poetry are clearly shown, the secondary problem of manner of technique is practically ignored. But although we cannot help regretting that he was not

more explicit on a point so relevant to any attempt at evaluation of his work, yet enough remains to form an indispensable commentary.

With the awakening of the consciousness of his own powers, shown even in his early work came a realisation of the special distinction conferred on the poet, a distinction so rare as to give its recipient a kind of sanctity:

Poets (like Angels) where they once appear
Hallow the place, and each succeeding year
Adds rev'rence to't. (1)

Confirmatory evidence of musing on the subject and a conclusion similar in import but intensified, is scattered throughout his work, but the formal defence is the Preface to Silex Scintillans. The vehemence of this apology for his art, even though much of it consists of an attack on those "which in the late notion are termed Wits" (2), makes it into something of a manifesto on the poet and his responsibilities, hence on his importance:

May, the more acute the Author is, there is so much
the more danger and death in the work. (3)

With the cessation of the other vital functions, Vaughan reflects, most men are relieved of their burdens; but the influence of the Writer's works do follow him and he makes for himself vast posthumous cares:

He that writes idle books, makes for himself
another body, in which he always lives, and sins (after death)
as fast and as foul, as ever he did in his life. (4)

An interest in the double function of art, its relationship to the artist and to the audience, comes out in various places, notably in the apostrophe "To his Books":

1. /To the River Isca" p.39.

2. p.388.

3. p.389.

4. p.390.

Bright books! the perspectives to our weak sights:
 The clear projections of discerning lights.
 Burning and shining Thoughts; man's posthume day:
 The track of fled souls, and their Milkie-way.
 The dead alive and busie. (1)

But it is when he makes his pronouncements on the purpose of art that the extent of his inquiries as well as the strength of his prejudices, his habitually personal and emotional attitude, is revealed. Art for Art's sake has no more determined adversary than this converted spinner of "Cobwebs" (2). To Vaughan, lofty ends, noble subjects, alone make great poetry. And verse which takes as its subject "queint folies, sugred sin", or anything less than the highest, has no more contemptuous derider than this fugitive Cavalier who described such "Idle Verse" as

Blind, desp'rate fits, that study how
 To dresse, and trim our shame,
 That gild rank poyson, and allow
 Vice in a fairer name;

The Purles of youthfull bloud, and bowles,
 Lust in the Robes of Love,
 The idle talk of feav'rish souls
 Sick with a scarf, or glove (3)

Another very suggestive document of his poetics is the last verse of the poem entitled "Anguish"

O! tis an easie thing
 To write and sing;
 But to write true, unfeigned verse
 Is very hard! (4)

Obviously, to him "easie writing" betokened the possession of a facile pen and a technical mastery, but also, as he indicates in the Preface,

1. p.639.

2. "Idle Verse" p.446.

3. "Idle Verse" p.446. See also: "A good wit in a bad subject, is (as Solomon said of the fair and foolish woman) Like a jewel of gold in a swines snowt. cf p.389 also, 391:
 "The true remedy lies wholly in their bosoms, who are the gifted persons, by a wise exchange of vain and vitious subjects, for divine Themes and Celestial praise."
 4. p.526.

"more of fashion, then force"

being onely the productions of a common spirit, and the obvious abullitionsof that light humour, which takes the pen in hand out of no other consideration, then to be seen in print. (1)

The ultima Thule of a poet's endeavour, the writing of "true, unfeigned verse", could only be gained, as Vaughan sees it, by those with high motives, rare powers, and then only at great cost. Vaughan in thus exalting the poet and his mission shows himself in the line of the Romantics who have all testified to the sanctity of the Bard and of his vocation, a vocation which Vaughan further explains as the "copying" (2) of some revelation, the communication unadulterated by the writer's own idiosyncrasy of thought or expression of some sacred inspiration. With Vaughan the Socratic Corybant has become a prophet, but "possession" and fidelity to an inner dictation is still the chief requisite of the poet. Craftsmanship as an aid to expression tends to be neglected. It is, according to this theory, as though the circumstances of the inner vision lose their inarticulateness and, in recreating themselves, are their own illuminant and their own interpreter. Lucidity of utterance, then, can be born only of a tense sincerity and success or failure in this kind of poetry depends on the degree to which the poet is capable of the effort of passivity.

In surveying the broader realm of art Vaughan holds tenaciously to his principles; ↗

(All art without a direct moral intention earned his censure. In perverse mood he contrasts the imitation with the orig-

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1. p.391
 2. p.394.

inal and triumphs in its alleged failure:

Is not fair Nature of her self
 Much richer than dull paint, or pelf?
 And are not streams at the Spring-head
 More sweet than in carv'd Stone, or Lead?
 But fancy and some Artist's tools
 Frame a Religion for fools. (1)

Scriptural precedent, it seems, can be urged in this matter as in many others:

(Those stones, which for the Altar serv'd,
 Might not be smooth'd, nor finely carv'd (2)

and the glory of Solomon's temple was not to be measured against that of Nature's pure Virgin-shrine":

No mercy-seat of gold,
 No dead and dusty Cherub, nor carv'd stone
 But his own living works did my Lord hold
 And lodge alone. (3)

He joins forces with the Puritan enemy and shows his zeal not only in formal siege as in his attack on dancing:

Vain, sinful Art! who first did fit
 Thy lewd loath'd Motions unto sounds,
 And made grave Musique like wilde wit
 Erre in loose airs beyond her bounds? (4)

but in side thrusts at "Music, Masque" and "Showe" "Music and mirth" and at

the lascivious musick of Fiddlers, which only
 Cloy and weary the ears (5)

To Vaughan, secular art was always in the closest alliance with the "world", his dual view of which led to a double condemnation of the ally. So that much of the beauty created in the world by man could

1. "The Bee" p.653.

2. "The World" p.651.

3. "The Night" p.522.

4. p.503.

5. "The Praise and Happinesse of the Country" Life" p.128.

have no other significance to him than, philosophically, the result of wasted effort, a deplorable antithesis to nature; and, ethically, evil allurements, snares to entrap the human spirit. Much, then, both of example and aesthetic experience, which might have gone to the enrichment of his genius was, perhaps unfortunately, inaccessible to him. (1)

But the very heat of his philippics declares his susceptibility to the charm of that which he denounces. And in thus banishing all but a few selected makers from the city, Vaughan pays his oblique compliment to their power. Here again in his condemnation, he proceeds consistently according to the letter of his gospel of nature, even though, as it seems, he was unfaithful to the leadings of the spirit of his own nature which desired some commerce with that which he felt was dangerous to him.

His poetical or spiritual biography (they are one) discloses a remarkable sequence of things working together for good. The Preface is admittedly a personal confession and it shows, although he cloaks it in the phraseology of religion, that he was conscious of having reached saturation point in poetical imitation. That point was not, however, reached before brief apprenticeships to various masters had left him with some technical possessions. But his undirected talents needed an inner force to concentrate and channel them. Above all, vagrant fancies, scattered interests, needed to be subdued to a higher seriousness and the release of his full energy could only come by the discipline of denial. His conversion, whatever its causes and inner processes, undoubtedly gave him the

1. In this matter Vaughan might with profit have sat at the feet of Browne: "Now nature is not at variance with art, nor art with nature, - art is the perfection of nature." Religio Medici. part 1. XVI.

convictions and the sense of dedication necessary to relate all his energies to one end.

The transformation of the versifier into a poet brought its rewards, but also its distresses. There is evidence that from being in his early poems one of a mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease, Vaughan, as he changed his conception of poetry and became a greater poet, wrote with more difficulty. And here it is probable that theory followed after practice and was engineered as much to justify his own ways to himself as to proselytize. His fulminations against those writers who

aimed more at verse, than perfection; as may be easily gathered by their frequent impressions, and numerous pages: Hence sprang those wide, those weak, and lean conceptions (1)

show that he must have been himself a slow and laborious worker. And there is no mistaking the anguish with which in the poem so entitled he implores aid to deliver himself of what he has conceived.

Some of this effort leaves its mark on his work. To write "unfeigned verse", tense always to catch the "spirit-voice" (2) would of necessity involve a good deal of strain and much wear and tear. That Vaughan's strength often became exhausted (3) is proved by the superiority, by whatever criteria they are judged, of the short poems over the longer ones, and, on the whole, by the weakness of his endings compared with his beginnings with their various kinds of beauty. The first lines of all his best poems are startling. They may announce some tremendous happening such as:

1. p.391.
2. "The Morning-watch" p.424.
3. None of his sacred poems, save "Rules and Lessons" which has 144 lines, exceeds 90 lines in length and they average less than 50 lines. "Daphnis", his longest poem, runs to 184 lines.

I saw Eternity the other night, (1)

or make some urgent demand:

Can any tell me what it is? (2)

or they may act as a sad prelude

Silence and stealth of dayes!

to a sadder elaboration of the theme,
 'tis now

Since thou art gone,
Twelve hundred houres, and not a brow,
But Clouds hang on. (4)

Or they may strike a note of hopelessness:

I knew it would be thus. (5)

The reader's attention is easily claimed for the rest of a poem which opens with a paradox like

Darkness & Stars i'th' mid day! (6)

or

A King and no King! (7)

or

How shril are silent tears? (8)

A suggestion of retrospective knowledge on the part of the reader lures him on: "I knew thee not" ~~(54)~~ "I did but see thee!" ~~(55)~~; "I have consider'd it" ; "I have it now"; "I cannot reach it"; "I wrote it down" ; "'Tis madness sure" ; "It is perform'd"; ~~(9)~~ Who could resist being interested in the averted calamity that prompted the hearty:

Well, wee are rescued!

especially, one might add, when he discovers that Sir William D'avenant is in Vaughan's opinion the rescuer of the wide heaven of English poesy.

1. "The World" p.436.
2. "The World" p.649. ~~X~~
4. p.425.
5. "An Elegy on the death of Mr. R. Hall" p.58.
6. "A Rhapsodis" p.10.
7. "The King Disguised" p.605.
8. "Admission" p.453.
9. pp 434; 514; 520; 528; 606; 611.

Of the newspaper headline.type are the first lines of "Isaacs Marriage"

Praying! and to be married? (1)

Vaughan's last lines have an exhausted and bloodless look about them and shows a poet in a hurry to have it over:

Then, who would truly limn thee out, must paint
First, a young Patriarch, then a marri'd Saint. (2)

The last line of "The Call" :

Those beasts were cleane, that chew'd the Cud (3)

probably owes its existence to the same inevitable languor; and the anti-climax of the ending of "The King Disguis'd"

O strength not
With too much trust the Treason of a Scot! (4)

is emphasised by the (for Vaughan) unusual sharpness of the rhyme. Even more understandable is the declension, when his strength flags and he wavers into vagueness, seen not only in last lines but in the whole of the last verse in, for example, "And do they so?", or "The Timber" and even in "The World". The atmosphere of his summits was too rarified for Vaughan to make lengthy sojourns there.

Possibly his limitations, or rather, his inclinations as a craftsman, are shown most plainly in his metrical arrangements. His verse often stumbles along like a man so intent on some distant peak that he cannot spare attention to the pathway at his feet. But by so doing, he draws notice to the peak and that was Vaughan's purpose. A style like the one he finally evolved, abrupt and exclamatory could never accomodate itself to the tyranny of unvaried pauses and stresses. And Vaughan had not the unbounded patience and ingenuity of the born

1. p.408.
3. p.416.

2. Ibid 410.
4. p.606.

craftsman to match and patch and fit together. Moreover, to reduce his conceptions to an external mould would have cut across his intention, which was to deliver intact ("copy") what was revealed. If it be demanded, what is the worth of productions unsubjected to such discipline as conformation to a metrical pattern requires, it may be answered that the composition had gone through the much severer discipline involved in arriving at security of conception. The effort lay in getting the conception clear. To a particular degree it is probable that "conception" to Vaughan included a fusion of thought, feeling, colour, (there is very little in Vaughan's work), shape, and movement developing inseparably as one, though gradually and painfully. So that the perfection of his prosody at its best is not well exhibited by scansion which attempts to view metre as a separate part of the composition, still less as a decoration or garment to be assumed or cast off. But in some poems (chiefly those in octosyllabics) the unit is not the line (this is due partly to the indecisiveness of his rhymes) but the phrase with one or two strong accents. And here, metre, - a regular expected beat, - provides the connection, keeps the composition in movement until the next high point is reached. The great task of Vaughan's measures is to assist exactitude of expression, hence in themselves to be generally unobtrusive.

Very rarely, and then, paradoxically, only when he has a master of verse-making such as Herbert in front of him, does he relapse into jog-trot or metrical monotony. Blank verse is the measure which Olor Iscanus suggests might have suited Vaughan because of its

adaptability. There is no record, however, of his having even experimented with it and on inspection it is obvious that its paragraphs have to be longer than Vaughan could manage. Where he uses heroic verse it is in the couplet, or in elegiacs or in stanza. All through his poetical career the measure that suited him unfailingly was the octosyllabic. His wit is too involved to be enclosed within the couplet so that the metrical paragraph is (often typographically, as in "The Book") very distinctly marked. In continuous verse he uses the hemistich with great power, greater than can be appreciated in brief quotation.

Why should men love
A Wolf, more than a Lamb or Dove? (1)

Whose streams still vocal, still complain
Of bloody Cain. (2)

Not one beam triumphs, but from far
That morning-star. (3)

Arise, arise!
And like old cloaths fold up these skies. (4)

for his more complex compositions Vaughan has a variety of forms. He is particularly fond of the quatrain, sometimes with a couplet added, as in "Cock-crowing", sometimes in an abbaacc arrangement as in "I walkt the other day", more often in the abab disposition of "Timber" and "They are all gone into the world of light". In his subtler work like "The World" (of Silex), "The Check", "The Night", "Regeneration", "Resurrection and Immortality", the circular, eddying movement of his thought is expressed in stanzas of intricate design.

1. "Childhood" p.521.

2. "Abels blood" p.523.

3. "The Dawning" p.452.

4. "L'Envoy" p.542.

It is when his inspiration flags that Vaughan's verse achieves the "regularity" for the lack of which he has been censured. His verse at its best subjects itself to, grows out of, not merely the major rhythm of section or stanza but also the higher and more complex laws governing complete representation of conception. So that when examined in detail, the "wrenching of the accent" of which Jonson was pleased to accuse Donne, is with Vaughan, as with the earlier poet, the cause of some of his most felicitous effects. In neither case is it due to incompetence, though one conjectures that with Vaughan its use, though quite as inevitable, was not as consciously studied as with Donne.

Blasted with sighs and surrounded with tears
Hither I come to seek the spring.

has its counterpart in the fine displacements of:

Dear, beauteous Death! the jewel of the just
Shining nowhere, but in the dark. (1)

Many of his first lines show a disposition either to linger on the first syllable and then rest on the fourth as in:

Father of lights! what Sunnie seed... (2)

or weighing the steadfastness and state (3) or to run over the first three syllables and linger on the fourth:

They are all gone into the world of light! (4)

or

What ever 'tis whose beauty here below (5)

Miracles are made credible by the earnestness and emphasis Vaughan gives to each short statement by accent and pause; the presence of saints

1. "They are all gone" p.484.
 2. "The Bury" p.497 "But as the Bury of light"

3. "Cock-crowing" p.483.

3. "Man" p.477.

4. "They are all gone" p.483

5. "The Starre" p.489.

and angels on earth,-

I see them, hear them, mark their haste, and move
Amongst them, with them, wing'd with faith and love,
(1)

is as undeniable a fact as the sentiency of stones:

They hear, see, speak (2)

So, too, the heavily stressed monosyllables of the lines in Childe-hood,

An age of mysteries! which he
Must live twice, that would Gods face see (3)

give unshakable conviction (though at the cost of euphony) to the declaration. Of particular interest with its strongly marked chord at the beginning, the vibrations of which are felt all along the ripples of the line until they mingle with the final chord struck on the last syllable, is the first line of "L'Envoy":

O the new worlds new, quickning Sun! (4)

Seldom can an experience, with the first rush of emotion marked by exclamation, followed by dawning apprehension which grows to fuller perception and then complete realisation, have been mirrored so fully in one line.

There is much in Vaughan's prosody to recall Dr.

Bridges' remarks on that

learned rhythm which is very rich in variety, and the beauty of which is its perpetual freedom to obey the sense and diction.

Although Vaughan continually varies the weights in his line, it is never for variety's or music's sake alone. Metrically his chief study was to avoid anything not created directly from the experience he relates, to eschew anything already fingered or with relationships which would muffle content.

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- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. "Ascension-Day" p.481. | 2. "The Stone" p.515. |
| 3. p.521. | 5. p.541. |

In his imagery, as in other things, Vaughan proves that originality is not synonymous with inventiveness. He "summon'd nature: peirc'd through all her store" not only for his physic but also for his poetry. Siluria supplies many of his illustrations. The River Honddu appears incognito and Usk repeatedly by name and the Brecon Beacons have their part in the picture of "dark hills, swift streams and steep ways". The mountain mists of Wales, vexations, doubtless, of his lonely journeys on horse-back, were viewed as hostile concealers of the hills which seem to have had for him some of the help-giving qualities of their Biblical prototypes and to have served also as a perpetual reminder of the holy hill of Zion:

Either disperse these mists, which blot and fill
 My perspective (still) as they pass,
 Or else remove me hence unto that hill,
 Where I shall need no glass. (1)

These same mists come eventually to signify the difficulties of this life, temporal sorrows which are the certain auguries of joys hereafter:

Mists make but triumphs for the day. (2)

There must have been beehives at Newton, then, as now, and their inhabitants seem to have been silent but sage influences upon him. It is largely the bees' industry that is praised as a model for man:

By sucking you, the wise (like Bees) do grow
 Healing and rich. (3)

But the busy life of the hive, particularly the shelter and rest it affords to its inmates, as an analogy to heaven also attracts Vaughan:

.....like a laden Bee
 I may fly home, and hive with thee. (4)

-
- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| 1. "They are all gone" p 484. | 2. "Death" p.534. |
| 3. "To his Books" p.640. | |
| 4. "The Bee" 654. See also "Sondayes" p.447. "Providence" p.505. | |
| "The Seed growing secretly" p.511. "The Agreement" p.529. | |
| "Death" p.534, "The Obsequies" p.537, "To the pious memorie of C.W. Esq.", p.610. | |

The frequent introduction of landlords, tenants, leases, tenure, rent and cottages as metaphors has its biographical interest and reminds us that the writer was also the prosperous owner of Newton and its fertile acres and cousin of the owner of the neighbouring Tretower Court.(1)

More interesting still are metaphors (many of which Mr. Blunden has pointed out) drawn from his profession. Very familiar and true to life is the physician's conjuration as if to the amateur nurse.

..... Get then this sap, and get
Good store of it, but let
The vessel where you put it be for sure
To all your power most pure.

Be sure, and never miss,
To wash your vessel wel: Then humbly take
This balm for souls that ake. (2)

The time will come:

....when all this frame is but one dramme.

Afflictions are so often referred to as "Pills" that we come almost to accept these words as synonymous. For the anointing of the eyes of the spiritually blind the flames of "holy fire" mixed with tears is the best "eye-salve". God's care and love

New Cordials, new Cathartics deal. (3)

From his own observation comes the force of this reference to the righteous man as one who injures not "the distress"

Making the time they had
Bitter and sad
Like Chronic pains, which surely kill, though slow.
(4)

-
1. "The Match" p.435, "The Dedication" p.394, "Death" p.533,
"To the pious memorie" p.611, "The Day-spring" p.643.
 2. "The Sap" p.475.
 3. "The Agreement" p.530.
 4. "Righteousness" p.525.

And it is the potential, if not actual, M.D. who is familiar with
the effect of the

bitter curs'd delights of men!
Our souls diseases first, and then
Our bodies; poysons that intreat
With fatal sweetness, till we eat, (1)

who has observed that "poisons by Correction are made Antidotes," (2)
who turns with relief to the thought of

holy, happy, healthy heaven

and finds comfort in the "wholesome themes" of the waterfall.

God's servants are

As harmless violets, which give
their virtues here
For salves and syrups. (3)

The art of the herbalist and the part it played in physic (4) is
demonstrated again in "Childe-hood":

But flowers do both refresh and grace,
And sweetly living (fie oh men!)
Are when dead, medicinal then. (5)

From the more distressing side of his work is culled the observation
on

those cancerous, close arts
Which cause solution in all parts. (6)

as well as the fact that

we hourly breath decays,
And our best note and highest ease
Is but meer changing of the keys,
And a Consumption that doth please. (7)

In such examples as his apostrophe to the "H. Scriptures"

In thee the hidden stone, the Manna lies,
Thou art the great Elixir, rare, and Choice
(8)

-
1. "Fair and yong light" p.513. 2. "To the pious memorie of C.W." p.610.
3. "Death" p.534.
4. A glance through the Sloane MS 630 (which contains parts of Thomas Vaughan's works) provides interesting illustrations of this point.
5. P.521. 6. "L'Envoy" p.542.
7. "White Sunday" p.486. 8. p.441.

and to "Affliction" which
 is the great Elixir that turns gall
 To wine. (1)

the ubiquity of Hermetical notions in his imagination is demonstrated. Exhalations, eclipses, conjunctions, constellations; a Sextile, a Trine, the via Lactea, the Zodiac; all are terms of infinite suggestiveness to him and are constantly utilised figuratively. His ingenuity and capacity for seeing two aspects or two functions to everything, (2) at its highest shown in the mystic's intuition, at its lowest in a fondness for punning, - appears in the sudden change-over he sometimes makes from literal statement to allegory. Thalia Rediviva has some instances of it (3); other brief examples occur in Silex:

They pass as at the last great day, and run
 In their white robes to seek the risen Sun. (4)

Therefore thy wither'd self in haste
 Beneath his blest feet thou didst cast,
 That at the root of this green tree
 Thy great decays restor'd might be. (5)

Did a star

..... haste gladly down
 To lodge light, and increase her own? (6)

Throughout, an aversion to encumbering his lines with simile discloses itself; twice a simile is introduced by the phrase "So have I known", and a brief, parenthetical phrase will very occasionally be prefaced by the word "like". It is however, true to say that Vaughan works almost entirely in metaphor, the swifter, more remunerative, of more hazardous, agent.

1. p.459.

2. "Affliction" p.642. Diseases too, when by thee blest,
 Are both restoratives and rest.

"The Storm" p.424. And wind, and water to thy use
 Both wash, and wing my soul.

3. pp.

4. "Ascension-day" p.481.

5. "St. Mary Magdalen" p.508.

6. "The dwelling-place" p.516.

