



The  
University  
Of  
Sheffield.

**Margaret Cavendish's Natures Pictures  
Volume 2**

**By:**

Rebecca Dorman

Doctoral Thesis

The University of Sheffield

School of English

October 2018





*The sixth Book.**The Contract.*

**A** Noble Gentleman that had been married many years, but his Wife being barren, did bear him no Children; at last she dyed, and his Friends did advise him to marry again, because his Brothers Children were dead, and his Wife<sup>1</sup> was likely to have no more: so he took to Wife a virtuous young Lady, and after one year she conceived with Childe, and great Joy there was on all sides: but in her Childe-bed she dyed, leaving onely one Daughter to her sorrowfull Husband, who in a short time, oppressed with Melancholy, dyed, and left his young Daughter, who was not a year old, to the care and breeding of his Brother, and withall left her a great Estate, for he was very Rich. After the Ceremonies of the Funeral, his Brother carried the Childe home, which was nursed up very carefully by his Wife; and being all that was likely to succeed in their Family, the Uncle grew extream fond and tender of his Neece, insomuch that she grew all the comfort and delight of his life.

A great Duke which commanded that Province, would often come and eat a Breakfast with this Gentleman as he rid a Hunting; and so often they met after this manner, that there grew a great Friendship; for this Gentleman was well bred, knowing the World by his Travels in his younger dayes; and though he had served in the Wars, and had fought in many Battles, yet was not ignorant of courtly Entertainment. Besides, he was very conversible, for he had a voluble<sup>2</sup> Tongue, and a ready Understanding, and in his retired life was a great Student, whereby he became an excellent Scholar; so that the Duke took great delight in his Company. Besides, the Duke had a desire to match the Neece of this Gentleman, his Friend, to his younger Son, having onely two Sons, and knowing this

---

<sup>1</sup>The brother's wife.

<sup>2</sup>*voluble*] fluent, connoting talkativeness; also meaning, variable (*OED* adj. 5 b). Perhaps a foreshadowing of the mutability of verbal contract.

Childe had a great Estate left by her Father, and was likely to have her Uncles Estate joyned [*183: Aa4r*] thereto, was earnest upon it: but her Uncle was unwilling to marry her to a younger Brother, although he was of a great Family; but with much perswasion, he agreed, and gave his consent, when she was old enough to marry, for she was then not seven years old. But the Duke fell very sick; and when the Physicians told him, he could not live, he sent for the Gentleman and his Neece, to take his last farewell; and when they came, the Duke desired his Friend that he would agree to joyn his Neece and his Son in Marriage; he answered, that he was very willing, if she were of years to consent.

Said the Duke, I desire we may do our parts, which is, to joyn them as fast as we can; for Youth is wilde, various,<sup>3</sup> and unconstant; and when I am dead, I know not how my Son may dispose of himself when he is left to his own choyce; for he privately found his Son very unwilling thereto, he being a Man grown, and she a Childe. The Gentleman seeing him so desirous, agreed thereto.

Then the Duke called his Son privately to him, and told him his intentions were to see him bestowed in Marriage before he dyed.

His Son desired him, not to marry him against his Affections, in marrying him to a Childe.

His Father told him, she had a great Estate, and it was like to be greater, by reason all the Revenue was laid up to increase it; and besides, she was likely to be Heir to her Uncle, who loved her as his own Childe; and her Riches may draw so many Suiters when she is a Woman, said he, that you may be refused.

He told his Father, her Riches could not make him happy, if he could not affect<sup>4</sup> her. Whereupon the Duke grew so angry, that he said, that his Disobedience would disturb his Death, leaving the World with an unsatisfied Minde.

---

<sup>3</sup>*various*] unstable or fickle (*OED* adj. 2 a).

<sup>4</sup>*affect*] like or love (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 4 a).

Whereupon he seemed to consent, to please his Father. Then were they as firmly contracted as the Priest could make them, and two or three Witnesses to avow it.

But after his Father was dead, he being discontented, went to the Wars; but in short time he was called from thence, by reason his elder Brother dyed, and so the Dukedome and all the Estate came to him, being then the onely Heir: But he never came near the young Lady, nor so much as sent to her, for he was at that time extreemly in love with a great Lady, who was young and handsome, being Wife to a Grandy<sup>5</sup> which was very rich, but was very old, whose Age made her more facile<sup>6</sup> to young Lovers, especially to this young Duke, who returned him equal Affections; he being a Man that was favoured by Nature, Fortune, and Breeding, for he was very handsome, and of a ready Wit, Active, Valiant, full of Generosity, Affable, well-fashion'd; and had he not been sullied with some Debaucheries, he had been the compleatest Man in that Age.

But the old Gentleman, perceiving his neglect towards his Neece, and hearing of his Affections to that Lady, strove by all [184: *Aa4v*] the Care and Industry he could to give her such Breeding as might win his Love; not that he was negligent before she was contracted to him; for from the time of four years old, she was taught all that her Age was capable of, as to sing, and to dance; for he would have this Artificial Motion become as natural, and to grow in perfection, as she grew in years. When she was seven years of Age, he chose her such Books to reade in as might make her wise, not amorous, for he never suffered her to reade in Romancies, nor such light Books; but Moral Philosophy was the first of her Studies, to lay a Ground and Foundation of Virtue, and to teach her to moderate her Passions, and to rule her Affections. The next, her study was in Historie, to learn her Experience by the second hand, reading the good Fortunes and Misfortunes of former Times, the Errours that were committed, the Advantages that were lost, the Humour and

---

<sup>5</sup>*Grandy*] grandee, the highest rank of Spanish or Portuguese nobleman (*OED* n. A 1).

<sup>6</sup>*facile*] available, easy (*OED* adj. A 1 a).