His diction, too, is so largely metaphorical that it is hardly possible to make a distinction between imagery and phrasing or treat it separately. Again a reluctance or inability to look abroad and recruit his forces from outside the neighbourhood of his own interests is patent. Less, however, a result of his experience as a gentleman poultry-farmer and more the consequence of meeting Herbert's "Whitsunday" with its

Listen sweet Dove unto my song,
And spread thy golden wings in me;
Hatching my tender heart (1)

are such allusions to "hatching" as:

The Doves spotless nest
Where souls are hatch'd unto Eternitie. (2)

And in general it is probable that Vaughan's use of very homely words in a metaphorical sense is a legacy from Herbert. The world is God's "Boxe"; the Lord gathers up the wind in his "fist"; saints are "candles" and "light us into Bed"; death is a "nap"; the body is a "cott"; Heaven has its "bottles"; the soul "undresses" (i.e. puts off the body); the poet is urged to leave his "gadding thoughts"; like the flowers he will "still go neat" aided by the same power that gives "secret meals" to the sap within the plant; he counsels the reader to stick "To thy sure trot" and tells how the holy Dove "through that lock doth peep"; death and darkness are sent "packing" and

Stars shut up shop, mists pack away. (3)

His most frequently repeated verbal idiosyncrasy is the employment of nouns and adjectives as verbs. The effect is

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1. simile which like cold friend sees us but once a year p.478.
 2. "H. Scriptures" p.441. see also pp.410;446;538;614;660.
 3. "Faith" p.451.

sometimes powerful or felicitous but sometimes discordant. Thus Christ "heaven'd their walks" and "Didst with thy Servant Inne"; the writer describes how the heavenly Dew "Blouds and Spirits" all his earth or how God doth "key disorder'd man". "How is man parcell'd out" he enquires. In penitent mood comes the confession that he has deserved a thick, Egyptian damp "Should mist within" him⁽¹⁾ but there is consolation when he reflects that repentance will "wing his soul". Of the same inconspicuous kind are the phrases "Our grass straight russets" ; "well-fleec'd traine"; "Pearl'd with tears"; "purples every grove"; "Mountain'd ~~thing~~ "; "Mountain'd wave". Earlier the weeping Amoret had been assured of his eternal fidelity even though he had "not dust Enough to cabinet a worrne". From that it is an easy step to the concoction of such terms as "to Inch low fame" ; "sug'ring all dangers with success"; "Sai[n]t themselves"; "out-duty me"; "sugr'd sin"; "angel'd from that Sphere"; "Winter'd bloud"; "arted string" and "arted strain"; "proverb'd griefs"; and "proverb'd gold"; "emblem'd truths"; "purpos'd glimpse"; "languag'd like our Infancie"; and "sorrow languag'd on him"; until the climax is perhaps reached by such expressions as

Marriage of all states
Makes most unhappy, or most fortunates (2)

Let the joy'd rode make holy-day (3)

Though then (thus crumm'd) I stray (4)

Thus wilded by a peevish heart (5)

The Sea in rolling waves doth..
.....puddle his Curl'd face. (6)

..... with rash hands she quite turmoiles
The state of things. (7)

stars all drown'd
.....homage his victorious flame. (8)

1. p.433. 2. "Isaac's Marriage" p.409. 3. "Palm-Sunday" p.501.
4. "Buriall" p.428. 5. "Misery" p.474. 6. Translation of Boethius
7. Ibid.9.80. Lib.2. Metrum 1. (lib.1. Metrum 7.
8. Ibid metrum 3. p.31.

With the addition of a suffix, Vaughan sometimes reverses the process and turns a verb into a noun which does duty for a phrase. The result hardly justifies his economy:

I ask not why the first Believer
Did love to be a Country liver? (1)

He apostrophises the shepherds as "Sweet, harmles livers!" and promises that "the wicked liver Shall be consum'd". "Shiner, "cleanser "striver", "rocker", "lookers-back" are other examples of these synthetic nouns. Four lines from his address to the sun in "The Recovery" show what an attraction the trick had for him:

Those nicer livers, who without thy Rays
Stirr not abroad, those may thy lustre praise:
And wanting light (light, which no wants doth know!)
To thee (weak shiner!) like blind Persians bow. (2)

Such telescoping is but one of the many signs of his instinct to discard inessentials and compress much into little. Why in the first kind he should have been comparatively successful in achieving the urgency he desired, and why, in a similiar process reversed, insipidity should be his reward, might admit a wide solution. It is true that the poems in which the nouns occur happen to be on a lower emotional level than the others, but the suffix is probably most to blame. Submerging an individual into the mere doer of an action

1. "Retirement" p. 642.

2. p. 645. Jonson with his "The last of hours and shutter-up of all" ("Elegy on my Muse...Lady Venetia Dignby"), his injunction to Sickness to "devour the waste Livers" ("The Forest"), and the phrases "A great deferrer", "a careless letter-go Of money" ("De Arte Poetica") may have offered encouragement to Vaughan in this matter.

dwarfing a person into a performer, carries its own penalty of anti-climax. (1)

Poetic diction, as the term is commonly understood, Vaughan's work is singularly free from, but occasionally such words as coalescent, luctual, concrescent, imbarres, voices (in the Latin sense) will be found. He is shy of the Latin element in the language and loses thereby in verbal melody and in grace of syntactical design. But much of his strength and particular virtue comes from his employment of Anglo-Saxon monosyllables both in their original and derivative sense. The older "drifan", although it is to be found used similarly in his contemporaries' output, influences him when he says of the seasons

(For while they live, they drive and tend
Still to a change) (2)

and in

Thus thou thy glory through the world dost drive (3)

and also in his mention of

Those white designs which children drive. (4)

Closer to "hebban" than to our word is Vaughan's "heave"

thou dost heave
Thy blessed hands to bless..... (5)

1. I would in addition suggest that our modern pronunciation of all words ending in -r as if they ended in a vowel is also responsible for the general feeling of vagueness and impotency given by the suffix -er.
2. "Boethius Lib.4. Metrum 6. p.632.
3. "Psalm 104.
4. "Childe-hood" p.520.
5. "Ascension-day" p.482.

A little old-fashioned for his date, too, is:

I will not fear what man,
With all his plots and power can;
Bags that wax old may plundered be,
But none can sequester or let
A state that with the Sun doth get. (1)

But the frequent introduction of such words as "throws" and "thrall", - weighty in sound as in import, - gives deliberateness and a feeling also of the gravity of their epic forebears. They are far less of an anachronism, they are far more at ease, in the surroundings provided for them by Vaughan, than the characteristic words of the age immediately preceding. An Elizabethanism coming from one so unlike an Elizabethan as Vaughan carries with it a sense of incongruity matched only by his application of it to the "artless looks and dress" of "The sheep-keeping lynai maid"; Rebekah:

For she is bravest, you confess. (2)

There is a particular Vaughan idiom. Certain words he is so fond of that they become almost like a finger-print, superficial identifying marks which do not, however, necessarily betray the inner, essential quality of his mind. The adjective "vocal" suggests itself as an example. From the vocall Groves" "Vocall Silence" and "Vocall Myrtle" of Olor Iscanus, the "restless, vocall spring", "streams still vocall", "vocall joyes" of Silex Scintillans, to "these vocal Woods and Valleys" of Thalia Rediviva, "vocall" is his favourite way of describing the collective chants of nature. Less reliable as a trademark in a century in which its adjectival use is common, is the word "virgin" but

1. "Providence" p.505.

2. "The Ornament" p.507.

but Vaughan's employment of it as an intensifying compound,- "virgin-snow", "virgin-tears", "virgin-flames", "virgin-lovers", "virgin-crums" "virgin-glory", "virgin-shrine", "virgin-beds",- is unrivalled in frequency. So too, "wings" and "flames" accompany his thoughts almost continually and give Pentecostal fervour to his page. But these were left approximately as they were found; they underwent no subtle metamorphosis at his hands and frequent use has therefore established no kind of possessory claim; they remain common property. But there are other words which he has impressed so deeply with his own stamp that they are as if newly minted.

Few poets have been able to support the high cost of keeping up a personal vocabulary, whether composed of inventions, revivals or technical terms. Fewer still have ventured successfully to draw upon a private lexicon giving a changed value to the units of ordinary speech. It is a perilous adventure and it cannot be said that Vaughan was always successful. In the affectedly simple phrasing of his imitations of Herbert, he failed; he did not by interpreting them anew lift prose terms into poetry. But occasionally he does so analyse, select and synthesise as to create something new and belonging to him alone. That he, or any other poet, can under such circumstances remain intelligible must be due to a most delicate shifting, re-adjustment and re-focussing of the adjacent terms. And this, in turn, betokens an extensive reach and a strong grip on all the constituent elements; and a foreknowledge of their possible behaviour; it demands the ability to visualise the permutations and combinations of circumstances attending the verbal retinue of the main word. This

process Vaughan seems at times to have accomplished and to have succeeded in the feat applauded by Horace, that of giving a subtly new value to the common word:

Dixeris egregie, notum ~~Si~~ callida verbum
Reddiderit junctura novum.

In his condemnation of "a deliberate search, or excogitation of idle words", Vaughan probably included a hunting for different ways of saying the same thing and for synonyms. Many words, it would seem, had to him an unusually well-defined symbolic significance and were not easily to be exchanged or moved from the invariable context they had in his mind. Often they took on the hue of their envisaged surroundings and became not synonymous with any existing word but something a half-tone beyond and safe from the blurring connections of ordinary usage. Iteration of an expression of image is, therefore, independent of the thesis he is at the moment enunciating, a key to his thought. For example, used as Vaughan uses it and enriched with all the associations of innocence and happiness which his doctrines imply, the word "young" becomes strangely illuminative. With what a quality of pathos the helpless state of Hagar and the "yong, distressed Ishmael" becomes invested, and what a vision of earnest infancy learning its letters is conjured up by the "yong eyes" in the lines "To the Holy Bible":

Thou wert the first put in my hand,
When yet I could not understand,
And daily didst my yong eyes lead
To letters, till I learnt to read. (1)

How evocative of a sense of that imagined multiply harmonic between Heaven and its newly-made exiles is Vaughan's description of the children's "Hosanna":

Such yong, sweet mirth
Makes heaven and earth
Joyn in a joyful Symphony. (1)

Nor would the "fair and yong light" which was Vaughan's "guide to holy grief" or the rainbow "still yong and fine" have had their peculiar quality of freshness and purity by the use of any other word. And the most precious attribute of the dead is their youth restored to them in that place

Where youth shines like a star (2)

so that, at the day of judgment, they

like flowers, arise
Youthful and faire to see new skies (3)

An effect of this kind, frail and evanescent at first hearing, gathers force when it recurs throughout a poet's work, just as echoes and reverberations swell an inconspicuous sound. With perhaps even rarer power he causes the affinity with crabbed print and midnight oil of the word "pore" to fade, as the suggestion of laborious physical attention to a great problem is augmented by that of a strained eagerness of spirit,

we shall there no more
Watch stars, or pore
Through melancholly clouds, and say
Would it were Day! (4)

More mechanically contrived, but still subtle and delicate, is his play on the adjective "white". This word, in

Welsh "gwyn" meaning also "holy", seems to have given him as much

1. "Palm-Sunday" p.501.
2. "As time one day by me did pass" p.512.
3. "The day of Judgement" p.530.
4. "Resurrection and Immortality" p.402.

private pleasure as double usages gave to Milton, and he manages to carry over undimmed some of the nacreous lustre of the Welsh equivalent. He mourns for the time when he had not yet taught his soul

to fancy ought
But a white, Celestiall thought. (1)

and he longs once again to recover

Those white designs which children drive. (2)

The thought of the day of judgment prompts him to ask

When shall those first white Pilgrims rise? (3)

Shot with various significance is his allusion to the Prophets in "Righteousness":

Fair, solitary path! Whose blessed shades
The old, white Prophets planted first and drest. (4)

With Vaughan, it is the poetic meaning which makes his diction poetic. None of his words, it is safe to say, were chosen for any other reason than that they expressed his meaning. (5) His best work is lacking in ornament and sensuous appeal and although he is, as "The Water-fall" shows, a master in adapting sound to sense, he seems scarcely conscious of music as in itself one of the qualities of poetry. So that, even apart from the alchemical patois which he uses almost like terms in a formula and which discloses the more specialised courses of his thought, the study of Vaughan's diction is, to an extent commonly true only of the greatest, the study of his metaphysics.

1. "The Retreat" p.419. 2. "Childe-hood" p.520.

3. "The day of Judgment" p.531. 4. p.524.

5. cf. Bailey. Milton. Home University Library. p.18:

"It would scarcely be going too far to say that there is not a word in his verse which owes its place solely to the fact that expresses his meaning."

But he is, of course, a poet of great declensions and when truth fails him, he has no secondary virtues of style to fall back on. Lines as harsh as "Dazzles at it as Eternity" are not difficult to find. Carelessness in general marks his rhyming and leads to a coupling of "slaughter and "laughter", "people" and "sickle", "hand" and warned", "bestow'd and Cloud" and many other ill-assorted sounds as well as the overuse of the admittedly difficult-to-escape "love-dove-above" sequence. The "sheep-keeping" of one of the lines in "The Ornament" is worthy of being placed by the "teach-each" so derided in the Apology for Smectymnuus.(1). Something approaching criminal negligence was responsible for such expressions as "Seeing thy seed" (2), "Duely as Dew" (3). On several occasions, as when, for example, he uses such phrases as "Won with these wonders" (4), "His steed with gold is lead" (5), "Churc'd the Castle" (6), he seems either to have descended to deliberate punning or to have been guilty of almost unbelievable gaucherie. Hardly to be regarded as a fault, however, but illustrative rather of his search after a more complex and subtle means of expression and proof of his care in orchestration, inflection and gradation of effect is his resort to typography as means to that end. Italics, capitals, and brackets make his page look like a conductor's score with personal

1. of The usage of one from whom Milton learned much.
Is it.....

.....To teach each suit he has the ready way
From Hyde-park to the stage.

B.J. Underwoods.

"An Epistle to a friend".

(Master Caolby.p.357.

2. "Cock-crowing" p.488. 3. "Retirement" p.643.
4. "Boethius" lib.3.Metrum 12.p.629. 5. "The Phoenix" p.638.
6. "An Elegie on the death of Mr. R. Hall" p.58.

notes on the interpretation and they are indispensable for a full comprehension of his meaning.

Were the contents of Vaughan's library to be revealed not only the identity of the "old book" to which he refers

I did once read in an old book
Soil'd with many a weeping look (1)

but his relationship also to the older alliterative verse might be disclosed. As has been suggested in connection with "The Search", there are indications that Vaughan, perhaps dimly, apprehended the arresting and supremely poetic power of alliteration when sound contributes to sense and is intensified by being linked to like sounds, especially when the mind and imagination are challenged by the linking of words whose conventional associations clash strongly. This kind of making demands mind-labour but even so it will remain as dry sticks until set alight by imagination. Soporific alliteration is built on a different principle. Even to use the word "build" in connection with it is misleading, for that implies construction from the foundations up; it implies a digging about in the mind for the roots of meanings and experiences of words, which is what really poetic alliteration does. But mere sensuous alliteration is content to varnish surfaces and soothe the mind to slumber. Poetic alliteration startles, awakens, kindles, defies, but conquers by its power to illuminate and move. Of such^s Piers Plowman and the product of the great poets incognito before him. Vaughan in this direction cannot compare with these, but he gains by the reminiscence of them he supplies not only in cheaper adjectival phrases like "Bright and blest beame"; "Haile happy harm-

less solitude"; "holy, happy, healthy heaven" ; "deep but dazzling darkness", but also in such lines as

Some syllables are swords (1)

Sighs make joy sure and shaking fastens thee (2)

And with strange silence shoots me through (3)

Shall send me (Swan-like) singing home (4)

To make drie dust, and dead trees grow. (5)

These essays in alliteration may well have been, like Chaucer's excursions into blank verse in Melibeus' tale, accidental and unconscious. But a passage in "The hidden Treasure" seems to show a conscious toying with alliterative effects:

False stars and fire-rakes, the deceits of night
Set forth to fool and foil thee, do not boast;
Such Coal-flames shew but Kitchen-rooms at most.
And those I saw search'd through; yea those and all
That these three thousand years time did let fall
To blinde the eyes of lookers-back, and I
Now all is done, finde all is vanity. (6)

It is true that there is little at hand to indicate that Vaughan had a great interest in the minutiae of the mechanics of his craft. We have no evidence (which is not to say, however, that none ever existed) that he spent laborious hours altering and polishing his lines. But the list of errata at the end of the first edition of Ofor Iscanus (and also in the reissue of 1679), although by no means

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|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. "Rules and lessons" p.437. | 2. "To Etesia parted from him" p.491 |
| 3. "To Etesia parted from him" p.626. | |
| 4. "Jesus Weeping" p.505. | 5. "The Jews" p.499. |
| 6. p.520. | |

complete, betokens the exercise of some care, possibly on the part of publisher but more probably on the part of the author. (1)

The reissue in 1655 of the first part of Silex Scintillans with the addition of the second part and the Preface shows that he was not satisfied with the spelling and punctuation of the first issue. "Isaac's Marriage", moreover, offers also some slight changes in sense and phrasing. The earlier and brusque :

But being for a bride, sure, prayer was
Very strange stuffe wherewith to court thy lasse
Had'st ne'r an oath, nor Complement? thou wert
An odde course sutor (2)

is modified in the new pages of 1655 to:

But being for a bride, prayer was such
A decayed course, sure it prevail'd not much.
Had'st ne'r an oath, nor Complement? thou wert
An odde dull sutor.

and the somewhat stilted description of the Bride's coming

But in a ffrighted, virgin-blush approach'd
Fresh as the morning, when 'tis newly Coach'd (3)

mellows it:

But in a Virgins native blush and fears
Fresh as those roses, which the day-spring wears

The Poems

1. of 1646 & T.R. shows alterations, a single letter here and there in an early hand. See Martin, Bibliographical notes p.xi, vol.1
2. p.408.
3. p.409.

And we are not without further demonstration of his methods and individuality in dealing with his material; in addition to the evidence given in his translations from Latin, there are many places where he turns a prose original into verse. Where his source has majesty and power Vaughan's rendering displays lamentably the art of sinking; the general diminishing and taming effect of his treatment of the Psalms, for instance, is illustrated by his translation of

Who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a
flaming fire

into

In thy celestiall, gladsome messages
Dispatch'd to holy souls, sick with desire
And love of thee, each willing Angel is
Thy minister in fire (1)

or of

He watereth the hills from his chambers

into

Thou from thy upper Springs above, from those
Chambers of rain, where Heav'n's large bottles lie.
Dost water the parch'd hills. (2)

Here verse is not the more compact medium

~~Dost water the parch'd hills.~~

But a characteristic tenderness for all things living comes out in his transformation of "that leviathan" into "The comely spacious Whale" (3) and of the change of the august and impersonal "them that are afar off upon the sea" into "Sailers that flote on flowing seas" (4). Consistent and touching, too, is the humility that is willing to render

Iniquities prevail against me: as for our transgressions,
thou shalt purge them away

1. Psalm 104. p.494.

2. Ibid 495

3. Ibid 495.

4. Psalm 65. p.532.

by the self-accusatory

But sinful words and works still spread
And over-run my heart and head;
Transgressions make me foul each day
O purge them, purge them all away! (1)

His occasional faculty of transmuting the good brass of prose into poetical gold is illustrated in Vaughan's borrowing from Felltham's Resolves. He follows the essayist's own habit of not citing his authorities and might have uttered the same plea - "I have so used them as you may see I do not steal but borrow". Of the half dozen places where a likeness of diction has been traced, (2) it is probably where Felltham's fine but unimpassioned description "Of the Soule":

The Conscience, the Character of a God stamp't in it,
and the apprehension of Eternity, doe all prove it a
Shoot of everlastnesse.

is in "The Retreate" given the force of the uttermost reach of a personal remembering of Zion that the completeness of the taking over and the change that anything which entered into Vaughan's possession always underwent is best demonstrated. And this thaumaturgy, in transcending, must include, technique.

At his best he shows the thrift of the writer who, working in symbols, makes one word carry the load of ten. By eschewing connectives and polysyllables he avoids tediousness, but sometimes falls into the other fault of congestion. His abruptness, which may, or may

1. Ibid p.531.

2. See Martin pp.678;680;682; 694;695;696;697;699.

not, be considered a defect, does not always proceed from a deliberate and considered parsimony of style; often it is the result of a rapidity of thinking. His poems are something of a Diary of the Soul, and, like many diaries, they are written in a shorthand of the writer's own invention, and properly to understand him it is necessary to learn, not only the language of the seventeenth century, but also his private dialect. He is not always to blame for indistinctness; typographical error, for instance, is surely responsible for (as it is always printed):

I see the use: and know my bloud
 Is not a Sea,
 But a shallow, bounded floud
 Though red as he. (1)

But he himself had some suspicion of a possible obscurity in his work:

In the perusal of it, you will (peradventure) observe some passages, whose history or reason may seem something remote; but were they brought nearer, and plainly exposed to your view, (though that (perhaps) might quiet your curiosity) yet would it not conduce much to your greater advantage. And therefore I must desire you to accept of them in that latitude, which is already allowed them. (2)

His style is as involved as the process of remembering which it mirrors.

In many of the outward characteristics of his later and best style, he is, as has been noted, old fashioned and reminds one of Piers Plowman, The Riddles and the Dream of the Rood, rather than of the style of the Restoration towards which he was tending in his

1. p.423. The underlining is mine. Surely the line should read:

I see the Usk....
 Because of the redness of the soil the river, especially after heavy rains, often has a reddish tinge. Was Traherne, himself a Silurian, thinking of his native soil in his description of the New Jerusalem?

The Streets like Lanes did seem,
 Not pav'd with Stones, but green,
 Which with red Clay did partly mixt appear.
 "Christendom"

Poems of Felicity p.46.

2. p.392.

early poetry and which, it is essential to notice, he deliberately abandoned. Often his work is like the Wisdom literature of the Bible,- proverbial, closely knit, not always sequent. It is not strange thus to find his own fabric dyed with the colours of those to whom he was so akin in spirit and to whom he owed much of the material of his thinking.

If the word artisan or artificer be substituted for artist, then perhaps some distinction can be made between Vaughan's habits and purpose and those of the ingenious cutter-out and joiner of images and sounds, or even the skilled engineer of sensation. For Vaughan's art is not concerned with the communication ~~of~~ externalising of merely intellectual concepts in a physical medium; it is occupied rather with the shaping and communication of the affirmations of the whole of him, spirit, mind and imagination, in connection with deep and difficult matters,- a task demanding the exercise of a poetic art of extraordinary subtlety and power; a task which by reason of the unprecedented, uncharted nature of the subject could not be performed with the aid of any read-made apparatus of image, phrase or rhythms with associations which might distort his findings. He has few surface beauties to "mock the Truth":

And likelines doth both upbraid,
And mock the Truth, which still is lost
In fine Conceits, like streams in a sharp frost. (1)

He was not a funambulist; not has he the bravura passages to be found, for example, in Crashaw. But he seldom lacked a higher vigilance to avoid the more serious deformities of inaccuracy or half-statement. And

1. "That World" p.649.

by comparison he makes the ordinary virtues of tact, suavity and grace seem irrelevant to great poetry.

Where he fails, it is owing to poverty of matter. But his successes were frequent enough to make the supposition that he was not a master in the art of expression mere guesswork. Probability points the other way. He had a guarded and precious terror of fluency, and, at his best, the vivid seeing, the belief in his facts, together with the scrupulous care in the reproduction of them in words, that stamps the greatest artists. The distinction between Vaughan and the artisan or artificer gives the clue to the distinction he himself made between "easier" writing and singing and the "true unfeigned verse" which was so "very hard" to write. And that this poet of the pregnant word, the sudden haltings and significant, listening pauses, this evoker by his art of "shoreless thoughts", wrote such true verse is the tribute that of all those due to him he would have valued most.

CHAPTER 9.

Reading and teachers.

It was the privilege of learning in the seventeenth century to go unspecialised and it was the custom of great men to pursue knowledge in various quarters. The lust for experience which in the Elizabethan age allowed few activities to go unglanced at, in the more elderly era turned inwards and satisfied itself in taking all knowledge for its province. But the thirst for universality was still there.

Vaughan, like most of his compeers, bears the weight of multifarious interests lightly. Lacking proof we have to take on trust his friend's claim for him:

His Reputation is better built in the sentiment of several judicious Persons, who know him very well able to himself a lasting Monument, by undertaking any Argument of note in the whole Circle of Learning. (1)

But his lines "On Sir Thomas Bodley's Library, the Author then being at Oxford" declare with an energy as great as Milton's that "books are not absolutely dead things",

The Rabbins still live here.
They are not dead, but full of blood again,
I mean the Sense, and every Line a Vein. (2)

1. To the Reader. Thalia Rediviva p.596.

2. p.613.

His brief Outline of Literature inspired by this visit to the Bodleian is graceful and apt in its commentary and his praise addressed "To his Books", although without a clerkly or bibliophile fury, give the authentic signs of the humanist and assume a deeper sincerity by the confession of negligence:

And I amidst you all am turn'd a weed!
Not wanting knowledge, but for want of heed (1)

And if we can but relax our demand for exacter, detailed information than Vaughan's contemporaries were accustomed to seek and interpret the term "whole Circle of Learning" with some liberality it will not on examination seem such an extravagant pretension. His unstudied freedom of reference proves that Vaughan was widely read.

Like Fuller's Sternhold and Hopkins, Vaughan had "drunk more of Jordan than of Helicon". He quotes in Greek characters many times in his prose, we cannot tell with how much understanding. He makes no independent allusion to Greek literature though Euripedes, Aeschylus and Sophocles are cited as authorities in his translation of Nierembergius (2). His Plato could have come through in English from various sources. Altogether it may safely be assumed that he was not so proficient a Grecian as was, for example, his model, George Herbert.

With Latin literature, both classical and medieval, he is fairly familiar and his Latin verse proves him not contemptible as an executant in that language. His translations offer the most convincing proof of intimacy with certain writers and his knowledge of others shows in brief allusion or quotation. Of these Virgil, - "that

1. p.640.

2. p.242.

inimitable Prince and Patriarch of Poets" (1) stands our pre-eminently. (2) Next in Vaughan's regard, if frequency of quotation be taken as a criterion, is Horace (3), and here he incorporates unacknowledged a few lines from the Odes in "To my worthy friend Master T. Lewes" (4); in Of Temperance and Patience (5) he translates a passage from Lucretius. And Persius, Catullus (6), Lucan (7), Seneca (8), Anacreon, Hadrian (10) are called upon, the first to supply a motto for the 1646 volume and the others to point a moral in The Mount of Olives. The Latin Fathers, - Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom Anastasius, Gregory, - he values as evidenced in his prose, for both example and precept, but it is not possible to trace in Vaughan's thought the imprint of one more than another in the general legacy they bequeathed to Church doctrine. Some small likeness to the De Imitatione has been discovered (11) and in The Mount of Olives (12) Vaughan acknowledges a several times repeated debt to the Latin works of Petrarch. His single mention of Erasmus (13) gives no further indication of interest in the Dutch scholar's work, but a single quotation from Alanus de Insulis upon whose authority Chaucer largely depended in The Parlement of Foules is more significant as suggesting another possible source for some of Vaughan's

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1. Mount of Olives p. 184. 2. pp. 33, 34, 51, 59, 95, 123, 184, 187, 211, 391, 593.
 3. pp. 17, 186, 274, 340.
 4. See Mr. Martin's note to p. 61.
 5. p 235. 6. p 186. 7. p 183. 8. pp. 171, 181, 183. (to)
 9. p 172. 10. p 173. 11. Miss Guiney. Quoted Martin note p 156
 12. pp. 172, 183, 187. 13. Advertisement to The World Contemned
 p. 312

some of Vaughan's notions. (1) Latin literature, then, contributed a good deal, - classical perhaps more as illustrations of form, medieval perhaps, as reinforcements to his devotional and moralistic tendencies, - to Vaughan's genius.

Modern languages he may have been conversant with, but little can be made of his brief excursion into Italian in the dedicatory letter at the beginning of Olor Iscanus (2) and of the quotation of "A Proverb in Italy" in the Man in Darknes (3). In obedience to the vogue he jeers at "French apes" (4) but speaks respectfully of at least two French writers (5). The works in question had been, however, recently translated into English (6). That his interest in "Brittish" bards, unextinguished (as has been seen) in old age, was unfeigned enough to include a knowledge of their language is proved by the translation of Welsh lines into English in The Mount of Olives (7) and there is extant a short poem in Welsh which has been attributed to him on the subject of the Lord's Prayer (8)

Turning to the language in which Silex Scintillans was composed, we find that, although all his nature and powers were in sympathy with the spirit of Old English literature, there is no evidence that Vaughan had any knowledge of that to which he was so much akin.

1. The work from which he quotes in The Mount of Olives is, as Mr. Martin has pointed out on p. 685 of his edition, the Liber Parabolarum. Chaucer's source, the De Planctu Naturae, might have proved a congenial study to Vaughan.
2. p. 35.
3. p. 169.
4. "To his friend" p. 45.
5. Gombauld p. 48 and Mathieu p. 217.
6. See Martin's notes.
7. p. 175.
8. p. 666.

Alien as in many ways (save perhaps in savagery of humour) Ben Jonson was to the early practitioners of English verse, he had a far closer acquaintanceship with them than had Vaughan. Among the Elizabethans the Silurist may have read Marlowe (1) but it is the influence, omnipresent in the first half of the seventeenth century, of the greatest (though by Vaughan unmentioned) of the Elizabethans which most affects him. There is little that could be considered direct imitation; "The Charnel-house" supplies probably the only example and here it is doubtless unconscious. Hamlet might also perhaps have uttered himself in phrases not far removed from those of the Silurist in "The Incarnation, and Passion":

Brave wormes, and Earth! that thus could have
A God Enclos'd within your Cell,
Your maker pent up in a grave,
Life lockt in death, heav'n in a shell (2)

In the rich, imperious vein of the Sonnets are such lines as

Poor Earth! what though thy viler dust enrouls
Thy frail Inclosures of these mighty Souls? (3)

and those in the "Elegie on the death of Mr. R.W.",

..... it can do more
To keep thy name and memory in store
Than all those Lordly fooles which lock their bones
In the dumb piles of Chested Brasse, and stones,
Th'art rich in thy own fame, and needest not
These Marble-frailties, nor the gilded blot
Of posthume honours; There is not one sand
Sleeps o'r thy grave, but can outbid that hand. (4)

"Daphnis" has a passage reminiscent of Titania complaining; (5) and "A Rhapsodis" (6) and "Upon the Priorie Grove" (7) recall Puck in two

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1. Mr. Martin notes a resemblance of phrasing between The Praise and Happiness of the Country-Life p.135. and Edward 11.1.iv.408. But Thomas Vaughan in Coelum Terrae p.201 is even closer: "Some Cockney claps his revenue on his back"
 2. p.415.
 3. p.613. "On Sir Thomas Bodley's Library".
 4. p.51.
 5. M.N.D.11.2.cf. "Daphnis" p.659.11.123-144.
 6. 11.71-78.
 7. 11.5-10.

different moods. A Winter's Tale supplies passages comparable with that in "Daphnis":

So Violets, so doth the Primrose fall,
At once the Springs pride and its funeral.
Such easy sweets get off still in their prime,
And stay not here to wear the soil of time. (1)

Occasionally, thus, it seems that Shakespeare encouraged Vaughan to follow him in wresting freedom to overtop the boundaries imposed on language by custom and expectation and command directness of expression even at the cost of violence.

It was probably the Authorised Version of 1611 of which Vaughan made use although in the well-known Latin heading to the poem "And do they so?" (2) he quotes from the Vulgate. In other places where he employs a Scriptural heading he seems from minor inaccuracies sometimes to be repeating the Authorised Version from memory. (3) Any attempt to estimate the influence of the Bible on Vaughan must be in effect the study of the whole structure of his thought, the unchanging foundation of which is the Scriptures interpreted by the Church. His dependency, illustrated copiously in his Scriptural captions and network of inter-reference, is fervently avowed in tributes like "H. Scriptures" and "To the Holy Bible". His ardour is at once crossed and enhanced by indignation, the occasion of which is obscure, against "Witt And deprav'd tastes" which "have poyson'd it". (4)

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1. p.656. 2. p.432.
 3. eg. "Religion" p.405. "Resurrection and Immortality" p.400 etc.
 4. "The World" p.651, see also Preface to S.S.390; "The Day of Judgment" p.531; "The Bee" p.653. Herbert in "The Sacrifice" has a similar complaint; see Miss Guiney "Milton and Vaughan", Quarterly Review April 1914.

Not surprisingly the poetic or prophetic books, rather than the narrative or expository, most enthrall him. Where all is so closely interwoven, it is difficult to disentangle separate strands, but the Psalms in point of verbal quotation easily stand first as his inspiration, with Revelations next and the Gospel of St. John with the Song of Songs following closely.

Vaughan's antiquarian tastes seem to have led him to consult John Speed's "History of Great Britaine Under the Conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans" which was published in the same year as the Authorised Version. A glance, whether by way of assault or compliment is not clear, at a literary fashion prevalent during the two or three succeeding decades of the seventeenth century, seems to be intended in "The Character; to Etesia" (1); and Feltham's Resolves as Mr. Martin has noted, were so thoroughly studied as to supply the Silurist with some ideas and phrases.

With the exception of the Scriptures, it is not, however, until some inspection of Vaughan's relationship to those actually, or more nearly, his contemporaries is made that the full extent of his reading and its effect on his own mind and art can be understood.

Of all the influences ascendant during the first half of the seventeenth century, John Donne is easily first in might. Even in the 1646 publication Vaughan is obviously familiar with Donne's works and attracted by his mannerisms. Thus, as Mr. Beeching has pointed out, "To Amoret, of the difference 'twixt him, and other Lovers" says clumsily what the "Valediction: forbidding mourning" had stated more succinctly. l. p.624.

Similarity of idea and a discernible, though general, likeness of expression occurs also in

For sure such two conspiring minds,
Which no accident, or sight,
Did thus unite;
Whom no distance can confine,
Start, or decline,
One, for another, were designed. (1)

The younger poet reproduces, with a difference, Donne's

"Schoolemen new tenements in hell
must make, (2)

in the lines:

for these well spent
Can purchas starres, and buy a tenement
For us in Heaven... (3)

and shows his interest in Donne's kind of metaphor by writing:

Fate cuts us all in marble, and the Booke
Forestalls our glasse of minutes. (4)

In the lines from "Les Amours"

by all those teares;
And sighs I spent 'twixt hopes, and feares;
By thy owne glories, and that houre
Which first inslav'd me to thy power;
I beg, faire One, by this last breath,
This tribute from thee after death (5)

there seems to be a timid attempt at the Litany method of adjuration used with such electrifying effect in Donne's

By our first strange and fatal interview (6)

And the idea of the lover dying as love's martyr which, threadbare though it was, Vaughan uses as one of the leading motives

of his amatory verse (7) may have inspired him first in the hyper-

1. p.8. "To Amoret, Walking in a Starry Evening".

2. Grierson l.151.

3. "To Amoret Weeping" p.13 & cf p.87 l.8.

4. Ibid p.13.

5. p.4.

6. Grierson p. cf. also the end of the Elegy on the Death of Prince Henry. Grierson p.270.

7. eg. "To his Friend Being in Love" p.6.

subtle form in which it occurs in Donne's "The Funerall".

Something of Donne's fondness for giving his readers the shock attendant upon discovering a learned or unusual word among the commonplace seems to be indicated by the appearance in "To Amoret gone from him" (1) of such a line as

Those things that element their love

or as the sixth line of "An Elegy"

In them the Metempsychosis of Love. (2)

Olor Iscanus shows Vaughan going farther afield than Songs and Sonets and finding stimulation in Donne's treatment of other themes than love. The Satires and Elegies are responsible for more than one self-conscious effort at being carelessly virile and iconoclastic. There is to be found in "To his retired friend an Invitation to Brecknock" even Donne's defiant dividing of a word and placing of the first part at the end of a line and the last syllable at the beginning of the next line. But the whole of the uneven versification of "An Invitation" is reminiscent of Donne's description of the denizens of an even rowdier city than Brecknock.(3). Donne with urn and shroud must have been the inspiration of "The Charnel-house"; for the first sixteen lines the imitation is clumsy and laboured and

1. p.8.

2. p.9. Chambers quotes in connection with Vaughan's use of the word "canicular" (p.40) "A Dialogue between Sir Henry Wotton and Mr. Donne":

I'll never dig in quarry of a heart
To have no part,
Nor roast in fiery eyes, which always are
Canicular.

3. Grierson 1.162.

the desperately sought metaphors overlay each other like scales: (1)

Kelder of mists, a second Fiats care,
 Frontspeece o'th'grave and darkness, a Display
 Of ruin'd man, and the disease of day;
 Leane, bloudless shamble, where I can descrie
 Fragments of men, Rags of Anatomie;
 Corruptions ward-robe, the transplative bed
 Of mankind, and th~~e~~chequer of the dead. (2)

But ~~in~~ the second paragraph of the couplets starts on a slightly different key and it is curious to see Vaughan working himself, line by line, out of the falsetto of his beginning to what was apparently his aim, something so tantalisingly Donnean as

Think then, that in ~~this~~ bed
 There sleep the Reliques of as proud a head
 As stern and subtile as your own. (3)

A favourite conceit of Donne's, most simply expressed perhaps in "The Good-Morrow"

My face is thine eye, thine in mine appears,
 And true plaine hearts doe in the faces rest (4)

appears in even more fantastic garb in Vaughan's "In Amicum foeneratorem"

Those waggish Nymphs too which none ever yet
 Durst make love to, wee'll teach the Loving fit.....
Then peep for babies, a new Puppet-play,
 And riddle what their prattling Eyes would say (5)
 The pun on "Angels" familiarised by Donne's excessive use of it, most notably, perhaps, in "The Bracelet" (6) appears also in this poem on

1. Mr. Chambers has pointed out the probable origin of "a second Fiats care" in Donnes "The Storm":

Since all forms uniform deformith
 Doth cover; so that we, except God say
 Another Fiat, shall have no more day.

It is also interesting to notice that in his rendering of Juvenal p.18 Vaughan translates "jussuque Neronis" by "Nero's fiat".

2. p.41.

3. Ibid p.42.

4. Grierson 1.7. See also Grierson 1.15; 45;51.

5. p.43.

6. Grierson 96. See also p.141; 122.

money-lenders: (1)

For gold's the best restorative of wit,
O how he gilds them o'r! with what delight
I read those lines, where Angels doe Indite. (2)

But even if the whole tone and style of "In Amicum Foeneratorem" did not point to something like deliberate imitation on Vaughan's part, the lines

Talk not of Shreeves, or gaole,
I fear them not, I have no land to glutt
Thy durty appetite, and make thee strutt
Nimrod of sores; I'll no Speech prepare
To court the Hopefull Cormorant, thine heire (3)

instantly recall Donne's

Nor come a velvet Justice with a long
Great yraine of blew coats, twelve, or fourteen strong
Wilt thou grin or fawne on him, or prepare
A speech to Court his beautious sonne and heire! (4)

and show here another instance of direct verbal indebtedness on Vaughan's part. Particular examples of textual reminiscence point beyond to the general fact that Olor Iscanus came from an alert and exploring Vaughan who, under Donne's tutelage was learning to cast his net farther for subjects and also to vary and adapt his manner to the theme. His wit is less hard; his satire considerably less scarifying. But the greater density of construction with the occasional cynicism of tone and harshness of the verse, when considered with the verbal borrowings, indicate that the Satires and Elegies were making a deep impression.

1. Grierson l.100
2. cf. also Donne "Gold is restorative, restore it then.

2. p.43.

3. p.43.

4. Grierson p.146. Mr. Chambers compares Donne, Elegie 1v.3-4 (Ed. Grierson p.34)

And as a thief at barre, is question'd there
By all the men, that have been rob'd that yeare.
with Vaughan's translation of Ausonius (ed. Martin p.74)

.....as a thiefe at Bar
Left to the Law, and mercy of his Star
Hath Bills leap'd on him, and is question'd there
By all the men that have been rob's that year.

The influence of "the true God's Priest" was not less potent than that of Apollo's and the sacred poems of his follower display his unmistakable imprints. But with Donne change of heart was mirrored in substance rather than, as with Vaughan, also in a distinct change of technique and the substance of the Divine Poems could only be re-articulated intelligibly by one who had so absorbed the experience signified as to be able completely to re-frame them in his own terms. The Holy Sonnets, in particular, will not allow the facile kind of analysis which the quotation of a phrase or line implies. Still less will they endure that shallowest commendation of the incorporation of word or image in a context which must of necessity be alien or greatly out of key. So that although Donne's religious verse could not but enrich the experience, and hence the utterance, of anyone at all susceptible to its power, its direct influence on Silex Scintillans as betrayed in verbal reminiscence is less marked. Yet for one of Vaughan's temperament, some kind of general precedent such as Donne most liberally supplies would probably be necessary before he would venture on the excess of:

I will exhaust it all, and make
My self all tears, a weeping lake. (1)

or
Till thou didst grow and get a wing,
A wing with eyes and eyes that taste (2)

or
Wellcome white day! a thousand Suns,
Though seen at once, were black to thee; (3)

or
I would I were
One hearty tear!
One constant spring!
Then would I bring
Thee two small mites, and be at strife. (4)

1. "Anguish" p.526.

2. "The Queer" p.539.

3. "White Sunday" p.485.

4. "The Passion" p.431.

But on the whole the use of metaphysical conceits in Silex Scintilland is much softened by Herbert and surface likenesses become the assertion of like thinking rather than deliberate imitation. Something of Donne's love of recording the inner processes of natural phenomena is seen in "The Showre" :

'Twas so, I saw thy birth: That drowsie Lake
 From her faint bosome breath'd thee, the disease
 Of her sick waters, and infectious Ease
 But, now at Even
 Too grosse for heaven,
 Thou fall'st in teares, and weep'st for thy mistake. (1)

Similarly an interest in the fate of the body after death, though vaguer, less particular than Donne's is apparent in such poems as "Buriall", "Come, come, what doe I here?", and "The Check" with its

 when thou art
 A dusty story
 A speechlesse heap, and in the midst my heart
 In the same livery drest
 Lyes tame as all the rest;
 When six years thence digg'd up, some youthfull Eie
 Seeks there for Symmetry
 But finding none, shal leave thee to the wind..... (2)

Two poems, one "The Lampe" with its thoroughly secular mood at the beginning,

'Tis dead night, round about; Horrour doth creepe
 And move on with the shades ... (3)

and the other "Death" with its

A neast of nights, a gloomie sphere,
 Where shadowes thicken and the Cloud
 Sits on the Suns brow all the yeare,
 And nothing moves without a shrowd (4)

inevitably recall "The Charnel-house" and its association with Donne in gloom. The theme of the fatal allurements of this world, though one which Vaughan on many occasions treated entirely in his own manner, is in odd lines and phrases of the two poems "The Proffer" (1) and "Joy" (2) uttered in darker, sterner strains reminiscent of the more macabre spirit. Vaughan and Donne both inherit Platonic tradition and in one instance, at least, phrase their sentiments almost identically. (3)

Thalia Rediviva, the last of Vaughan's works to be published contains a good many early poems and the bolder, if less mature, habit of appropriating Donne's stylistic devices and producing textual echoes is more in evidence. The whole of "The eagle" with its

Not the least Minoe there, but thou can'st see;
Whole Seas are narrow spectacles to thee(4)

offers hyperbole rivalling almost anything of Donne's and a similar desire to out-Herod Herod is perhaps responsible for

Afflictions turn our Blood to Ink, and we
Commence when Writing, our Eternity. (5)

1. p.486.

2. p.491.

3. In his note to Vaughan's "Resurrection and Immortality" -

For a preserving spirit doth still passe...

Mr. Martin compares Donne's "The broken heart" Grierson, p.49...

Yet nothing can to nothing fall..

It might also be thought that Vaughan's "Quire of Souls" (with its context in "Church-Service") had some connection with Donne's "Quire of Saints" (Holy Sonnets Grierson 1.368) and that the "mighty Prince" of "Rules and Lessons" was a reminiscence of the "great Prince" of Donne's poem "The Extasie". Grierson 1.53.

4. p.606.

5. Thomas Bodley's Library p.613.

In like manner the antecedents of the fourth verse from "Fida forsaken" can be traced in Donne's work and Vaughan's image of death the "kind Usher" (1) has an unmistakable affinity with death the groom in "The Second Anniversary". Like Donne in "The Will" (2) Vaughan in "The Importunate Fortune" disposes by request of his "Faculties" (3) and one of the most advertised of Donne's early tenets, the necessity of "variety", is adapted to Vaughan's thought and finds a place in this same vigorous and provocative poem:

Are there no objects left but One? must we
In gaining that, lose our Varietie? (4)

In the face of Vaughan's own declaration in the Preface to Silex it is difficult to assign chief place to Donne among the formative potentates of his life. But much of the virtue that the Silurist found in Herbert, had been strengthened by, if not derived from, the earlier poet. Technically in the first two volumes it was Donne who made the greatest impression; and even when the Silurist was openly making himself debtor to "holy Herbert" there is much evidence of the first-hand influence of Herbert's master. But it is possible perhaps to overestimate the importance of Vaughan's interest in Donne's mannerisms at the cost of failure to understand the ultimate significance of Donne's influence. The Storehouse of raw materials from which they both drew was common property to all with like interests. Both found in alchemy and science and elixirs, tinctures and the philosopher's stone, the influence of the stars and the lodestone (5) illustrations which suited them. Donne was the

1. "To the pious memorie of C.W. Esquire" p.610.

2. Grierson l.56.

3. p.616.

4. p.617.

5. See Grierson l.31;39:44;202;280;317;334;338;351;

first to use Jacobus de Voragine's account of Mary Magdalene's castle and her "right noble lynage and parentes" (1) but there is no reason to suppose that Vaughan used a secondary source,- Donne,- for his poem on the same subject. So that even a good many superficial resemblances cannot annul Vaughan's claim to individuality in choice of illustration. And where he makes use of that which has become the emblem of Donne's followers,-the more extreme metaphysical conceit,-it cannot be said that Vaughan is at his happiest. Rarely do we find in his work a conceit of this type in which the image used illuminates the thought and, as happens on innumerable occasions with Donne, gives a splendour not conceivably to be achieved otherwise. Whereas with Donne conceits are part of his own tongue, when they appear in Vaughan there is always a sense of artificiality and self-consciousness. We feel that the thought shapes itself first in Vaughan's mind and is then carefully fitted to a suitable image,- a process, however sensitively accomplished, not to be compared with the magical, spontaneous combustion effect procured by Donne by a certain private alchemy. Whatever his early aspirations may have been, Vaughan never succeeded in dazzling and yet in convincing the

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1. cf "To the lady Magdalen Herbert: of St. Mary Magdalen". Grierson p 317.

"Mary Magdalene had her surname of magdalo a Castell and was born of right noble lynage and parents which were descended of the lynage of kynges. And her fader was named Sinus and her moder eucharie. She wyth her broder lazare and her suster martha possessed the castle of magdalo: whiche is two myles fro nazareth and bethanye the castel which is nygh to Iherusalem and also a gret parte of Iherusalem whiche al thise thynges they departed amonge them in suche wyse that marye had the castelle magdalo whereof she had her name nagdalene. And lazare had the parte of the cytee of Iherusalem: and martha had to her parte bethanye."

Legenda Aurea. Ed. (1493), f. 184, ver. 80. (Grierson)

outraged senses as the older poet did. And in his later work there is no evidence that he ever attempted, and plenty of evidence, notably in the Preface to Silex Scintillans, that he condemned that "deliberate search, or ex-cogitation of idle words" carried on by those "termed Wits".

But it is still probable that the ruler of the Monarchy of Wit remained the deepest and most far-reaching influence in Vaughan's career. Donne's conquering vitality, his apparent faculty for sharing some of the richness of his inspiration, his daring as a maker of precedents, all might appear to make him less caviare to the general than other seemingly more esoteric bards. But all his stylistic caparison and histrionism might well act as a pitfall for those not genuinely sealed of his by no means numerous authentic tribe by their own gifts and temper. Only the strongest could prosper under his treatment, and avoid being overpowered by his strength. But his very capriciousness surrounding an unchanging, adamant core was not only disciplinary, but provocative and intensifying and drew out the full flavour of those with any individuality to be brought out. And of this number Vaughan was pre-eminent among the Metaphysicals.

That Vaughan lacked much of Donne's intellectual strength and quietness and that his mental equipment had not the range which Donne's commanded, needs little stressing. That the inspiration of Vaughan's later verse seems to be intuition and that he gives his final conclusion without stating those intermediary stages of thinking of which he was probably not conscious, is also true. He has not in his best verse Donne's desire or ability to justify his statements by arguing aloud and he does not display Donne's power of psychological analysis in the commoner situations. But some of his early work as for example

"Les Amours" show a perhaps borrowed tendency methodically to work out an idea; and a poem like the "Invitation to Brecknock" exhibits Vaughan arguing with an unseen friend in the way that makes Donne something of a forerunner of Browning in the use of the dramatic monologue. Temperamentally there were more points of contact than might be suspected from a study only of the best known poems of Silex Scintillans. The early poems, as well as his own estimate of himself, show that Vaughan whilst lacking Donne's voluptuousness and also that incandescent fervour in things both of the sense and spirit which resolved them into something no longer antithetical, was not deficient in sensuousness or even in a Donnean rashness of deed and vehemence of speech.

So that it is not hard to discover Donne behind on the mount dominating most of Vaughan's poetical activity and yet acting as a perpetual source of encouragement to him to work out his own poetical salvation. For Donne's genius as a doctent lay not in the example he set as "a great writer of conceited verses", compelling though it was, but in his insistence on absolute fidelity to feeling and preciseness of expression as the prime necessities for a poet.

Of the influence of the one to whom Vaughan acknowledges himself most in debt, "the blessed man, Mr. George Herbert, whose holy life and verse gained many pious Converts, (of whom I am the least)"(1) something has been said earlier. The subject has probably aroused more discussion and certainly more acrimony than any other connected with Vaughan.

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1. Preface to Silex Scintillans p.391. See also The Mount of Olives p.186
 To the Reader Flores Solitudinis; Primitive Holiness pp.377& 379.

A discussion as to which of the two is the "greater" is now a vanity out of date and superannuated piece of folly. They were different as men and they wrote very different kinds of poetry. The hackneyed but true distinction between asceticism and mysticism shows the difference between them as men, and a like distinction between their work follows. God is revealed to Herbert through the Church; to Vaughan through intimations, revelations of the divine in nature. Herbert writes devotional poetry of the kind that takes a particular doctrine or service and glorifies that facet of God that it celebrates. Vaughan was less institutional and wrote of God as Life, the life in "the seed growing secretly", "the trees, their leaves; the flowers, their seeding". Of Vaughan's doctrines concerning nature there is nothing to be found in his predecessor. Herbert's work is probably better known and has a wider appeal and Longinus says that width of appeal is one of the criteria of greatness. It is true, too, that when Vaughan poaches on Herbert's ground in celebrating the Church's seasons he is dull and heavy. But there are things realised and felt by Vaughan which seem to have been altogether beyond Herbert's reach; Herbert is more perfect as a craftsman and within his limits, but Vaughan reaches out and touches the illimitable.

Until recently the bias of critical opinion ^{has been} in favour of Herbert at the expense of the "plagiarist" Vaughan; now, although the balance is much more evenly adjusted, there is perhaps a tendency to exalt the more "original" writer at the "pious" clergyman's charge. Knowledge of Herbert's work, so temperate and gracious with all its carefully nurtured beauties evenly set forth, should be in itself

amulet against a hasty depreciation which injures, rather than assists, rival claims. (1)

That the Silurist availed himself not only of unusual words employed by Herbert before him, but of Herbert's arrangement of them in image need not be disputed. It was impossible for Vaughan to borrow more than a phrase or two from Herbert without discovering conceits and metaphors less daring than Donne's, but hardly less individual.

1. But at this point it must be objected that even Vaughan's allies, in their eagerness to leave no loop-hole to adverse criticism, have sometimes blamed him, in this respect without due cause. So, for example, to quote one of several, even so just an admirer as Miss Guiney offers Herbert's

Teach me Thy love to know;
That this new light, which now I see,
May noth the work and workman show;
Then by a sunne-beam I will climb to Thee,
("Mattens" Oxford.p.63)

as the inspiration of Vaughan's

Grant I may so
Thy steps track here below

That in these masques and shadows I may see
Thy sacred way,
And by those hid ascents climb to that day
Whic breaks from thee
Who art in all things, though invisible
("I walkt the other day" p.479)

Vaughan may have had the elder poet's verse in mind when he wrote his elegy but there is surely nothing legible of reminiscence, conscious or unconscious, to prove it.

The matter has been discussed by, among others, Mr. Lyte (in edition of the Sacred Poems published by Pickering, 1847) Archbishop Trench George Macdonald (in "England's Antiphon"); Dr. Grosart (The Fuller Worthies Library edition of Vaughan) Mr. Chambers and Canon Beeching (The Muses' Library edition of Vaughan); Miss L.I. Guiney (Atlantic Monthly, May 1894); Mr. Lewis Bettany (the edition of Silex Scintillans and published by Blackie and Son 1905); Mr. L.C. Martin (in the Clarendon Press edition of Vaughan) Miss Holmes (in "Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy"). Where so many have gleaned before, the most striking and convincing examples are bound to have been utilised previously. But the examples here given have not, I think, been noted before and the cross-referencing here undertaken should make clearer the exact nature of Vaughan's debt to the older poet.

With a careless fondness for these, Vaughan to his detriment became infected. Even if the original use of these conceits by Herbert were not familiar, there would be a faint sense of masquerade about Vaughan's introduction of pulleys and milky wayes, shops and wages, in his devotional poems. He borrows at least twenty-five titles and as often follows Herbert in metrical form, in the general development of a poem and (ostensibly) in subject. There is no harm in suspecting that Vaughan, knowing his strength to be limited, preferred to work in places where the soil had already been dug over so that his more delicate instrument could remain unblunted. Setting aside the semi-accidental bond with Herbert of Vaughan's conversion, there was the more important circumstance accounting for the less that Herbert had treated on broad, uncomplicated^{lines}/subjects hospitable to Vaughan's genius.

Greater attention has, however, been directed to the Silurist's verbal appropriations from Herbert and here no trouble is required to compose an impressive list. What has been less commented upon is the random way Vaughan utilises such phrases as please him, the apparent carelessness with which he detaches an image from its context and applies it often to matter alien to its first setting; the lack of scruple with which he abstracts a passage from one of Herbert's poems and fits it with another on a different theme to form a tessellation of his, Vaughan's own, design. So the poem to be mentioned again, called "The Starre", supplies the closing figure in Vaughan's "The Bee", and "The Bee", a pastoral unlike any of Herbert's poems save in sheltering a heavenly meaning, in its turn opens with the lines

From fruitful beds and flowry borders
 Parcell'd to wastful Ranks and Orders (1)

which would seem to owe something to Herbert's "Sunday" with its

They are the fruitful beds and borders
In God's rich garden; that is bare
Which parts their ranks and orders. (1)

Farther on in another poem, "Misery" occur the lines

I'd loose those knots thy hands did tie,
Then would go travel, fight or die (2)

which is his version of the first two lines of Herbert's "Nature", -
a poem in spirit and theme far closer to Vaughan's "Misery" than the
other poem of Herbert's, "Mortification" from which he here borrows,
the title of which promises closer kinship. Herbert's "Peace", though
apparently unconnected with Vaughan's "Peace", save in title nevertheless
has affinities with another poem of Vaughan's, "The Sap", which in turn
is connected by an image with Vaughan's "Peace", whilst yet another
passage in "The Sap" is reminiscent of lines in Herbert's "The Sacrifice"
(3)

1. Oxford. p.99. 2. p.474.

3. Compare Herbert's "Peace"

There was a Prince of old
At Salem dwelt.....
.....A secret vertue, bringing peace and mirth..
with Vaughan, "The Sap"
On it the Prince of Salem sits.....
..... Such secret life, and vertue in it lies
It will exalt and rise...

Compare also Vaughan, "The Sap"

There is beyond the Stars an hill of myrrh
with Vaughan's "Peace"
My Soul, there is a Countrie
Far beyond the stars.

Compare "The Sap"

He gave his sacred bloud
By wil our sap, and Cordial; now in this
Lies such a heav'n of bliss,
That, who but truly tastes it, no decay
Can touch him any way.

With Herbert's "The Sacrifice"

Which shews My bloud to be the onely way,
And cordiall left to repair man's decay.

Any expectation aroused by the title that Vaughan's poem "The Garland" would be found to have been influenced in any way by Herbert's "A Wreath" is disappointed, but the very next poem in Silex, "Lovesick", is written in the measure and displays the trick of repeating the last half of a line in the first half of the next adopted by Herbert in "A Wreath". Not content with following his predecessor in this matter only, Vaughan at the end of this same poem "Love-sick" draws on the unhappy "mine-thine; thine-mine" sequence with which Herbert makes more elaborate play in "Clasping of Hands". A tracing (which could be continued at great length) of these connections uncovers such a network, or rather, tangle, that no broad tendencies or inclinations shown by selection are discoverable. But an examination of verbal, apparently mechanical, appropriations indicate that to a large extent Vaughan considered Herbert's output as a kind of phrase-book and his feelings on being accused of filching Herbert's possessions might well be comparable to those of one accused of plagiarism from a dictionary.

The nature and extent of Vaughan's dependence on his predecessor cannot be determined aright by isolating lines and phrases. Nor is there any essential paradox in affirming that the more subtle and febrile spirit seemed to be incapable of utilising his borrowings unchanged. The effect may in some cases be thought adulteration, but it seldom carries with it any sense of diminution in power. "The Starre" illustrates how he takes title, subject, a striking phrase or two, and makes what, if the metamorphosis in substance and the electricity-charged atmosphere did not automatically remove it into another world out of

competition, would be a challenge instead of a copy. (1) The same process can be studied in smaller compass when, for example, in "Misery" Vaughan uses a phrase from Herbert's "Mortification" descriptive of routine imposed on man from without,

..... .. where he may move
 Within the circle of his breath
 Schooling his eyes. (2)

but, in making it epitomise the chief exercise of his inner life enlarges its significance; the meaning escapes beyond the boundary of Herbert's words and ceases to be conterminous with them. In the more delicate operation of the grafting of a single line, Vaughan also occasionally displays his transmuting power. No lengthy search is required to discover the identity of the "Seer" whose prophecy was in part the inspiration of Vaughan's address in Thalia Rediviva "To Christian Religion" (3); some closeness of attention is required, however, to detect in the poem of Herbert's, "The Church Militant", to which Vaughan alludes, a line which surely belongs to the borrower; so much did Vaughan, by what seems the slightest of adjustments, change and better it. Where Herbert's line

While Truth sat by, counting his victories

in its context is a scarcely noticeable part of a series or even (since Herbert employs heroic couplets) only half a part and dependent on its fellows for support, Vaughan in "The World" (4) by addition and

1. Further illustration of this point will be found by comparing Herbert's "The British Church" with Vaughan's "The Brittish Church"; Herbert's "Content" with Vaughan's "Content"; Herbert's "The Storm" with Vaughan's "The Storm"; and Herbert's "Death" with Vaughan's poem of the same title and also with Vaughan's poem "Sure, there's a tye of Bodyes!"

2. Oxford p.99.

3. p.654.

4. p.467.

transposition develops a completer and more provocative image:

And poor, despised truth sate Counting by
Their victory.

Deliberately weakening the preceding long line,

The weaker sort slight, triviall wares Inslave
by the use of light syllables and liquids, Vaughan isolates and thus heightens his image and by placing it at the end of the stanza lays on it the stress of a climax. (1) It is characteristic of Vaughan's practice in borrowing in what he must have felt to be his important poems that a line annexed from an expository poem like Herbert's should undergo internal re-arrangement before being absorbed into an apocalyptic account of eternity. Herbert's own poem entitled "The World", a neat allegory in the manner of a condensed Romance of the Rose, has nothing in common with either of Vaughan's poems so named. Instances might be multiplied where Herbert can be said to be Vaughan's inspiration,--where subject and feeling are to a certain extent reflected and where it seems probable that Herbert fired the train. But it is in these places that Vaughan alters most. Herbert's work is at times like a text upon which the younger man preaches; and indeed Vaughan's handling of Biblical passages is often similar; he teases both out of their original shape and pores over them until they assume a special significance to his view,-- a significance of which, in fact, he is the inventor. Meeting an idea or conclusion and consenting to

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1. It is typical of the cunning displayed throughout this poem that the climax should be gained by contrast and not by any attempt at overtopping effects already won.

it, he sets out to explore it to its source and then reconstructs in his own laborious, devious manner. It was impossible that the second conclusion, the end arrived at by as tortuous a thinker as Vaughan, should be in any way concentric with that achieved^{ed} by his original.

Where Vaughan adheres most closely in spirit and letter to the example before him, as in the poem "Son-dayes" or in those celebrating church seasons, he might have uttered in commentary Herbert's own cry made in another connection,

Thus doth Thy power cross-bias me, not making
Thine own gift good, yet me from my ways taking. (1)

There his work appears as an anamorphosis, an image drawn out of focus, a distorted projection and Herbert's as the correcting anamorphoscope which supplies the normal, perhaps more acceptable picture. But even here, as in the two poems entitled "The Search", it is sometimes as if you had to choose in paintings between a figure, bright in hue, faultlessly drawn, and another, - livid, precariously elongated, - but by El Greco. Most credit, however is due to master as well as disciple in those places where Herbert's sincerity has so affected Vaughan as to impel him to give his own experience; here, inner significance and outward shape, - both are transformed. Nor is there often much more than a chance feature to mark how these the veritable exhalations of Vaughan's mind are in part phantoms also, arising on the dissolution of another's thoughts in him; conceptions now changed but, in a way vicariously re-orient.

Among other writers owing some fealty to Donne, Habington only is alluded to by the Silurist :

Soft Petrarch (thaw'd by Laura's flames) did weep
 On Tybers banks, when she (proud fair!) cou'd sleep;
 Mosella boasts Ausonius, and the Thames
 Doth murmur SIDNEYS Stella to her streams,
 While Severn swoln with Joy and sorrow, wears
 Castara's smiles mixt with fair Sabrin's tears.
 (1)

But the esteem voiced here by the very juxtaposition of names can hardly be more than a gesture of acknowledgement, sincere, but perfunctory and mechanically made. Admiration for a blameless life and for sentiments no more blameworthy, if less irreproachably couched, would be to Vaughan a sign of a general alliance with righteousness. Some few verbal likenesses have been noted (2) but they consist mainly of phrases and images which belonged to the poetical currency of the time. Others of this nature perhaps are the lines from "Castara"

I charg'd the nimble wind
 My unseene messenger..... ("To Castara, being debarred
 her presence")

which Vaughan may have remembered in "To Amoret. The Sigh". Of this kind also may be the phrase occurring in the third Elegy

I cannot tracke the way, which thou didst goe (3)

the likenesses of which to Vaughan's

O could I track them! but souls must
 Track one the other (4)

1. "To the River Isca." p.39

2. See Martin, note to pp.4,5,12,13,41,48. In connection with the line from "Castara"

Nimble Boy in thy warme flight
 quoted by Mr. Martin as a parallel to Vaughan's "To Amoret. The Sigh":
 Nimble Sigh on thy warme wings

Take this Message, and depart, p.5

I have ventured above to suggest a perhaps closer parallel.

3. "Castar" part 2.

4. "Silence, and stealth of dayes!" p.426.

would not be worth comment did not both the expressions occur in elegy and so draw attention to the coincidence of taste in choice of subject and qualities commended in this elegy of Habington's on Talbot and in another of Vaughan's elegies,- that on C.W. Esquire. Whether Vaughan's freedom in the matter of elision came to him from the example of Habington's licence (1) remains among darker and confused issues. An encounter with the plain diction which Donne bequeathed as liberally to Habington as to any of his followers, evidenced in sentences like

I hate the countries durt and manners, yet
I love the silence, (2)

may have nourished Vaughan's own predilection for it. But the influence on Vaughan of a mind and manner owing their effect to a kind of apathetic iteration without newness of poetical experience (in this contrasting with Vaughan's own habit in the repetition of words each with a different penumbra to fit the different context) can only have been sterile and static, as of something seen and heard but unfertilised and going unregistered save in the actual memory.

Of all Vaughan's contemporaries, Crashaw, "Herbert's second, but equal" (3) student of Jonson also, ardent Royalist, devout High Anglican, then Catholic,- is, by reason of a similarity of gifts (in quality, if not in kind) and interests, the one whose name is most commonly associated with that of the Silurist and the

1. Eg. Th'ast, y'engage, 'mong, 'bove, 'bhors, t'a, etc.

2. "Castara" part 2. "To my Noblest friend" I.C. Esq."

3. Preface to the Reader, "Steps to the Temple" see "His Epitaph" Martin 172.

one to whose work the slightly younger poet might have been expected to turn for encouragement. Actually, the relationship, if it existed, was of the slightest and Vaughan cannot be shown to have gone further into Crashaw's debt than the borrowing of a line or two or an image and perhaps a few phrases. So, for example, Vaughan may have twice found in Crashaw the phrase "the face of things" (1) which he later uses twice himself (2) and he may have adopted other phrases such as Crashaw's "busy motions" (3) to his own use. Some lines in Crashaw's "Upon the Duke of Yorke" (4)

Storms, when they look on thee, shall straight relent;
And Tempests, when they tast thy breath, repent
To whispers soft as thine own slumbers be,

may have been the inspiration for Vaughan's

When thou dost shine darkness looks white and fair,
Storms turn to Musick, clouds to smiles and air:
(5)

-
1. Crashaw ed. Martin p.181 & 179.
 2. pp.46 and 478.
 3. Crashaw p.123.
 4. Quoted in a footnote Martin p.179.
 5. "The Rainbow" p.509.

A parallel is noted by Dr. Chambers (Muses' Library Vol.1 p.316) between the fourth stanzas of Vaughan's "The Feast" and Crashaw's Nativity Hymn. Mr. Tutin in the Muses' Library edition of Crashaw p.248. points out a likeness in phrasing between Crashaw's hymn to St. Teresa not published until 1646 and Vaughan's "To Amoret Weeping"

The phoenix (1) , eagles, nests, tears as sources of imagery are by no means Vaughan's or Crashaw's monopoly in the seventeenth century, but they occur with particular frequency in the work of these two poets. (1) In the contemporary publication "Recreation" for Ingenious Head-peeces. Or, A pleasant Grove for their Wits to walke in" two lines of Crashaw's are quoted as a preface to eighteen lines from Vaughan's "The Resolve" (2); but that this apparent linking of the two in contemporary regard cannot be taken as emblematic of a deeper connection is hardly surprising. Crashaw's work,--often simple in thought but swift in movement, rhetorically more striking, brilliant in colour,--reflects his quality as truly as Vaughan's,-- meditative and often involved, eddying in its course, apparently clumsy in style, dimmer in hue, mirrors his, the younger poets's mind; and the contrast between their genius, together with the reason for Vaughan's independence, is plain.

Such a comparison does not necessarily demand a statement of general relative value and here it may be enough to suggest that Vaughan's were the rarer powers and that rarity in good things gives price.

Meanwhile Vaughan was learning precision of expression of a more external, academic kind from a master practitioner and theorist. It is not inherently improbable that one who, like Ben Jonson, urged the "impossibility of any man's being the good poet, without first being a good man" (3) should contribute something even to Vaughan's maturer poetics, but it is in prosody, with kindred practical matters, that his influence produces concrete results and perhaps finally counts most.

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1. But no one can compete with Habington in the frequency of his use of the Phoenix in imagery.
 2. See Martin's note to "The Resolve" p.696.
 3. Dedication to Volpone.

In the volume of 1646 the connection is seen in open imitation. For the progenitor of "A Rhapsodis" is the spirit of the "Leges Conviviales" and no very subtle ear is necessary to distinguish Jonsonian tones in such lines as

If I were dead, and in my place,
 Some fresher youth design'd,
 To warme thee with new fires, and grace
 Those Armes I left behind; (1)

or in several of those in the poem beginning

'Tis true, I am undone. (2)

Nor is the reverential tone in which "Great BEN", necessary president of any throng of "learned Ghosts", is mentioned in the poem opening this volume the only index to Vaughan's admiration. The first lines

When we are dead, and now, no more
 Our harmless mirth, our wit, and score
 Distracts the Towne (3)

as well as the reproduction of some of Jonson's tricks of style, as for example, in the frequent use of the comparative degree of adjectives (4) reveal some of that perhaps sincerer form of flattery obvious throughout this volume. Amatory verse occupies the greater part of Vaughan's first publication and it is perhaps not unjust to Ben and his Sons to say that an inner levity in the matter of love is necessary for the sparkle they achieved. It may be due, then, as much to a native earnestness and a "Platonick" conception of the passion ("the fire at highest is but Platonick") as to immaturity of technique that these early poems lack the "smoother grace" of the Cavaliers or their parent.

1. "A Song to Amoret" p.8.

2. { "An Elegy" of Johson Underwoods
 p.9.
 'Tis true I'm broke"↓

3. p.3.

4. "her breasts warmer snow", "those elder fires", "the courser aire"
 "Smoother grace", "warmer sighs",

In Olor Iscanus there is less disposition to tread delicately in the gathering up of Jonsonian bric-a-brac and at the same time a greater appreciation of what constituted Jonson's poetical thews and sinews. The discreetly Bacchanalian tone becomes more pronounced and, as in the "Invitation to Brecknock" or "Upon a Cloke", Vaughan is now able to counterfeit the looser Jonsonian idiom with apparent ease and, more important has evolved a line which in the longer couplet achieves a certain amount of variety and flexibility, but which above all is built to convey the sense rather than sensuousness. It was in this last respect only that Jonson can be said to have influenced Silex Scintillans and it shows chiefly in an ability gained by a tutelage now past to distribute the weights in his line. Here there is little stylistic likeness or textual indebtedness and even less of substance. But Vaughan's occasional use of words found in Jonson's productions but not common elsewhere, such as "knowing", "backside", nightpiece", as well as his recasting of Ben's phrase

Go seek thy peace in war
Who falls for love of God shall rise a star.
(1)

into

Do thou the works of day and rise a star (2)

offer aid to the theory if not to the proof that, even at the time when Jonson's subject matter would have no appeal to him, the younger poet had occasional recourse ^{by way of} discipline and tonic to his

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1. Underwoods. Epistle to a friend. Master Colby.
 2. "Rules and Lessons" p.439. cf. also "Love-sick" p.493.

predecessor's repository for examples of craftsmanship, propriety of language.

Thalia Rediviva offers in such apparently early poems as "To Lysimachus" and those on "Fida" some of the earlier recollection of Jonsonian mannerism and satiric observation. An obvious link of Vaughan's providing is the Virgilian inscription.

Nec erubuit sylvas habitare Thalia

on the title-page of this, his last, publication,- a motto which (as has been noted) is also prefixed to the Folio of The Sad Shepherd. Some hint is thus conveyed as to what may well have been the model for Vaughan's elegiac Eclogue, "Daphnis", with the more even flow of its longer couplets, its at times formal accent, and its natural description hardly less conventional than that of the "romantic" Jonson of pastoral.

Fundamental difference in "humour", of which Jonson's unremitting hostility to alchemy, astrology, perhaps to all forms of occult philosophy, is a sign, would prevent Vaughan from proceeding farther than the initiatory stage of sonship to Ben. Save in the first volume there are relatively few textual echoes⁽¹⁾ and small indebtedness of idea. Still less is there any suggestion of spiritual enlightenment or any change of emotional outlook brought about by the older poet. But Jonson provided both criticism and example in the art of communication and held views not less rigid than the Silurist's on the need to eschew everything not contributing directly to content. Herein

The enjambement which extends to the splitting of a word at the end of a line and of which, as shown earlier, Vaughan avails himself on one occasion, was not Donne's monopoly. Jonson's works offer more instances of this rough handling of words. His translation of the De Arte Poetica supplies two examples and the Underwoods at least three beside others scattered through the Masques. But as Jonson was probably following Donne's example, it is safer to lay Vaughan's sins also at Donne's door.

lay the secret of both Donne's and Jonson's authority with Vaughan, that in both attention was concentrated on meaning. So much is true of Donne even before he became a religious poet. With Jonson the didactic intention stalks undisguised in his comedy. So that, although a greater number of direct parallels can be traced between Jonson's poems and Vaughan's secular work, it is not necessarily in that quarter that his chief debt lies. Such affinity as exists might be thought to reside also in a common assignation to poetry of an end to which none of the usual definitions of "pleasure" would apply.

In connection with the possible after-effects of a study of Donne's and Ben Jonson's opinions, it is at this point convenient to examine Vaughan's attitude to another of his predecessors. Spenser was one whose moral purpose and claims for poetry were as lofty as Vaughan's own and one for whom the younger poet might have been expected to feel some veneration. It may have been loyalty to Donne as leader of a revolt against elements in Spenserianism, coupled probably with a lack of first-hand knowledge, that lead to what seems like cheap praise of D'avenant at Spenser's cost:

And where before Heroick Poems were
Made up of Spirits, Prodigies, and fear,
And shew'd (through all the Melancholy flight)
Like some dark Region overcast with night,
As if the Poet had been quite dismay'd
While only Giants and Inchantments sway'd,
Thou like the Sun, whose Eye brooks no disguise
Hast Chas'd them hence. (1)

Whether Spenser was associated in Vaughan's mind with those metrical romances of "Bevis and his Arundel" (2) toward which he felt so much

1. p.64.

2. "To Lysimachus, the Author being with him in London." p.612.

antipathy and whether his dislike of what he terms "infectious and dissolving Legend" (1) was a legacy from Jonson (2) is not clear. But that he should conceive some prejudice against both Spenser's material and style was a likely, though unfortunate, corollary to Donne's and Jonson's otherwise salutary influence (3).

Among the Sons of Ben, Randolph (4), seems to have impressed Vaughan most. Incidental references, - "My purse as Randolph's was" (5) or

The Randolph in those holy Meades,
His lovers, and Amyntas reads,
Whilst his Nightingall close by,
Sings his, and her owne Elegie: (6)

casual introductions of Randolph's phrases or images (7) as well as longer passages like that in the Elegy on Mr. R.W.,

1. Preface to Silex Scintillans p.389
2. See eg. the "Execration upon Vulcan"
3. In spite of the praise Jonson bestows on Spenser in The Golden Age.
Restored.
4. who "followed his father's steps; they both of them loved sack and harmless mirth" (preface to Reader, "Hey for Honesty").
5. "The Importunate Fortune" p.617.
6. "To my Ingenuous Friend, R.W." p.3.
7. Eg. In addition to the likenesses noted by Mr. Martin "Killing cares", Randolph, "Aristippus", Martin, of his edition on pp.678 680, 681, 704, Vaughan translation of Boethius p.76.
"He wore him as a jewel in his ear", Randolph "An Elegy on the death of ... Sir Rowland Cotton"; cf. Vaughan "Elegie on the death of Mr. R.W." ll 37-8.
"Look babes in the eyes", Randolph "A Pastoral Courtship" and "Upon a Hermaphrodite"; cf. Vaughan "In Amicum foeneratorem" p.44

Vaughan's frequent use of the image of the eagle gazing at the sun may also have been inspired by Randolph's usage. See The Jealous Lovers ll.7. The Muses' Looking-Glass ll.2 & ll.3. etc.

(1) his direct dependence on Randolph's translation from Claudian, (2) the similarity both in tone and phrasing of the self-pity and self-congratulation employed by the two poets when on the subject of their material welfare, - (3) all discovers in Vaughan's secular poems not only acquaintanceship with Randolph's works, but a mind endeavouring to work on the same pattern and perhaps stocked from the same warehouse. Vaughan's "greatest follies" were "suppressed", so that the extent to which he may have attended Randolph in folly stays problematical. But although his use of Randolph's own trick of elision (4) ^{may} be thought symptomatic of an aspiration after suppleness and elasticity, Randolph seems to have

1. The Jealous Lovers

O, that day,
 (When I had cause to blush that this poor thing
 Did kiss a queen's hand, and salute a king)
 How often had I lost thee! I could find
 One of thy stature, but in every kind
 Alter'd from him I knew.

cf. Vaughan "An elegie on the death of Mr. R. W." p. 50. ll. 50-54
 In the same category of relationships comes also perhaps what seems like Vaughan's rendering in "To the pious memorie of C. W. Esquire"
 The Will serv'd God, and ev'ry Sense the Will!
 of Randolph's lines "On the Inestimable Content he enjoys in the Muses"
 Reason within me shall sole ruler be,
 And every sense shall wear her livery.

2. See Mr. Martin's edition p. 705. In connection with Vaughan's indebtedness to Robert Randolph's Dedicatory poem prefacing his brother's poems it is interesting to note that Vaughan has borrowed also the expressions "tide of tears" for his translation of Juvenal l. 391 and that the idea expressed in the same poem "A new succession" for "The as the beams" (Timber" p. 497
 Of the bright sun, shot forth in several streams,
 And thinly scattered, with less fervour pass,
 Which cause a flame contracted in a glass,
 reappears in "The Resolve" p. 434.
3. With Randolph "On the Inestimable Content he enjoys in the Muses", Mr. Randolph's Petition to his Creditors", and "A Parley with his Empty Purse" compare Vaughan "To Amoret Weeping", "In Amicum foeneratorem" and "The Importunate Fortune".
4. See remarks on i'th' Habington p.

been a personal rather than a literary force with Vaughan. The gentleman roisterer, dead while Vaughan was still a boy in Siluria, with his dexterity in satire and praise of conviviality, his prompt wit mixed in pastoral with a not too exigent idealism, seems to have been for many the exemplar of his type. Charm and fleetness of mind, without, for example, Jonson's academic sonority and weight, probably aroused in the later poet a general eagerness, unbacked by theory, to emulate rather than a critical inclination to imitate in particular matters or to borrow. Unlike Ben Jonson whose reasons were to his followers of equal concern with his performance, Randolph gave few lessons but his accomplishment, so early and apparently so easily encompassed, offered great encouragement to those like Vaughan embarking on their poetical careers.

On the subject of Vaughan's relationship and, perhaps, indebtedness, to the greatest of his contemporaries, Miss Guiney has written persuasively (1). Something, doubtless of "Doric delicacy" and fastidious touch the young celebrant of Usk and Siluria owed to the just published first volume of the poet of Horton. It is very likely too, as Miss Guiney suggests, that admiration of Milton's technical accomplishment was replaced by fierce condemnation of his political activities and that Vaughan felt no hesitation in alluding in his poems to any misfortune which might befall this arrogant heretic, this adversary of the Lord's Anointed. There is, moreover,

1. "Milton and Vaughan". Quarterly Review. April 1914.

a thrust (hitherto, I believe, unnoticed) in Thalia Rediviva at
 those learned lines are neither ^{those} Verse nor Prose,
 (1)

that is, probably, at the author of Samson agonistes. Other possible reminiscences will be found of "Lycidas" (2) in "Les Amours"; (3) of the "Nativity" (4) Ode in "To the best, and most accomplish'd Couple" (5); of "Comus" (6) in "The dwelling-place" (7) and in lines he inserts without the authority of his original in his translation of Boethius (8). Vaughan's compounds "thh all-surprising light" ("The Dawning" 451), "All subduing might" (9) may less have been inspired by Milton's usage.

In no sense was Vaughan's a fugitive and cloistered virtue. He was as alive and receptive to all the murmurs of rival voices in the literature of his day as he was to the tumult of contending causes in national life and as instant in reply. The past, it may be thought, flowed in with its wealth imperceptibly and enriched the unconscious recipient chiefly in forming the general lines of his thought, in building that orthodoxy upon which great unorthodoxy must develop. His

1. "To Lysimachus" p.612.

2. 1.106.

3. 11.25-26

4. 1.229.

5. 11.10-13.

6. 1.30.

7. 11.7-10.

8. p.633. 11 19-20.

9. "Ascension Hymn" p.483.

immediate predecessors and contemporaries gave him method, supplied examples of stylistic contrivance. There is evidence to show that these were not wasted, that he ~~assimilated~~ assimilated them before he embarked on his own artistic course. Intercommunication with other minds was, it appears, essential for the nourishment, if not for the fertilisation, of his own powers. His originality lay in synthesis, an intra-telluric process where all was

hatch'd unto Eternitie.

CHAPTER 10.

Influence.

The influence of a poet of Vaughan's kind whose individuality and originality reside in something more than phrasing or imitable mannerism can be traced only in a necessarily limited company of confederate souls. Detection here is attended by special dangers since minds of his calibre are not deflected from their own course. "Influence" in such instances must be defined as an example offering encouragement to develop powers and ideas inherent, a burning-glass to set alight ~~already prepared~~ material already existent, rather than as a current, an external force directing and ~~sm~~moulding the nebulous or as a foreign produce to be imported in large or small quantities at will. Vaughan's teaching was probably not pronounced enough to form a school and his personality not dominating enough to govern a band of disciples. His audience has always been limited to the few, in his own lifetime no less than later. What seems to be the second edition of Silex Scintillans published in 1655 is in reality made up of the unsold copies of the first edition augmented by the Preface and the second part. No volume of memorial poems was published at his death; but that may have been because he outlived most of those friends who had earlier contributed commendatory verses

and might have been expected to supply a like tribute at his decease. As has been mentioned, "The Sweet Caelestiall Poems by Mr. Henry Vaughan intituled Silex Scintillans" were in 1650 commended to the readers of the Recreation for Ingenious Head-peeces. Or A Pleasant Grove for their Wits to walke in and this small eulogy is repeated in the editions of 1654, 1663, and 1667. (1) To be paired with Cowley as was "the Uskan Swan In his declining years" (2) was no faint praise and Olor Iscanus was reissued (but not reprinted) in 1679. Setting aside these meagre testimonies, there is nothing to suggest that Vaughan's writings had any influence whatsoever on his contemporaries, save perhaps in one instance.

Practical difficulties of date-determination present themselves in any attempt to interpret exactly the relationship between Vaughan and the one who of all others of his day might lay claim to be a spiritual son,- Traherne. The enunciation in clearer, louder tones of Vaughan's most cherished dimly-conceived notions is part of Traherne's daily ritual. In common with some others of his century, Traherne displays an interest in Hermetical Philosophy, -(3) an interest which, unlike that of his fellows, extended beyond curiosity to sympathy. That Vaughan and Traherne alone among contemporary poets had considered seriously Hermetic doctrine, with its stress on "Nature", and that these two alone in the seventeenth century were to bring forth a poetry of "Nature" might be thought significant.

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1. Martin. Note to p.434.
 2. "To the ingenious Author of Thalia Rediviva " p.599.
 3. For passages illustrative of Traherne's interest in the subject see Appendix p.307.....

They were both mystics, Royalists, High Churchmen and Silurians, "being seated", as Traherne observes, "among silent trees, and meads and hills" (1) and were able to offer full and immediate response to the appeal made by external nature to the senses.

The very Day my Spirit did inspire,
The Worlds fair Beauty set my Soul on fire,
My Senses were Informers to my Heart. (2)

Traherne glimpses "A new Antipodes" in a puddle (3); Vaughan, also, by taking up a new stance sees the world transfigured and "Environ'd with Eternity" (4). Traherne as well as Vaughan was mystically intent on the apprehension of "invisibles" (5) and on interpreting aright the signs offered by

A World of endless Joys by Nature made (6)

The visible world as teacher occupied almost as important a place in his scheme as in Vaughan's :

... a Pulpit in my Mind,
A Temple, and a Teacher I did find,
With a large Text to comment on. No ear,
But eys them selvs were all the Hearers there.
And evry Stone, and Evry Star a Tongue,
And evry Gale of Wind a Curious Song
The Heavens were an Orakle, and spake
Divinity: The Earth did undertake
The office of a Priest; And I being Dum
(Nothing besides was dum;) All things did com
With Voices and Instructions.. (7)

1. "Centuries of Meditation 3.46.

2. "Nature" Wade p.34. See also "The Enquiry" W.p.179.

3. "Shadows in the Water". Wade p.182.

4. "The City" Wade. p.198.

5. Vaughan, "Righteousness" p.524 cf. Traherne:

A visiv Ey things visible doth see;
But with th'Invisible, Invisibles agree. "Sight" Wade
p.187.

6. "Nature" Wade p.155.

7. "Dumnesse" p.25 Wade.

and even a country walk, provided that the scene be viewed "not with eys But Thought" yields its lesson:

For we may by degrees
 Wisely proceed
 Pleasures of Lov and Prais to heed,
 From viewing Herbs and Trees. (1)
 But although sayings like

"For Nature teacheth nothing but the Truth" (2)

or

We first by Nature all things boundless see;
 Feel all illimited; and know
 No Terms or Periods... (3)

abound in Traherne's work and show that for him, as for Vaughan, the sanctity and power of Nature provides his central doctrine, A marked divergence exists in their elaboration and application of this same principle.

Traherne's general attitude is perhaps best summed up in a verse from "Dumnesse" (4)

No Business Serious seemed but one; No Work
 But one was found; and that did in me lurk.
 D'ye ask me What? It was with cleerer Eys
 To see all Creatures full of Deities;
 Especially Ones Self: And to Admire
 The Satisfaction of all True Desire. (5)

"To see all Creatures full of Deities" was an aim and experience he shared with Vaughan who perhaps here had the greater gift. But it is this stress laid on "Ones self" and the nature or "Desire" of man which marks the essential difference between the two points of view.

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1. "Walking" Wade p.190.
 2. "Nature" Wade p.34.
 3. "The City" Wade p.198
 4. Wade p.23.
 5. Wade p.23

Traherne,

To ~~T~~, "Dame Natures Law" is that which works within his soul. And Traherne, perhaps standing on Vaughan's shoulders and using his perspective, has the longer view and attributes a kingliness to man's estate and faculties which Vaughan would probably not have sanctioned. In bodily fairness man, in Traherne's view, surpasses all the fruits and flowers of the field (1); unlike "Beasts that have no true Felicity" (2) an inner light shows him "Life, Joy, Lov, Peace". Traherne will go farther and say:

The GODHEAD cannot prize
The Sun at all, nor yet the Skies,
Or Air, or Earth, or Trees, or Seas,
Or Stars, unless the Soul of Man they pleas ; (3)

with more than Coleridgian emphasis he utters his recognition of the power of the "shaping spirit of imagination" at work vivifying what were else but the inanimate machinery of the universe:

What were the Skie,
What were the Sun, or Stars, did ye not lie
In me! and represent them there
Where else they never could appear! (4)

And anticipating the author of "Dejection", Traherne discovers within his own spirit the fountains of that life and passion which seemed to exist in outward forms, learns that nature has no character ungiven by

1. "The Odour" Wade p.151.
2. "Sight" Wade p.188.
3. "The Demonstration" Wade p.54. See also "The Demonstration" p.55.

GOD is the Spring whence Things came forth
Souls are the fountains of their Real Worth.
and "The Recovery" p.61.
The Deitie attains
His Ends while we enjoy. In us He reigns.
4. "Thoughts" Wade p.68.

himself, understands in her varying aspects but the likeness of his own moods:

Ye sullen Things!
 Ye dumb, ye silent Creatures, and unkind!
 How can I call you Pleasant Springs
 Unless ye eas my Mind!

Will ye not speak
 What 'tis I want, nor Silence break
 O pity me, and let me see som Joy;
 Som kindness shew to me, altho a Boy.

They silent stood;
 Nor Earth, nor Woods, nor Hills, Nor Brooks, nor Skies,
 Would tell me where the hidden Good,
 Which I did long for, lies:
 The shady Trees,
 The Ev'ning dark, the humming Bees,
 The chirping Birds, mute Springs and Fords, conspire,
 While they deny to answer my Desire. (1)

Nature, subservient thus to Man, is for Traherne at once reflection and interpretation,—an allegory of himself.

This "wondrous Self" (2) is to Vaughan also matter for cogitation and marvelling. He with Traherne is "in himself profoundly busied" (3) and by the subduing of all external activity seeks to bore through an enshrouding consciousness down to the low stratas of unrealised motive and touch the pulse of truth:

A man, that seemeth idle to the view,
 Of others, may the greatest Business do. (4)

And it is doubtless a pursuit of Vaughan's principles to their logical conclusion that leads Traherne to his glorification of man above the creatures, his belief in Felicity as the end of living, his theories as to the methods of attainment. For Traherne, if more supple in tempera-

1. "Solitude" p.123. See also "Desire p.77. An examination of Traherne's debt to the Cambridge Platonists would probably be remunerative. Cf. John Smith, "Of the Existence and Nature of God" Chap.1: Though the whole of this visible universe be whispering out the notions of a Deity, yet we cannot understand it without some inter-preter within. cf. also Henry More "Nullus spiritus, nullus deus" and Culverivel "The Light of Nature" C.XI.
2. "My Spirit" p.163. 3. "Dumness" p.158. 4. "Silence" Wade p.164

ment, has the more analytical mind and the more single; his vision is the clearer for not being refracted through the medium of as complex a personality as Vaughan's. And so from the Silurist's own doctrine of the harmony and harmlessness of life lived by external nature Traherne proceeds rapidly:

This he thought a principle at the bottom of Nature, That whatsoever satisfied the goodness of Nature, was the greatest treasure. Certainly men therefore err because they know not this principle. For all inclinations and desires in the soul flow from and tend to the satisfaction of goodness. 'Tis strange that an excess of goodness should be the fountain of all evil. This principle of nature, when you remove the rust it hath contracted by corruption, is pure gold; and the most orient jewel that shines in man. (4.45 Centuries of Meditation)

until, before Rousseau, he makes the discovery:

I am sure those barbarous people that go naked, come nearer to Adam, God, and Angels in the simplicity of their wealth, though not in knowledge. (Ibid. 3.12.)

After conducting his argument through a series of Pythagorean transmigrations and at a rate that would have astonished Vaughan, this earlier subtle-souled psychologist justifies his generalisation concerning the "goodness of nature",-

All inclinations and desires in the soul flow from and tend to the satisfaction of goodness,-

by example which is seeming paradox:

Self-love is the basis of all love (1)

1. His argument may be thus summarised:

We love ourselves earnestly, and therefore rejoice to have palaces and kingdoms. But when we have these, yea Heaven and Earth, unless we can be delightful and joyous to others they will be of no value. One soul to whom we may be pleasing is of greater worth than all dead things. (4th Century, 45)Then indeed we reign and triumph when we are delighted in. Then are we blessed when we are a blessing (4.47) By infusing the principle of self-love He made a creature capable of enjoying all worlds: to whom, did he not love himself, nothing could be given.....Self-love maketh us to love those that love us, and to hate all those that hate us. (4.53)..... It is true that self-love is dishonourable, but then it is when it is alone. So that self-love is the basis of all love. Ibid. 4.45-55.

The lucidity of thinking which gives Traherne his ability to see humanity's problems as something of an equation capable of solution by formula makes his psychology seem occasionally dextrous and cerebral,- sometimes a thing of words and virtuosity. It follows also that one who can ask "What have men to do in this world but to make themselves happy?" (1) has small place among his acceptances for that conviction of guilt, that compulsion to expiate, which was the driving force of Vaughan's genius. Traherne would have condemned as misbegotten or frustrated a conception of life, as antipathonal elevation and sacrifice, with man continually at the altar, his own priest and oblation. This was the conception held by Vaughan, who seems also to have been less democratic generally in his psychology and to have taken account only of those persons capable of submitting themselves to, and surviving, the necessary conflict of the artist. In this, Traherne's reasoning follows Browne's:

He that relieves another upon the bare suggestion and bowels of pity doth not this so much for his sake as for his own, for by compassion we make others' misery our own; and so, by relieving them we relive ourselves also. (2)

and

We censure others but as they disagree from that humour which we fancy laudable in ourselves, and commend others but for that wherein they seem to quadrate and consent with us. So that in conclusion, all is but that we all condemn, self-love. (3)

With some of the other points composing the Silurist's creed, Traherne registers less ambiguous agreement, and expands. For

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1. C of M. 4.7.
 2. Religio Medici Part 2. 2.
 3. Ibid. part 2.4

example, to Vaughan's younger contemporary all things have been ore-figured in the mind of God.

All motions, successions, creatures, and operations with their beginnings and ends were in Him from Everlasting. (1)

Moreover

We also were ourselves before God eternally (2)

But Traherne's theories on the pre-existence of ~~human~~ souls after their conception in the mind of God, whilst rejecting anything savouring of Metempsychosis, seem to admit of two stages. To the soul is assigned first an age of non-entity in the Abyss:

When silent I,
So many thousand thousand years
Beneath the Dust did in a Chaos lie. (3)

And then a phase described in "The Preparative" (4) as unbodied "Naked Simple Pure Intelligence" wherein a sense of identity begins to shape itself and demand "Being" (5). With Traherne consideration of possible modes of pre-existence takes a new turn and assumes another aspect. It becomes in effect a study of the unconscious and so belongs less to department of theology or philosophy than to that of psychology. And Traherne more than any others, save one, of his day gives a feeling of present and personal urgency to his explorations. As has been suggested, the search for the beginnings of things (6) seems not to have been

1. C of M. 3.65.

2. Ibid. 5.8.

3. "The Salutation" W.p.3

4. Wade p.11. Dobell MS. Perhaps, however, this is one of the rare instances where the Burney MS reading Wade p.107 with Philip Traherne's corrections is to be preferred.

5. C. of M. 1.45.

6. Traherne. "Insatiableness"
No Walls confine! Can nothing hold my Mind?
Can I no Rest nor Satisfaction find?
Must I behold Eternity
And See
What things above the Heav'ns be?
Will nothing serve the Turn?
Nor Earth, nor Seas, nor Skies?
Till I what lies
In Time's beginning find;
Must I till then for ever burn?.....
Till I what was before all Time descry,
The World's Beginning seems but Vanity.
My Soul doth there long Thought extend
No End
Doth find, or Being comprehend:
Yet somewhat sees that is
The obscure shady face
Of endless Space.
All Room within; where I
Expect to meet Eternal Bliss.

initiated by any outside agency or system of thought. Nor was there much in the spirit of the age (unless a fairly widespread interest in dreams might be taken as a sign as I think it may)(1) to have inspired a new interpretation of a familiar subject. It seems to have sprung from the pressing need he felt to discover for practical purposes the rules governing the workings of the human mind, a need which doubtless germinated in a desire to explain his own experiences outside consciousness and his intuitions concerning them.

Consideration of that phase of human experience immediately succeeding birth brings him closer to the elder poet. In "How like an angel came I down" Traherne has the note of a young and exuberant Vaughan, and, obedient to the same prompting spirit he exclaims

Is it not strange that an infant should be heir of the whole world and see those mysteries which the books of the learned never unfold? (2)

It is "the customs and manners of men" with the consequent alienation from nature which to Traherne, as to Vaughan, is responsible for the eclipse of "the first Light":

The first Light which shined in my Infancy in its primitive and innocent clarity was totally eclipsed: insomuch that I was fain to learn all again. If you ask me how it was eclipsed? Truly by the customs and manners of men, which like contrary winds blew it out: by an innumerable company of other objects, rude, vulgar and worthless things, that like so many loads of earth and dung did overwhelm and bury it.... by a whole sea of other matters and concerns that covered and drowned it: finally by the evil influence of a bad education that did not foster and cherish it. (3)

1. See R. Medici 2.10 & 2.11.

2. C of M.3.2.

3. C of M.3.7. & Cf 3.14.

"'tis more to recollect than make" (1) might stand as motto here for Vaughan's methods as for Traherne's. With the microscope of introspection fixed only on the germinal stages there could not be complete autobiography, but Traherne's utterances concerning "Sweet Infancy" "Eden", "The ancient Way", like those of the Silurist, are stamped with the lyric fervency of a poet's memories of actual experience, of "Yesterdays-yet present Blessedness" (2). But whereas Traherne sees man "like a God incarnat in his Throne" (3), a throne sometimes temporally vacant by abdication, to Vaughan man is irremediably deposed.

The general likeness in method and in findings which is the natural result of a consanguinity of faculty has its counterpart in the vehement, ejaculatory style they both employ. Vaughan's is the slower pace, the graver tread; and the texture of Traherne's work is often in comparison slack. Both employ a "neutral" diction, characterless in itself and so apt to convey almost mathematically what seemed to them their unique mes-sage. (4)

1. "The Improvement" Wade p.146. 2. "Thoughts" Wade p.67.

3. "Eas" p.157.

4. See Traherne's address Critical Peruser. Traherne's rejection of ornament "curling metaphors that gild the Sence" and "painted Eloquence" was as deliberate as Vaughan's though unaccompanied by the stress of conversion from other habits:

An easy Stile drawn from a native vein,
A clearer Stream than that which Poets feign,
Whose bottom may, how deep so 'ere, be seen,
Is that which I think fit to win Esteem.

It would seem that Traherne shared Vaughan's opinion of art as something "preternatural" (C of M.3.9), that is, anti-natural (see eg "The Apostacy" W. p.120), rather than as the expression of man's natural powers.

But sometimes ordinary words shape themselves anew under their hands, take life and generate ~~a larger or~~ a hypostasis subtly different from the first unfertilised syllables. Or so it might seem by the expansion of meaning brought, for example, by Traherne as by Vaughan to epithets by the prefix "Virgin", with the poet's dream of the young and unpolluted

My virgin-thoughts in Childhood were
Full of Content,
And innocent, (1)

his aspiration to the "inward hidden heavenly love" which is "a virgin infant flame", (2) the retreat to the first days of the world

No Gold, nor Trade, nor Silver there,
Nor Cloaths, nor Coin, nor Houses were,
No gaudy Coaches, Feasts, or Palaces,
Nor vain Inventions newly made to pleas;
But Native Truth, and Virgin-Purity,
An uncorrupt Simplicity. (3)

and God benignant at the end of the vista.

Traherne was still at Brasenose when the first part of Silex Scintillans appeared and internal evidence tends to indicate discipleship in his work or at least something other than the nature of the first pioneer's discoveries. His is the manner of the convert who proclaims the good tidings in far less uncertain tones than the master Evangelist dare and his story is like the rumour that swells, and has become more emphatic in repetition. His meaning is sometimes easier to come by than Vaughan's; it is delivered without the roughness and sense of labour that must accompany the first mining of the ore. But he is not more powerful or convincing either as poet or preacher than Vaughan, because more fluent; Vaughan's eddying thought and comparatively hesit-

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1. "The World" Wade p.117.
 2. "Desire" " p.76.
 3. "Adams Fall" " p.115.

ant utterance mirror the struggles of the strong tide of his spirit with the kind of undertow that never troubled Traherne but which to ordinary humanity makes his experience the more impressive and gives its timbre to his instrument.

The debt of the shoemaker's son of Hereford to his neighbour of Llansantfread seems proved, but for some time Traherne remained Vaughan's only disciple. The apparent neglect of his own age was but a forecast of the more understandable neglect of the next century. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that congenial poetical souls discovered him, or that the poetry of visions was written again.

In 1794, some hundred years after the death of Vaughan, "Songs of Experience" was produced and it is obvious to us, though it aroused no comment then, that Vaughan's mantle of prophecy had descended on Blake. The earlier poet's distrust of the fallible machinery of reasoning in Blake deepened, hardened, and left him at the mercy of many gusts and whirlwinds. His information, like that of his predecessor came to him in visions and he accepted it unviolated by interrogation.

Youth of delight, come hither,
And see the opening morn,
Image of truth new-born
Doubt is fled, and clouds of reason,
Dark disputes and artful teasing. (1)

The gift special insight and of augury

Hear the voice of the Bard!
Who present, past, and future, sees; (2)

was granted in as great a measure to Blake as to the Silurist. And to both, the objects of the visible world were symbols of something less

1. cf. Vaughan p.515. "The voice of the Ancient Bard" Oxford p.96.

2. Songs of Experience. Introduction p.81.

perishable:

To see a world in a grain of sand,
 And a heaven in a wild flower
 Hold infinity in the palm of the hand,
 And eternity in an hour. (1)

To both Vaughan and Blake childhood was representative of the state
 of man's innocency before custom and convention bind him:

In every cry of every Man,
 In every Infant's cry of fear,
 In every voice, in every ban,
 The mind-fog'd manacles I hear (2)

To both it seemed that the tyrannic institutions of society quickly
 destroy the natural sources of pleasure in the child:

And priests in black gowns were walking in the rounds
 And binding with briars my joys and desires (3)

and happiness and innocency alike come under the reign of a blind
 cruelty:

"Because I was happy upon the heath,
 And smiled among the winter's snow,
 They clothed me in the clothes of death,
 And taught me to sing the notes of woe". (4)

And expediency as a guide is early substituted for the natural goodness
 in instinct:

Thou, mother of my mortal part,
 With cruelty didst mould my heart,
 And with false self-deceiving fears
 Didst bind my nostrils, eyes, and ears. (5)

The insidious snares laid by the world seem to Blake to cast their
 shadow even on the sleeping infant, and, watching the new-born baby,

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|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. "Auguries of Innocence" p.171. | 2. "London" p 102. |
| 3. "The Garden of Love" p.99. | 4. "The Chimney-Sweeper" p.104. |
| 5. "Tirzah" p.96. | |

he sees in her "little pretty infant wiles" the seed of powers and desires later to breed discord and hatred:

When thy little heart does wake,
Then the dreadful lightnings break
From thy cheek and from thine eye,
O'er the youthful harvests night,
Infant wiles and infant smiles
Heaven and earth of peace beguiles. (1)

But in both is the conception of life as a cycle and of the ideal as an ultimate stage beyond maturity in which the innocence of the child is won again; a state which is the ultimate goal both for humanity and for the regenerate individual. It is the doctrine to express which Blake labours in his earlier mythic books and which Vaughan sums up so perfectly in two lines in the poem "Childe-hood":

An age of mysteries! which he
Must live twice, that would Gods face see.

It is not only in temperament and gospel that Blake suggests the earlier poet. Their way of shaping their phrases within the line is curiously alike, and in the management of his rhythms, particularly in the octosyllabics of "the Everlasting Gospel" and the "Auguries of Innocence", Blake has resurrected the very movement and haste of Vaughan's gnomic lines. Conversely, the reader might be forgiven for attributing

For know, wildemmen, that when you erre
Each thing turns Scribe and Register,
And in obedience to his Lord,
Doth your most private sins record, (2)

or

The Turtle then in Palm-Trees mourns,
While Owls and Satyrs howl;
The pleasant Land to brimstone turns
And all her streams grow foul (3)

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1. "A Cradle Song" p.113. The significance of the last two lines is perhaps more clear when we remember that the original version has "female" for the "infant" later substituted.
 2. "The Stone" p.515.
 3. "The Bird" p.497.

to Blake. In both of them the use of symbol was much more than a convenient poetic method. In both the fitfulness of their moments of vision is obvious, but unusual rapidity of thinking is responsible for the condensation of their utterances and their habit of launching cryptic and apparently isolated thoughts on to the void with what seems a fine irrelevance. If Blake's work has often the air of a code to be deciphered, Vaughan's is not without its secrets. Both have a habit of suddenly and apparently casually enunciating ideas with a peculiarly startling distinctness, with little reference to context in lines that ring out with the force of a remark overheard when the hum of conversation for a moment ceases. To a special degree their work has the manner and appeal of primitive art; the directness of statement is there, some of the angularity and much of the spiritual sophistication allied to apparent naïveté of technique.

The discovery of a copy of Silex Scintillans in the catalogue of Wordsworth's library drew attention to what is the most spectacular link between Vaughan and Wordsworth. The treatment of childhood in the "Intimations" ode serves, of course, as a very tangible sign of community of spirit, but it is not the only one. The careers of the two poets were, in general outline, strangely alike. They were greatly favoured in their birthplaces, a favour for which they could not be said to have shown themselves ungrateful; both in their childhood held "unconscious intercourse with beauty",

Not with the mean and vulgar works of Man:
 But with high objects, with enduring things,
 With life and nature; purifying thus
 The elements of feeling and of thought,
 And sanctifying by such discipline
 Both pain and fear. (1)

With Wordsworth, as with Vaughan, the praise of his early haunts (which, again as with his predecessor, were destined to be also the haunts of his later days) runs through his work like a chorus and sometimes makes the form of a set tribute:

Yet were I grossly destitute of all
 Those human sentiments that make this earth
 So dear, if I should fail with grateful voice
 To speak of you, ye mountains, and ye lakes
 And sounding cataracts, ye mists and winds
 That dwell among the hills where I was born. (1)

Some parable might, perhaps, be made concerning the likenesses and dissimilarities of the "natural objects" by which the two were respectively surrounded and their influence" in calling forth and strengthening the imaginations" and the likenesses and dissimilarities of the two poets. But it would be as fantastic to attribute Wordsworth's wider range and loftier expression; his delight in a visionary landscape compounded of perilous ridges, huge peaks and silver wreaths of curling mist, with its Presences of Nature in the Sky, Visions of the hills and Souls of lonely places mainly to the grandeur of the Cumbrian mountains as it would be to make the similiar, but softer, landscape of Cambria responsible for the in some respects similiar, but minuter, genius of the earlier poet.

Both spent their youths amid the storms of political revolutions and a complete upheaval in the realm of ideas; both shared in the dangers of the one and were vitally affected by the other; in both the events of the day left marks never to be erased. After a sojourn in London and a period of indecision, both retired in their middle twenties to their first haunts, where both had for some fifty years that which was so necessary to them, the

gift divine of quiet sequestration. (2)

In both, after the extraordinary power of their early work, there is as remarkable a falling off, though in both of them Samson has his rousing motions and last great acts to overwhelm the too impetuous critic. Whether the visionary gleam flickered for Vaughan as for Wordsworth and finally grew dark, we have no means of telling, but that he lived by the light of the recollected glories of childhood for as long as he wrote poetry is very clear.

To both, the child has the wisdom of the seer and the philosopher, and in both the doctrine of reminiscence is given as the solution. Just as Vaughan is more adult than Blake, so Wordsworth is more adult than Vaughan and to him fell the task of acting as spokesman and of explaining in prose to an enquiring public that he used the theory, that "showy notion" as he elsewhere terms ^{it} because it had

sufficient foundation in humanity for authorising
me to make for my purpose the best use I could as a
poet.

Something must be granted to the effect of harmony of circumstance with temperament and the resulting peculiar happiness and radiance of their own earliest years. But at the root of their veneration for the state of childhood lies in both poets not a doctrine of reminiscence but the recognition of the existence in primal things of vast reservoirs of power and serenity and the conviction that the child subsists habitually at the heart of nature at the very source of these supplies. This, the education of nature, was for both of them the central conception, the basis from which sprang the offshoot theories of the divinity of childhood, as a state unsubdued "by the regular action of the world", and of the exalting of a life free of the trivial demands of the world; and their cry is identical.

..... Among your tribe
 Our daily world's true Worldlings, rank not me! (1)

So far and in their profound and instinctive feeling of fellowship with the living but inarticulate things of the earth, Vaughan and Wordsworth run abreast. But it remained for the later poet to build up on this foundation his metaphysical structure concerning the interrelation of man, nature and society. It was fortified with an austerer philosophy than Vaughan owned and given more stately adornments. But the substructure had been built by Vaughan and it was not necessary for Wordsworth to cross the Channel for the nucleus of some of his ideas regarding "the life in common things" (2) and the necessity of restoring to man, born free but everywhere in chains, the secret of his first happiness in nature.

In width of scope, in largeness of scheme, in variety of form, in grandeur of style; in the more intricate processes of analysis; in the power to "anatomise the frame of social life" (3) there is little in Vaughan to recall the later poet. But in ruminative writing, the product of a mind continually turning in upon itself, they share (though not quite equally because of Wordsworth's greater output) the most honourable place in modern English poetry. In the technical matters where a poet's chief doctrine is likely to be reflected, - in diction, for instance, - Vaughan's practice illustrates not only his own general distrust of the conventional and artificial, but also Wordsworth's precepts concerning the use of the simple and natural word. And the theories set forth in Wordsworth's Preface recall in more than one particular those in the less considered remarks of the

1. "Personal Talk"

2. "The Prelude" 1.108.

3. "The Prelude" Xl.280.

earlier poet. In addition to the stress laid on the sanctity of poetry, the dignity of the poet's art and the necessity for great subjects, there is a remarkable similarity between their attacks on contemporary writers for their "gaudiness and inane phraseology" and their pandering to the reader's "craving for extraordinary incident". The seeming paradox between obedience to an inspiration,—"obeying blindly and mechanically the impulses" of habits of disciplined thought, the necessity laid on the poet of avoiding the introduction of "any foreign splendour of his own",— between this and the difficulty of actual composition occurred to Wordsworth as it had occurred to Vaughan before him. Vaughan's arguments are less competently set forth; he was apparently unable to relate his principles and illustrations and see their full implications; he offers no such philosophic discussion of the nature of poetic pleasure as Wordsworth gives; He has no thesis as elaborate as Wordsworth's masterly distinction between the Imagination and the Fancy. But there can be little doubt that in aesthetics as well as in his other doctrines, Vaughan's work displays ideas in a rudimentary stage which Wordsworth was later to develop to their logical conclusion. And in one or two minor matters, although there is nothing to indicate that he was conscious of Vaughan as a model, there are signs that Wordsworth studied his copy of Silex Scintillans with some attention. (See Appendix p.306)

On the other hand, perhaps it is not out of place here to suggest that to trace back the genealogy of the ideas leading to the French Revolution and to discover their fons et origo in Vaughan, the fervent upholder of Church and Monarchy, is as curious an exercise of the imagination as tracing the adventures of the noble dust of Alexander and almost as futile.

Of the same vintage as the Silurist is Charles Lamb. The bouquet, the aroma, is the same. In both their favourite strain is one of recollection faded to tapestry hues save where in Lamb fantasy lightens it and in Vaughan something unearthly illumines it. And the pathos and wistfulness of their memories of the past are engendered by the same moods and attitudes. Vaughan, working in the more concentrated medium of verse, has the greater urgency. But Lamb in his poem "On an Infant dying as soon as born" has caught Vaughan's own manner and accent. And again, it is not always easy to remember that it was Vaughan who wrote "The Burial Of an Infant". It is not only in verse that Elia borrows the language of the seventeenth century. He was probably thinking, as Mr. Blunden has pointed out, of the "bright shootes of everlastingnesse" of "The Retreate" when he speaks of the budding wings of the Child Angel and how it

was shorn of its aspiring, and fell fluttering -
still caught by angel hands - for ever to put
forth shoots, and to fall fluttering, because its
birth was not of the unmixed vigour of heaven.

Had Coleridge lived in the seventeenth century, he would have been a Hermetic philosopher, - of Thomas' persuasion perhaps, rather than Henry's, but still one appreciative of the poet. Another vagrant, De Quincey, in his wanderings would then have courted for a time, but not wholeheartedly espoused, the Hermetic cause. On another side, also, he would have felt some affinity with the Silurist. In self-analysis based on reminiscence of the past, in the power of a memory transfiguring fact into the rich complication of dreams, he is fully the older writer's peer.

The history of Vaughan's influence on the nineteenth century mixes itself with the history of Wordsworth's influence.

The most distinguished names are Tennyson and Arnold. In both of these the function of the poet as teacher and interpreter, a function, which was fulfilled perhaps unconsciously by Vaughan, but with very conscious purpose by Wordsworth, are fully recognised. In both is a striving against triviality and conventionality, or "the World", - the world which in Arnold's case was so much with him that there was good reason to fear it. Both of these see with their acknowledged master and with Vaughan

The human Soul of universal earth (1)

and have as their greatest theme the human soul and the human soul in its relationship to "universal earth". And the profoundest lesson given by these teachers in concerning a still greater teacher, nature, and the rewards to be won by obeying her "eternal laws". Such a resemblance or indebtedness in metaphysics has its counterpart in Tennyson in a few stylistic likenesses, some of them (2) verbal, some of them a matter of rhythm. In Arnold, the one most akin to Vaughan in theory and conviction, there will be found no literary indebtedness though Vaughan has at least one stanza which might have been written by Arnold:

And still a new succession sings and flies;
Fresh groves grow up, and their green branches shoot
Towards the old and still enduring skies,
While the low Violet thrives at their root. (3)

1. Recluse bk 1.
2. As Mr. Churton Collins in his Illustrations of Tennyson has pointed out. Perhaps also some anticipations of the Tennysonian manner might be thought to occur in Vaughan's "To his Friend Being in Love" p.6 and "To the best, and most accomplish'd Couple" p.57.
3. See Arnold's "Morality", "Revolutions", "The Buried Life" and "In utrumque paratus" for speculation upon a pre-mortal life. For observations on "the strange disease of modern life", how men "spend their lives" in posting here and there, the importance of seeking tranquility in nature, it is hardly necessary to cite specific instances.

There is another group of nineteenth century poets, weaker than those just considered, but not without a sweetness of wide appeal. Coventry Patmore and the Anglican poets, Keble and Christina Rossetti, with their deep sense of devotion allied to a fine ear for the felicities of verse, betray occasionally faint echoes and reflections of the earlier, stronger, but not less sequestered, spirit. Miss Rossetti, the most austere of them, had as one of the sources of her inspiration those portions of the Bible that set Vaughan singing; hence some consonances of expression were inescapable. But, as in "Young Death", the sound is often more that of the crystalline devotional Herrick than that of the cloudier measures of Vaughan. Among others of his day, Clough in his less beligerent, more Thyrsis-like, moods, expresses himself in lines which show him as the very embodiment of the "sadly loose" and straying condition of man the sight of which troubled Vaughan.

Further to trace the influence of Vaughan upon English literature would mean but the multiplication of names and wholesale classification of innumerable "echoes", many of them quite fortuitous. One useful branch of enquiry would be a discussion as to how much English letters owes to the Metaphysicals generally for their plain diction; and the scope of such an investigation is indicative of the magnitude of the task involved in the evaluation of the "influence" of one who, like Vaughan, created a tradition but left no direct successors. The voice of the Silurist, lonely in his own day, has since been joined by many others all chanting of the same eternal mysteries,

So some strange thoughts transcend our wonted theams
And into glory peep, (1)

in their various ways, some more loudly than he. But for the sense of expectancy, the drawing back of hitherto impenetrable veils, the feeling of suddenly arrested but still vibrant activity in what had seemed lifeless or inert, - for these given with a particular deliberateness and intentness, - few have arisen as yet comparable to him.

APPENDIX.

Henry Vaughan at Oxford.

Dr. Grosart assumes from the record of Thomas' Matriculation and from the lines in the "Eucharistica Oxoniensia"(1641) signed "H. Vaughan, Jes. Col." and from a Woods' statement that the Silurist entered Oxford at the same time as his twin.

Dr. Chambers, however, in his Biographical Note to the Muses' edition of Vaughan's Poems doubts the Silurist's residence at Oxford on the following grounds:-

(1) Vaughan's name does not occur in the University Matriculation Register, although his brother Thomas is duly entered as matriculating from Jesus on 14th December, 1638 and only one undergraduate Vaughan is mentioned in the Battel-books for 1638 and 1640. That for 1639 is missing.

(2) Vaughan does not describe himself on any title-page as of Jesus College; nor does he ever speak of himself as an Oxford man (But see p.9). This omission is the more noticeable as he would naturally have done so in the lines Ad Posteror and might well have done so in those On Sir Thomas Bodley's Library, the Author then being in Oxford..

(3) Anthony a Wood cannot be depended on. He describes Thomas Carew, for instance, as of C.C.C. whereas he was almost certainly of Merton. And there was another Henry Vaughan of Jesus, who may have been confused with the poet. This Henry Vaughan, a son of John Vaughan of Cathlin, Merionethshire, Matriculated at Oriel in July 1634. He afterwards became a scholar and Fellow of Jesus, taking his B.A. in 1637 and his M.A. in 1639. In 1643 he became vicar of Penteg, co. Monmouth, and died at Abergavenny in 1661. (Wood, Ath.Oxon., lll.531; Foster, Alumni Oxon). There was also a Gentleman-commoner of the College in 1641, and has, with Henry Vaughan the Fellow, verses in the *προτελειαν* Anglo Batava of the same year.

Vaughan's references to his age
and to Siluria.

Whilst Vaughan is in one sense among the most inward of all our poets, it is also true that the form and pressure of his age and surroundings had their share in moulding him. This is seen in the multiplicity of his references to these things.

The constancy of his diatribes against "this last and lewdst age" ("White Sunday" p.486) with its "Commonwealth and glory" and ("The Proffer" p.487) and those "who assume to themselves the glorious stile of Saints" (Prefatory address) The Mount of Olives in which "The sons the father kil" ("The Constellation" p.470), and in which "Action and bloud now get the game" ("Misery" p.473) and "Now 'tis a misfortune to be good" ("To Mr. M.L." p.608); this
 sad age, when Warr and open'd Hell
 Licens'd all artes and Sects, and made it free
 To thrive by fraud and blood and blasphemey
 ("To the pious memorie of C.W." p.610

this "Dregs of an Age" (Preface to 1646 Volume p.2); "the dregs and puddle of all ages now" (Daphnis" p.659); the days in which "this world In wild Excentricks now is hurld" ("To my worthy friend Master T.Lewes" p.61); "an Incensed, Stormie Age" ("An Epitaph upon the Lady Elizabeth" p.63); "this touch-stone-Age" ("De Ponto" p.68) would become wearisome were it not for the background of tragedy given to Vaughan's work by "the times ridiculous miserie" ("To his retired friend" p.47)

Minor sidelights on the customs of the age are given by the reference in "Content" to woollen shrouds, a reminder that the dead were then buried in a substantial shroud, coffinless; and by the lines in "Rules and Lessons" (p.439):

And thou unrak'st thy fire, those sparks will bring
 New flames;
 an allusion to the habit of the cottagers maintained to recent years in some districts of covering the fire with ashes before retiring so that it is kept just alive until morning. A reference to the long knitted purses extant in country places until the end of last century is to be found in the line

The knots we tyed upon thy purse
 in "White Sunday".

Siluria, its rain, hills, and streams supplies the very obvious background, and its primroses one of the decorations, of Vaughan's work. "This late, long heat" ("The Tempest" p.460); "this hill" (p.484); "a rainy, weeping day" ("The Timber" p.498); and "the wet morrow" ("Palm-Sunday" p.501) come within his experience as does

also, probably, the "starv'd Eaglet" he mentions in "The Favour" (492). Mules and their stubbornness ("Affliction" p.459; "Jacobs Pillow, and Pillar" p.527; "To Lysimachus" p.612; "Discipline" p.641) bulk largely in his consciousness because to this day pack mules are still used near Brecon for transporting lime from the kilns at the top of mountains which no vehicles can negotiate. Even more curious are his references to "The Candle shining on some heads" (p.395) (cf. "His candle shines upon their heads" "White Sunday" p.485; "my own hands did remove That candle given me from above" "The Agreement" p.529) His image is taken from the old Welsh superstition concerning "Corpse Candles" of which Aubrey gives an illuminating account in Chapter 17 of his Miscellanies:

If it be a little Candle pale or bluish then follows the Corps of an Abortive or some Infant; if a big one then the Corps of some one come to age.

DONNE AND PRE-EXISTENCE.

For whosoever will adhere to the way of propagation, can never evict necessarily and certainly a natural immortality in the soul, if the soul result out of matter, nor shall he ever prove that all mankind hath any more than one soul; as certainly of all beasts, if they receive such souls as they have from their parents, every species can have but one soul. And they which follow the opinion of infusion from God, and of a new creation (which is on the more common opinion) as they can very hardly depend the doctrine of original sin (the soul is forced to take this infection, and comes not into the body of her own disposition) so shall they never be able to prove that all those whom we see in the shape of men have an immortal and reasonable soul, because our parents are as able as any other species is to give us a soul of growth and of sense, and to perform all vital and animal functions.

And so without infusion of such a soul may produce a creature as wise and well disposed as any horse or elephant, of which degree many whom we see come far short; nor hath God bound or declared Himself that He will always create a soul for every embryo, there is yet therefore no opinion in philosophy, nor divinity so well established as constrains us to believe both that the soul is immortal, and that every particular man hath such a soul which since out of the great mercy of our God we do constantly believe, I am ashamed that we do not also know it by searching further.

But as sometimes we had rather believe a traveller's lie than go to disprove him, so man rather cleave to these ways than seek new: yet because I have premediated therein, I will shortly acquaint you with what I think for I would not be in danger of that law of Moses, That if a man dig a pit and cover it not, he must recompense those which are damnified by it, which often interpreted of such as shake old opinions, and do not establish new as certain, but leave consciences in a worse danger than they found them in. I believe that law of Moses hath in it some mystery and appliableness, for by that law men are only then bound to that indemnity and compensation if an ox or an ass (that is, such as are of a strong constitution and accustomed to labour) fall therein, but it is not said so if a sheep or a goat fall; no more are we, if men in a silliness or wantonness will stumble or take a scandal, bound to rectify them at all times. And therefore because I justly presume you strong and watchful enough I make account that I am not abnoxious to that law, since my meditations are neither too wide nor too deep for you, except only that my way of expressing them may be extended beyond your patience and pardon, which I will therefore tempt no longer at this time.

Mitcham 9th Oct. 1607.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE AND PRE-EXISTENCE.

God's Prescience.

...

.. Could we more intimately apprehend the ideated Man as he stood in the intellect of God upon the first exertion of creation, we might more narrowly comprehend our present degeneration, and how widely we are fallen from the pure exemplar and idea of our nature; for after this corruptive elongation from a primitive and pure creation, we are almost lost in degeneration; and Adam hath not only fallen from his Creator, but we ourselves from Adam, our tycho and primary generator.

"Christian Morals" Chap. XXVIII.
(first part.)

Traducianism.

....I am not of Paracelsus' mind, that boldly delivered a receipt to make a man without conjunction; yet cannot but wonder at the multitude of heads that do deny traduction, having no other argument to confirm their belief than that rhetorical sentence and antimetathesis of Augustine, Creando infunditur, infundendo creatur. Either opinion will consist well enough with religion: yet I should rather incline to this, did not one objection haunt me, not wrung from speculations and subtleties, but from sense and observation;And this is a conclusion from the equivocal and monstrous productions in the copulation of man with beast: for if the soul of man be not transmitted and transfused in the seed of the parents, why are not those productions merely beasts, but have also an impression and tincture of reason in as high a measure, as it can evidence itself in those improper organs? Thus we are men, and we know not how; there is something in us that can be without us, and will be after us, though it is strange that it hath no history what it was before us, nor cannot tell how it entered in us. Religio Medici l. XXXVI

Dream not of any kind of Metempsychosis or transanimation, but into thine own body, and that after a long time, and then also unto wail or bliss, according to thh first and fundamental life.

Christian Morals Ibid. lll. 23

Metempsychosis. And if the transanimation of Pythagoras or method thereof were true, that the souls of men transmigrated into species answering their former natures: some men must surely live over many Serpents, and cannot escape that very broad whose sire Satan entered.

Pseudodoxia Epidemica 7. XI X.

BROWNE AND HERMETICAL PHILOSOPHY.

Again, I believe that all that use sorceries, incantations, and spells, are not witches, or, as we term them, Magicians, I conceive there is a traditional Magick, not learned immediately from the Devil, but at second hand from his Scholars, who, having once the secret betrayed are able and do empirically practise without his advice; they both proceeding upon the principles of Nature, where actives, aptly conjoined to disposed passives, will, under any Master, produce their effects. Thus I think, at first, a great part of philosophy was Witchcraft; which, being afterwards derived to one another, proved but philosophy, and was indeed no more than the honest effects of Nature; what invented by us is Philosophy; learned from him is magick. We do surely owe the discovery of many secrets to the discovery of good and bad Angels. I could never pass that sentence of Paracelsus without an asterisk, or annotation: Ascendens constellatum multa revelat quaerentibus magnalia naturae, i.e. opera Dei..... Religio Medici Part 1 XXXI.

The Philosopher's Stone. and nature study. The smattering I have of the Philosophers' Stone (which is something more than the perfect exaltation of Gold) hath taught me a great deal of Divinity, and instructed my belief, how that immortal spirit and incorruptible substance of my Soul may lie obscure, and sleep a while within this house of flesh. Those strange and mystical transmigrations that I have observed in Silkworms, turned my Philosophy into Divinity. There is in these works of nature, which seem to puzzle reason, something Divine and hath more in it than the eye of a common spectator doth discover. Part 1.39. Ibid.

"that mystical metal of Gold, whose solary and celestial nature I admire." Ibid. 1.50.

I am half of opinion that Antichrist is the Philosopher's stone in Divinity, for the discovery and invention thereof, though there be prescribed rules, and probable inductions, yet hath hardly any man attained the perfect discovery thereof. Ibid XLVI.

More veniable is a dependence upon the Philosophers stone, potable gold, or any of these Arcana's whereby Paracelsus that died himself at forty-seven gloried that he could make other men immortal. Pseudodoxia Epidemica 111.12.

Astrology.

We need not labour with so many arguments, to confute Judicial Astrology; for if there be a truth therein, it doth not injure Divinity. (If to be born under Mercury disposeth us to be witty; under Jupiter to be wealthy; I do not move a Knee with these, but with that merciful Hand that hath ordered my indifferent and uncertain/into such benevolous Aspects.) nativity Religio Medici XVII.

Nor do we hereby reject or condemn a sober and regulated Astrology; we hold there is more truth therein than in Astrologers; in some more than many allow, yet in none so much as some pretend. We deny not the influence of the stars, but often suspect the due application thereof. Pseudodoxia Epidemica.4.13.

The Microcosm and Macrosom

Part 1.XXXIV...To call ourselves a microcosm, or little world, I thought it only a pleasant trope of Rhetorick, till my dear judgment and second thoughts told me there was a real truth therein. For first we are a rude mass, and in the rank of creatures which only are, and have dull kind of being, not yet privileged with life or preferred to sense or reason; next we live the life of plants, the life of animals, the life of men, and at last the life of spirits: running on, in one mysterious nature, those five kinds of existences, which comprehend the creatures, not only of the world, but of the universe. Religio Medici Part 1.XXXIV

The world that I regard is myself; it is the microcosm of my own frame. Ibid Part 2. 11.

There is no man alone because every man is a microcosm and carries the whole world about him. Ibid Part 2. 10.

For man subsisting, who is, and will then truly appear a microcosm, the world cannot be said to be destroyed.

Ibid. part 1.

Paracelsus

Although the singularity of Paracelsus be intolerable, who sparing onely Hippocrates, hath reviled not onely the Authors, but almost all the learning that went before him; yet is it not much lees injurious unto knowledge obstinately and convincibly to side with any one.

Pseudodonia Epidemica 1.VII

Wise men may think there is as much reality in the Pigmies of Paracelsus that is, his non-Adamical men, or middle natures betwixt men and spirits. Pseudodonia Epidemica 4.XI. Ibid 4.81.

Some have written mystically, as Paracelsus in his Book de Azoth, or De Ligno et linea vitae; and as several Hermetical Philosophers, involving therein the secret of their Elixir, and enigmatically expressing the nature of their great world. Ibid III.12.

Traherne and Hermetical Philosophy.Centuries of Meditation 3.41.

He that knows the secrets of nature with Albertus Magnus, or ..of whatever else with the greatest artist; he is nothing, if he knows them merely for talk or idle speculation, or transient and external use. 3.41.

Natural philosophy teaches us the causes and effects of all bodies simply and in themselves. But if you extend it a little further, to that indeed which its name imparts, signifying the love of nature, it leads us into a diligent inquisition into all natures, their qualities, affections, relations, causes and ends, ..And this noble science, as such is most sublime and perfect. Ibid.

As no folly in the world is more vile than that pretended by alchemists, of having the Philosopher's Stone and being contented without using it: so is no deceit more odious, than that of spending many days in studying, and none in enjoying, happiness. 4.11.

For which cause Pious Mirandula admirably saith, in his tract De Dignitate Hominis, I have read in the monuments of Arabia, that Abdala, the Saracen, being asked, Quid in hac quasi mundana Scena admirandum maxime spectaretur? What in this world was most admirable? answered, MAN: Than whom he saw nothing more to be admired. Which sentence of his is seconded by that of Mercurius Trismegistus, Magnum, Asclepiades, Miraculum, Homo; Man is a great and wonderful miracle. Ruminating upon the reason of these sayings, those things did not satisfy me, which many have spoken concerning the excellency of Human Nature. As that man was Creaturarum Internunciatus; Superis Familiaris.....And so he goeth on, admiring and exceeding all that had been spoken before concerning the excellency of man. 4.74.

This Pious Mirandula spake in an oration made before a most learned assembly in a famous university. Any man may perceive that he permitteth his fancy to wander a little wantonly after the manner of a poet: but most deep and serious things are secretly hidden under his free and luxuriant language. 4.78.

What Mercurius said in the dialogue is most true, Man is of all other the greatest miracle. 4.81.

Wordsworth and Vaughan

It has not been considered necessary to quote passages from Wordsworth illustrating his attitude to nature and childhood. Such passages are the best known in our literature. The following notes are intended to indicate minor resemblances or those which are less well known.

In their uninspired moments, the chief fault in both is a certain dreariness. Their error is seldom the Romantic one of excess and hyperbole, but rather that which Coleridge defined in Wordsworth as a "matter-of-factness". It is difficult to say which of the two is the more banal and platitudinous, - the later Wordsworth at his most moralistic, or perhaps carrying out his duties as Laureat; or Vaughan at his worst, celebrating the Church seasons. But because their worst lines are such a mild caricature of their best, and because with them the step from the sublime to the feeble is such a short one, the business of obtaining specimens of pathological interest is peculiarly dangerous, and, in short, is best avoided.

Attitude to the past.

In addition to their attitude to the more immediate past of their own childhood, there are certain moods, admittedly not his most characteristic, in which Wordsworth shows a Boethian regret for past times. The relationship to Vaughan is hence of the "in-law" type, rather than as in so many other things, a blood kinship. The end of the "Vernal Ode" with the exception of the line

Bright Seraphs mixed familiarly with men

which is nearer to Vaughan than to Boethius, supplies an illustration:

Humming Bee!

Thy sting was needless then, perchance unknown,
 The seeds of malice were not sown;
 All creatures met in peace, from fierceness free,
 And no pride blended with their dignity.
 Tears had not broken from their source;
 Nor Anguish strayed from her Tartarean den;
 The golden years maintained a course
 Not undiversified though smooth and even;
 We were not mocked with glimpse and shadow then,
 Bright Seraphs mixed familiarly with men;
 And earth and stars composed a universal heaven!

A mixed influence is also to be traced in the passage on "distant ages of the world" (Excursion 1V.847.) In two instances, two lines (Prelude 111 108-110) and a longer passage in the Excursion, the inspiration is Genesis as interpreted by Milton:

Upon the breast of new-created earth
 Men walked; and when and wheresoe'er he moved,
 Alone or mated, solitude was not.
 He heard, borne on the wind, the articulate voice
 Of God; and Angels to his sight appeared
 Crowning the glorious hills of paradise;
 Or through the groves gliding like morning mist
 Enkindled by the sun. He sate - and talked
 With winged Messengers; who daily brought
 To his small island in the ethereal deep
 Tidings of joy and love

Excursion 1V.631.

Still more consciously literary is the delight he gains from the thought of the pastoral life of the days of Vergil and Theocritus:

Smooth life had flock and shepherd in old time,
 Long springs and tepid winters, on the banks
 Of delicate Galesus; and no less
 Those scattered along Adria's myrtle shores;
 Smooth life had herdsman, and his snow-white herd
 To triumphs and to sacrificial rites
 Devoted, on the inviolable stream
 Of rich Clitumnus; and the goat-herd lived
 As calmly, underneath the pleasant brows
 Of cool Lucretilla, where the pipe was heard
 Of Pan, Invisible God, thrilling the rocks
 With tutelary music, from all harm
 The fold protecting.

Prelude VII.173.

and as shown in that passage at the end of Book XI of the Prelude beginning

And thou, O flowery field
Of Enna! is there not some nook of thine,
From the first playtime of the infant world
Kept sacred to restorative delight,
When from afar invoked by anxious love?

Unchanging.

Nor can one fail to notice that for both the significance of the
Rainbow lies in its linking of the present with the happier past.
Distrust of Dependency on reason.

Some of Wordsworth's utterances on the subject bear a
resemblance to Vaughan's. Even when modified by such praise of reason
as appears in "The happy Warrior", references to "wise passiveness",
"our meddling intellect", "toiling reason" the "false conclusions of
the reasoning power" (Excursion 4.1153) show an exaltation of the
imaginative and intuitive faculties equal to that of the earlier poet
and betokening, not an indebtedness, but the concord of their minds
on all essential points.

Character of "The Happy Warrior" compared with the character of the
righteous man as delineated "Righteousness".

The method of sketching the character of the happy Warrior,
by question: "Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?"
and answer

It is the generous Spirit, who, when brought.....
This is the happy Warrior; this it He
That every Man in arms should wish to be.

inevitably recalls the earlier poet's method of describing the man who
walks in the paths of Righteousness:

Who is the man that walks in thee? who loves
Heav'n's secret solitude, those fair abodes
Where turtles build, and careless sparrows move
Without to morrow's evils and future loads?.....

He that doth seek and love

.....
The things above
.....That man walks in this path.

A closer examination reveals that these two have many traits in common: The Righteous Man is one

Whose spirit ever poor, is meek and low;
 Who simple still and wise,
 still homewards flies,
 Quick to advance, and to retreat most slow.

The happy Warrior "makes his moral being his prime care" but
 hath wrought
 Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought;

The Righteous man
 goes about
 Guided by faith, not by exterior light.

His successor possesses the Wordsworthian equivalent: his
 high endeavours are an inward light,

← in spite of his military calling he
 Is placable - because occasions rise
 So often that demand such sacrifice
 and so would be a fit companion for "the good man"

Who seeks and follows peace
 When with the ease
 And health of conscience it is to be had.

Vaughan's hero

hath the upright heart, the single eye,
 The clean, pure hand, which never meddled pitch;

and his
 acts, words and pretence
 Have all one sense
 One aim and end;

Wordsworth's also

Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim

and
 If he rise to station of command,
 Rises by open means; and there will stand
 On honourable terms, or else retire

Both have the virtue of clear-sightedness and refuse to indulge
 in any self-deception. The Righteous Man will not feed

Some snake, or weeds,
 Cheating himself;

The happy Warrior is

More skilful in self-knowledge, even more pure
As tempted more

"The good man is Gods peculiar treasure"; the happy Warrior sheds
round him "a peculiar grace". The Warrior is "compassionate" and
in this follows in the path of his predecessor who will not spread

Thorns in the beds
Of the distrest hasting their overthrow;
Making the time they had
Bitter and sad.

When the two poems are thus compared side by side there is much
to suggest that his brother John and Michel Beaupuis were not the
only sources of inspiration for Wordsworth's poem.

Stylistic reminiscences.

There are occasionally to be found in Wordsworth
words, phrases, cadences and even images, which without necessarily
proving any indebtedness to Vaughan, suggest that Wordsworth composed
some of his verses after a reading of Silex Scintillans. Among this
kind is the poem which is so nearly a sonnet, "It is no Spirit who
from Heaven hath flown" with its lines:

O most ambitious Star! an inquest wrought
Within me when I recognised thy light

and the couplets of the poem beginning ^{po} "O Nightingale! thou surely art
A creature of a "fiery heart"

and continuing with the lines

Thou sing'st as if the God of wine
Had helped thee to a Valentine;
A song in mockery and despite
Of shades, and dews, and silent night;
And stead bliss, and all the loves
Now sleeping in these peaceful groves.

have much in them to remind the reader of Olor Iscanus and the 1646 volume.

The placing of the accent on the first syllable of "perspective" in "The Pass of Kirkstone"

The greeness tells, man must be there;
The shelter - that the perspective
Is of the clime in which we l've

And in the second of the sonnets on King's College Chapel,

What awful perspective! while from our sight
With gradual stealth the lateral windows hide
Their portraiture, their stone work glimmers

inevitably recalls Vaughan's usage. Similarly the "vocal Streams" of the Prelude XLV.146 remind one of those of Siluria. In one or two places Vaughan has anticipated the real language of the Lyrical Ballads and the instructive mood of their part-author:

Deare friend sit down, and bear awhile this shade
As I have yours long since; This Plant you see
So prest and bow'd before sin did degrade
Both you and it, had equall liberty.

Here is the patience of the Saints: this Tree
Is water'd by their tears, as flowers are fed
With dew by night; but one you cannot see
Sits here and numbers all the tears they shed.

Here is their faith too, which if you will keep
When we two part; I will a journey make
To pluck a Garland hence, while you do sleep
And weave it for your head against you wake.

"The Palm Tree" p490.

And "The Simplon Pass" (See also next page) contains phrases such as

the sick sight
And giddy prospect of the raving stream.

which Vaughan might have written.

The most important verbal reminiscences are, of course, those which seem to show a borrowing of subject matter. Of such a kind are those to be found in the "Intimations" Ode, and in this

connection Dr. Grosart has pointed out in detail Wordsworth's indebtedness to Vaughan. It is less generally known, however, that an image found in another poem of Vaughan's "The Water-fall", illustrating the same theme, and not, as far as I can discover, used by any of his contemporaries

Why, since each drop of thy quick store
Runs thither, whence it flow'd before,
Should poor souls fear a shade or night,
Who came (sure) from a sea of light? p.537.

is utilised by Wordsworth in the ninth section of his Ode:

Hence in a season of calm weather
Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
Which brought us hither

Perhaps too, a reminiscence of "The Retreat" -

When on some gilded Cloud, or flowre
My gazing soul would dwell an houre,
And in those weaker glories spy
Some shadows of eternity p.419.

might be thought to exist in Wordsworth's "The Simplicon Pass":

blossoms upon one tree,
Characters of the great Apocalypse,
The types and symbols of Eternity,
Of first, and last, and midst, and without end.

Canon Beeching has pointed out the verse in the "Affliction of Margaret"

My apprehensions come in crowds;
I dread the rustling of the grass;
The very shadows of the clouds
Have power to shake me as they pass,

seems to owe something to the elegy "Come, come, what doe I here?"

There's not a wind can stir
Or beam pass by
But straight I think, though far,
Thy hand is nigh.

Vaughan's sense of heaven as home and his designation of it as such, recalls, without any suggestion of indebtedness of metaphysics, Words-

worth's "Skylark":

Type of the wise who soar, but never roam;
True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home.

Compare also Vaughan ("As time one day by me did pass")

Where through thick pangs, high agonies
Faith into life breaks, and death dies p.512.

with Wordsworth ("To Toussaint L'Ouverture")

Thy friends are exultations, agonies
And love, and man's unconquerable mind:

Compare Vaughan ("An elegie on the death of Mr. R. Hall"):

Hurl'd in Diurnall motions from far p.59.

with Wordsworth ("A slumber did my spirit seal"):

Rolled round in earth's diurnal course;

and Vaughan ("Isaac's Marriage"):

The thankful earth unlocks herself, and blends,
A thousand odours, which(all mixt) she send
Up in one Cloud, and so returns the skies
That dew they lent, a breathing sacrifice p.409

with Wordsworth ("I heard a thousand blended notes").

Wordsworth's Preface: some ideas showing a resemblance to those enunciated by Vaughan.

Diction.

The language of men in

Humble and rustic life was chosen, because, in that condition...being less under the influence of social vanity, they convey their feelings and notions in a simple and unelaborated expressions. (Oxford. ed. p.935.) The true poet "will feel that there is no necessity to trick out or to elevate nature" p.938.

Poetry, its dignity.

Condemnation of those

"Who speak of what they do not understand; who talk of poetry as of a matter of amusement and idle pleasure; who will converse with us as gravely about a taste for poetry, as they express it, as if it were a thing as indifferent as a taste for rope-dancing, or Frontiniac or Sherry....its object is truth.. et seq. p.938.

Subjects and purpose

But these passions and thoughts and feelings are the general passions and thought and feelings of men. And with what are they connected? Undoubtedly with our moral sentiments and animal sensations, and with the causes which excite these; with the operations of the elements, and the appearance of the visible universe with storm and sunshine, with the revolutions of the seasons, with cold and heat with loss of friends and kindred, with injuries and resentments, gratitude and hope, with fear and sorrow.

Each of them (i.e. "the Poems in these volumes") has a worthy purpose....if this opinion be erroneous, I can have little right to the name of a Poet. p.935.

Distrust of Popularity.

Away, then, with the senseless iteration of the word popular applied to new works in poetry, as if there were no test of excellence in this first of the fine arts but that all men should run after its productions, as if urged by an appetite, or constrained by a spell! et seq. p.952.

Attacks on contemporary writers and poetasters.

... Poets who think they are conferring honour upon themselves and their art, in proportion as they separate themselves from the sympathies of men, and indulge in arbitrary and capricious habits of expression, in order to furnish food for fickle tastes, and fickle appetites, of their own creation. p.938.

Abuses of this kind were imported from one nation to another, and with the progress of refinement this diction became daily more and more corrupt, thrusting out of sight the plain humanities of nature by a motley masquerade of tricks, quaintnesses, hieroglyphics, and enigmas. p.943.

Contemporary "craving for extraordinary incident"

To this tendency of life and manners the literature and theatrical exhibitions of the county have conformed themselves. The invaluable works of our elder writers, I had almost said the works of Shakespear and Milton, are driven into neglect by frantic novels, sickly and stupid German Tragedies, and deluges of idle and extravagant stories in verse. p.936.

cf. Vaughan p.389. Those that want the Genius of verse, fail to translating; and the people are (every term) plentifully furnished with various Forieng vanities; so that the most lascivious compositions of France and Italy are here naturalised and made English; And this (as it is sadly observed) with so much favor and success, that nothing takes (as they rightly phrase it) like a Romance. p.389.

Inspiration.

It is not, then, to be supposed that any one, who holds that sublime notion of Poetry which I have attempted to convey, will break in upon the sanctity and truth of his pictures by transitory and accidental ornaments, and endeavour to excite admiration of himself by arts, the necessity of which must manifestly depend upon the assumed meanness of his subject. p.939.

Difficulty of composition.

Poems to which any value can be attached were never produced on any variety of subjects but by a man who, being possessed of more than usual organic sensibility, had also though long and deeply. p.935.

Thomas Vaughan's Note-book

Among the manuscripts in the Sloane collection in the British Museum is a small quarto numbered 1741 containing chemical or alchemical formulae and notes of a more personal kind by Thomas Vaughan, Gent.

The notes are in two apparently different hands and are written at both ends of the book, with a number of blank leaves in the middle; they are sometimes on the obverse and sometimes on the reverse side of the page. The front section is entitled Aqua Vitae, non Vitis and contains directions for making up various (apparently secret) compounds, notes on the Cabala Metallorum, Aliud Arcanum in Medicina, frequent prayers and exclamations (1) and the "Memoriae Sacrum" which is personal memorandum. In the back of the book, but written the reverse way so that it has to be held upside down for reading, are other recipes and formulae and more notes on his dreams together with particulars concerning his wife Rebecca and his domestic affairs. The frequency with which dreams occur in these entries almost suggests that the writer was contemplating some kind of a treatise on dreams and their significance. The chief interest of the document is in the insight it affords into the mind of an original and attractive personality, but it also offers a few biographical details (mentioned in Chapter 2) of importance for the study of the Silurist which are not to be obtained elsewhere.

1. eg. "Expertum est in diebus Conjugis mia charissima, fidissimaeque, T.R.V."; "Christe Jesu! Lux et Vita Mundi; Filius Dei: Filius et Redemptor Hominis! Trahe me poste Te: Curremus! Amen! T.R.V. 1658."

Altogether the book contains 152 leaves of which 44 are blank; of the remaining 108 folios most are inscribed on both sides . The Diary occupies 16 pages of which only 3 are in the front part of the book.

When I first copied out the parts of the MS here reproduced, the Memorandum, I did not know that they had been printed. I have since examined Mr. Waite's edition of the chief works of Thomas Vaughan and find that he gives the *Memorae Sacrum* in an Appendix. Mr. Waite however has altered the order of them possibly in an endeavour to make a chronological sequence (1) has modernised spelling and punctuation and in one or two places, as I have pointed out in footnotes, has altered or miscopied words. The version here given is intended to be a reproduction of the contents of the manuscript; the only alteration lies in the substitution of "the" written in full instead of the conventional contraction found in the MS.

1. A rather hazardous proceeding on existing data.

Ex Libris Th. & Reb. Vaughan.

1651, Sept. 28

Quos Deus conjunxit, quis
separabit?

Sitivit Anima mea ad deum Aelohim: ad deum
El vivum: Quando - nam veniam ut visitabo
faciem Dei Aelohim!

T.R.V.

1658

(Opposite, on the right hand page is the heading:)

Ars Tota:

ut inventa est in diebus Congugii mea
Dulcissimae: Una cum variis Nitri et salium
praeparationibus.

(Three pages of recipes follow; then six pages of the Cabala Metallorum.
Next come three pages of the Memoriae Sacrum among various formulae)

Memoriae Sacrum.

On the same Day my deare Wife sickened, being a Friday, and at the samt Time of the Day, namely in the Evening: my gracious god did put into my heart the Sæcret of extracting the oyle of Halcalj, which I had once accidentally found att the Primer of Wakefield, in the Dayes of my most deare wife. But it was againe taken from me by a wonderful Judgement of god, for I could never remember how I did it, but made a hundred Attempts in vain. And now my glorious god (whose name bee prayed for ever) hath brought it again into my mind, and on the same day my deare wife sickened and on the Saturday following, which was the day she dyed on, I extracted it by the former practice: soe that on the same daye, which proved the most sorrowfull to mee, that ever man can bee: god was pleased to conferr upon me, the greatest Joy I can ever have in this world, after her Death.

The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away: Blessed bee the nam of the Lord, Amen!

T. R. V.

(Here follow formulae and ejaculations)

(Amongst the formulae:)

April 16th at night, 1659.

I dreamed that a flame of a whitish colour should brake out at the toes of my Left foot, and this was told me in my dream by a strange ⊖ person, (1) and of a dark countenance. It is to be noted, that this was the very night on which my dear wife died 1658: it being a Saturday night, and but one day short of the number, or true accompt. It may be the Disease that shall occasion my death, was shewed me on the night wherein she dyed, for true it is, that in my left foot there is now a dangerous humor fallen down, and lodgeth under my very heel, & upon the lifting of my leg upward, it paineth mee strangely. It fell first into my knee, and what it may come to I know not, unless it will end in a gout: but it first of all troubled mee in the sinews, and caused a contraction of them and then I had a dull paine, and still have in the uppermost Joynt of the Thigh. Many yeares ago, at Paddington, (T. R. V. 1658) before my distemper in the Liver seized mee, there appeared to mee twice in the same night in two severall dreams, a young, strange person, not unlike to him, who appeared in a strange manner to mee at Edmond Hall in Oxford. His Countenance was dark and I believe it is the Evill Genius, but in this last dream, I saw him not so clearely, my life I bless god for it, beeing much amended. The evil hee go gladly signifies to mee, frights mee not, for I am ready for Death, and withall my heart shall I wellcome it, for I desyre to be dissolved, and to live with Christ, which is farr better for mee, then to live, and sinne, in this sinnfull Body.

T. R. V. 1659.

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1. The passage following is on the next page, but seems to be part of the same account

God is T.R.V. Amen! & Amen! (1)

Ex Libris Th: & Reb. Vaughan

NB NB NB 1658.

On Friday the 16th of July, I myself sickened att Wapping and that night I dreamed, I was pursued by a stone horse, as my deare wife dreamed, b.fore shee sickened and I was grievously troubled all night with a suffocation att the Heart, which continued all next day most violently, and still it remaines, but with some little remission. On the Saturday following being the 17 of July, I could not for some secret Instinct of spirit, stay any longer at Wapping, but came that very night to Sr. John Underhill, and the Sunday following after night, I understood that Mr. Highgate was dead, as my Heart gave mee att Wapping a few dayes before. The will of my god be done:
Amen and Amen!

That night I came to Sr. John, I dreamed I had lent 20.1. pounds to my Cousin J. Waldebeoffe (2) and that his mother had stole the money, and I was like to loose it. But my Cousin advised me to give out, I had received it, and hee would secure it for mee. I pray God, my deare wifes things doe not miscarrie!

My most deare wife sickened on Friday in the Evening, being the 16th of April, and dyed the Saturday following in the Evening being the 17. And was buried on the 26th of the same Month, being a Monday in the Afternoone, att Mappersall in Bedfordshire. (3)
1658 Wee were married in the yeare 1651, by a minister whose name I have forgott, on the 28 of September.

God of his infinite, and sure Mercies in Christ Jesus, bring us together againe in Heaven, whither shee is gone before mee, and with her my Heart, and my Faith not to bee broken, and this thou knowest oh my God! Amen! (4).

1. Here follow brief accounts of experiments. The remaining passages are found at the other end of the MS.
2. Mr. Waite has "Wakebross". The MS. has "Waldebeoffe" very clearly. The Walbeoffes were closely related to the Vaughans. See the Silurist's poem in Thalia Rediviva "To the pious memorie of C.W. Esquire". "CW." was Charles Walbeoffe and the "Cousin J. Waldebeoffe" was probably John, nephew of the Charles who died in 1653.
3. The Registers of Mappershall have the following entry:
1658
buried.
Rebecca, the Wife of Mr. Vahanne
the 26th of Aprill.
4. This entry is in a different hand.

Left at Mrs. Highgates.

1. One flatt trunk of my deare wifes, with her mayden Name upon it.
2. Another Cabinet Trunk of my deare wifes, in which is her small pocket Bible, (1) and her mayden Bible I have by mee.
3. One greate wodden Box of my deare wifes in which is all her best Apparell, and in that is her greate Bible, which her practice of pietie, and her other bookes of devotion.
4. Another wodden Box with pillowes in it, and a sweet Basket of my deare wifes.
5. One large Trunk of my deare wifes, with my name upon it, in which are the Silver spoones. And in the Drawers are two small Boxes, one with a lock of my dear wifes hayre, made up with her owne Hands; and another with severall small locks in it.
6. One pare of grate Irons with Brass-knobs, and a single pair with Brass-knobs, a fire-shovell, tongs, and Bellows; my deare wifes little chaire, a round table, Joynt-stoole, and Close-stoole, with a great glass full of mye-water, made att the pinner of wakefield, by my deare wife, and my sister vaghan, who are both now with god.

To the End we might live well, and exercise our charitie, which was waning in neither of us, to our power: I employed my self all her life time in the Acquisition of some naturall secrets, to which I had been disposed from my youth up: and what I now write and know of them practically, I attained to in her dayes, not before, in very truth, nor after; but during the time wee lived together att the pinner of wakefield, and though I brought them not to perfection in those deare dayes, yet were the Gates opened to mee then, and what I have done since, is but, the effects of those principles. I found them not by my owne witt, or labour, but by gods blessing, and the Incouragement I received from a most loving, obedient wife, whome I beseech God to reward in Heaven, for all the Happyness, and content shee afforded mee. I shall lay them downe here in their order, protesting earnestly, and with a good Conscience, that they are the very truth, and here I leave them for his use and Benefit, to whome god in his providence shall direct them.

(2)

1. For "small pocket Bible" Mr. Waite reads "small rock and Bible"p449.
2. (here follow receipes , - "preparation of Salt nit; Aqua Rebecca etc.) eg. Salt Nitre
Another preparation of Nitre.
.....These two secrets, together with the Excoriation, or philosophica, sublimation of the red Magnesia by corrosives, I found while wee lodged att Mr. Coalemans in Holborne, before wee came to live att the Pinner of Wakefield.

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1658

The month and the Day I have forgott: but having prayed earnestly for Remission of sinnes, I went to bed: and dreamed, That I lay full of sores in my feet, and cloathed in certaine Rags, under the Shelter of the great Oake, which growes before the Courtyard of my fathers house and it rain'd round about mee. My feet that were sore with Boyles, and corrupt matter troubled mee extremely, soe that being not able to stand up, I was layd all along. I dreamed that my father, & my Brother W. who were both dead, came unto mee, and my father sucked the Corruption out of my feete, soe that I was presently well, and stood up with great Joy, and looking on my feete, they appeared very white and cleane, and the sores were quite Gone!

Blessed bee my good God!

Amen!

1659 April 8th die ♀ (1)

In the Evening I was surprised with a suddaine Heaviness of spirit, but without any manifest Cause whatsoever: but, I thank god, a great Tenernes of Heart came along with it! soe that I prayed most earnestly with abundance of teares, and sorrow for Sinn. I fervently sollicitated my gracious god for his pardon to my self, and my most dear wife: and besought him to bring us together againe in his Heavenly Kingdom and that hee would shew mee his mercie, and answer my prayers by such meanes, and in such a way as might quicken my spirit, that I might serve him cheerfully, and with Joy prayse his name.

I went that night to bed after earnest prayers, and teares, and towards the Day-Breake, or just upon it, I had this following dreame. I thought, that I was againe newly married to my deare wife, and brought her along with mee to show her to some of my friends, which I did in these words. Heere is a Wife which I have not chosen of myself, but my father did choose her for mee, and asked mee, if I would not marry her, for shee was a beautiful wife. Hee had no true of our sooner showed her to mee, but I was extremely in love temporall with her, and I married her presently. When I had thus marriage, nor sayd, I thought, we were both left alone, and calling of our naturall her to mee, I tooke her into my Armes, and she presently parents, and embraced mee, and kissed mee: nor had I in all this therefore it vision any sinnfull desyre, but such a Love to her, as signifies some I had to her very soule in my prayers, to which this greater mercie. Dreame was an Answer. Hereupon I awaked presently with exceeding great inward Joy. Blessed bee my God, Amen.

1. (2). Friday. cf. "Take notice that Astrologers do assign the seven days of the week to the seven planets, as to the Sun or Sunday; to the Moon or ☾ Monday; to Mars or ♂ Tuesday; to Mercury or ☿ Wednesday; to Jupiter or ♃ Thursday; to Venus or ♀ Friday; to Saturn or ♄ Saturday." The Compendious Herbal, by John Archer, One of His Majesties Physicians in Ordinary. London 1673.

April the 9th die h 59. (1)

I went to Bed after prayers, and hearty teares, and had this dreame towards Day-Breake. I dreamed I was in some obscure, large house, where there was a tumultus rayling people, amongst whom I knew not any, but my Brother H. my deare wife was there with mee but having conceived some discontent at their disorder I quitted the place, and went out leaving my deare wife behind mee. As I went out, I considered with my selfe, and called to minde some small at least seeming unkindnesses I had used towards my deare wife in her life time, and the remembrance of them being odious to mee, I wondered with my self, that I should leave her behinde me and heglect her companie, having now the opportunitie to converse with her after death. These were my Thoughts: whereupon I turned in, and taking her along with mee, there followed us a certain person, with whom I had in former times revelled away many yeares in drinking. I had in my hand a very long cane, and at last wee came to a churchyard, and it was the Brightest day-light, that ever I beheld: when wee were about the middle of the Church-yard, I struck upon the ground with my Cane at the full length, and it gave a most shrill reverberating eccho. I turned back to looke upon my wife, and shee appeared to mee in Green silke down to the ground, and much taller and slenderer then shee was in her life time, but in her face there was so much glorie, and beautie, that no Angell in Heaven can have more. She told mee the noise of the cane had frighted her a little, but saying soe she smiled upon me and looked most divinely. Upon this I looked up to Heaven, and having quite forgott my first Apprehension, which was true, namely that she appeared thus to mee after her death, I was much troubled in mind least I should dye before her, and this I feared upon a spirituall Accompt, least after my death she might bee tempted to doe amiss,, to live otherwise then shee did at present. Whiles I was thus troubled, the Cane that was in my hand, suddainly broke in two, and when it was broken, it appeared noe more like a Cane, but was a brittle, weake reede. This did put me in mind of her death again, and soe did put me out of my feare, and the doubts I conceived, if I dyed before her. When the Reede was broken shee came closer to mee, and I gave her the longer half of the reed, and the furthest end, and the shortest I kept for my self: but looking on the broken end of it, & finding it ragged, and something uneven (2) shee gave mee a knife to polish it, which I did. Then we passed both out of the Churchyard, and turning to the gentleman that followed mee, I asked him if hee would goe along with us, but he utterly refused, and the truth is, hee still followes the world too much. Then I turned to my deare wife, to go along with her, and having soe done, I awaked.

By this dreame, and the shortest part of the Reed left in my hand, I guess, I shall not live soe long after her, as I have lived with her.

.Praysed bee my God. (3)
Amen!

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1. Mr. Waite has "tough" for the MS "uneven".
32. A recipe occupies the middle of the page; the personal notes are written above and below it.

① Saturday (Satur)

This happened on a Sunday night towards the Day-Break, and indeed I think it was morning light. 5.

On the 13th of June, I dreamed that one appeared to mee and purged her self from the scandalous contents of certain letter which were put into my hands by a certaine false friend. Then she told mee, that her father had informed her, that shee should dye againe about a Quarter of a yeare from that time shee appeared to mee: which is just the 14 of September next, and on the 28 of the same month wee were married. It may bee, my mercifull god hath given mee this notice of the Time of my Dissolution by one that is so deare unto mee, whose person representing mine, signified my death, not hers, for shee can dye noe more. Great is the Love, and goodness of my god, and most happy shall I bee in this Interpretation, if I may meete her againe so soone, and beginn the Heavenly and AEternall life with her in the very same month, wherein wee began the Earthly: which I beseech my good god to grant us for his deare son, and our Saviour's sake, Christ Jesus. Amen!

Written on the 14th of June,
the day after I dreamed it
1658.

On the 28 of August, being Saturday morning, after daylight, god Almighty was pleased to reveale unto mee, after a wonderful maner, the most blessed estate of my deare wife, partly by her self, and partly by his owne Holy Spirit, in an Express discourse which (1) opened unto mee the meaning of those mysterious words of St. Paul: For wee know, That if our Earthly house of this Tabernacle, etc

Bless the Lord, O my soule! and all that is within mee, bless his holy name!

T.R.V.
Quos deus conjunxit,
Quis Separabit
1658.

§

The Dreame I writt on the foregoing page is not to bee neglected for my deare wife a few nights before, appeared to mee in my sleepe, and foretold mee the Death of my deare Father, and since it is really come to passe, for hee is dead, and gone to my mercifull god! as I have been informed this very day by letters come to my niece (2) from the Countrey. It concerns mee therefore to prepare myself, and to make a right use of this warning, which I received from my mercifull and most loving God, who useth not to deale such mercies to all men: and who was pleased to impart it to mee by my deare wife, to assure mee shee was a Saint in his Holy Heavens, being thus imployed for an Angell, and a messenger of the god of my Salvation. To him bee all prayse and glorie ascribed in Jesus Christ for ever

Amen! T,R.V.

1. Mr. Waite has "disclosure" for MS "discourse".

2. " " reads "to my hand"

Note the following aqua vitae, which I found, when I lived with my dear wife, att the pinner of Wakefield.

(1)

NB. NB. NB.

When my deare wife and I lived at the Pinner of Wakefield, I remember I melted downe aequall parts of Talc and the Eagle, with Brimstone, repeating the fusion twice! And after that, going to draw spirit of salt with Oyle of Glass, I chanced (as I think) to mingle some Bay-salt, or that of Colla maris, with the former Composition, and I had an Oyle with which I did miracles. But assaying to make more of it, I never could effect it, having forgott the Composition, but now I am confident the Eagle was in it, for I ever remembered the maner of the first fume, y^e cam out, and could never see the like againe, but when I worked on the Eagle, though I never afterwards worked on her prepared, as att that time. I know allso by experience, that Talc and Baysalt together will yield 6 times more spirit, then either of both will yield by itself. And that passage of Rhasis confirmes mee, where hee mentions Aqua Salis trium generum; But above all that one word of Lullie, namely Pesra (2) Salis, and especially that enumeration of materials, which hee makes in his Ars Insolletiva (3), Nitrum, Sal, Sulphur, vapor, then which nothing could have been sayd more expressly. And yet I doubt, I shall bee much troubled, before I finde, what I have lost, soe little difference there is, betweene Forgettfullness, and Ignorance.

T.R.V. 1658.

Quos Deus conjunxit

Quis separabit?

1. At this point he gives several recipes.

2. Mr. Waite reads Petra Salis.

3. " " " Ars Intellectiva

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