Dispositions of Men, the Laws and Customes of Nations, their rise, and their fallings, of their Wars and Agreements, and the like.

The next study was in the best of Poets, to delight in their Phancies, and to recreate in their Wit; and this she did not onely reade, but repeat what she had read every Evening before she went to Bed. Besides, he taught her to understand what she read, by explaining that which was hard and obscure. Thus she was alwayes busily imployed, for she had little time allowed her for Childish Recreations.

Thus did he make her Breeding his onely business and imployment; for he lived obscurely and privately, keeping but a little Family, and having little or no Acquaintance, but lived a kinde of a Monastical Life.

But when the Neece was about thirteen years of age, he heard the Duke was married to the Lady with which he was enamoured; for her Husband dying, leaving her a Widow, and rich, claimed a Promise from him that he made her whil'st her Husband was living, that when he dyed, being an old Man, and not likely to live long, to marry her, although he was loth;<sup>7</sup> for Men that love the Pleasures of the World, care not to be incumbred and obstructed with a Wife, but did not at all reflect upon his Contract; for after his Father dyed, he resolved not to take her to Wife; for she being so young, he thought the Contract of no Validity: but she seeming more coy when she was a Widow, than in her Husbands time, seeking thereby to draw him to marry her, and being overcome by several wayes of Subtilty, married her. Whereupon the Uncle was mightily troubled, and was very melancholy; which his Neece perceived, and desired him to know the cause.

Whereupon he told her. Is this the onely reason, said she? Yes, said he; and doth it not trouble you, said he? No, said she, unless I had been forsaken for some sinfull Crime I had committed against Heaven, or had infringed the Laws of Honour, or had broken the

---

<sup>7</sup>*loth*] loath; interestingly, the word 'loather', which means 'uglier', was used in the marriage ceremony phrase 'for fairer, for loather' (*OED* adj. 3). A possible pun on Margaret's part.

Rules of Modesty, or some Misdemeanour against him, or some defect in Nature, then I should have lamented, but [185: Bb1r] not for the loss of the Man, but for the cause of the loss, for then all the World might have justly defamed me with a dishonourable Reproach:<sup>8</sup> but now I can look the World in the Face with a confident Brow, as Innocence can arm it. Besides, it was likely I might have been unhappy in a Man that could not affect me; wherefore, good Uncle, be not melancholy, but think that Fortune hath befriended me, or that Destiny had decreed it so to be; if so, we are to thank the one, and it was impossible to avoyd the other; and if the Fates spin a long Thread of your Life, I shall never murmure for that loss, but give thanks to the Gods for that Blessing.

O, but Childe, said he, the Duke was the greatest and richest Match, since his Brother dyed, in the Kingdome; and I would not have thy Virtue, Beauty, Youth, Wealth, and Breeding, stoop to a low Fortune, when thou mayst be a Match fit for the Emperour of the whole World in a few years, if you grow up, and go on as you have begun.

O, Uncle, said she, let not your Natural Affection make you an impartial Judge, to give the Sentence of more Desert than I can own; if I have Virtue, it is a reward sufficient in it self; if I have Beauty, it is but one of Natures fading Favourers;<sup>9</sup> and those that loved me for it, may hate me when it is gone; and if I be rich, as you say I am like to be, who are happier than those that are Mistrisses of their own Fortunes?<sup>10</sup> And if you have bred me well, I shall be happy in what Condition soever I am in, being Content, for that is the end and felicity of the Minde.

But if thou hadst been in Love with him, said her Uncle, where had been your Content then? for no Education can keep out that Passion.

I hope, said she, the Gods will be more mercifull than to suffer such Passions I cannot rule. What manner of Man is he, said she? for I was too young to remember him.

---

<sup>8</sup>*defamed me with a dishonourable Reproach*] shamed me publically.

<sup>9</sup>*Favourers*] gifts, with a connection to beauty and charm.

<sup>10</sup>Possibly a play on the word 'fortune', which could mean both fate and riches.



His Person, said he, is handsome enough.

That is his outside, said she; but what is his inside? what is his Nature and Disposition?

Debauch'd, said he, and loves his Luxuries.

Said she, Heavens have blessed me from him.

Well, said her Uncle, since I am cross'd in thy Marriage, I will strive to make thee a Meteor of the Time, wherefore I will carry thee to the Metropolitan City for thy better Education; for here thou art bred obscurely,<sup>11</sup> and canst learn little, because thou hearest nor seest little; but you shall not appear to the World this two or three years: but go alwayes veiled, for the sight of thy Face will divulge thee; neither will we have acquaintance or commerce with any, but observe, hear, and see so much as we can, not to be known.

Sir, said she, I shall be ruled by your Direction, for I know my small Bark will swim the better and safer for your sterge; wherefore I shall not fear to launch it into the deepest or dangerous places of the World, which I suppose are the great and populous [186:Bb1v] Cities. So making but small Preparations, onely what was for meer necessity, they took their Journey speedily, carrying no other Servants but those that knew and used to obey their Masters will; and when they came to the City, they tooke private Lodging; where after they had rested some few dayes, he carried her every day, once or twice a day, after her exercise of Dancing and Musick was done; for he was carefull she should not onely keep what she had learn'd, but to learn what she knew not: but after those hours, he carried her to Lectures, according as he heard where any were read, as Lectures of Natural Philosophy, for this she had studyed least: but taking much Delight therein, she had various Speculations thereof; also Lectures of Physick, and Lectures of Chymistry, and Lectures of Musick, and so divers others, on such dayes as they were read. Also, he carried her to

---

<sup>11</sup>*bred Obscurely*] educated or brought up in isolation or obscurity.

places of Judicature to hear great Causes decided; and to the several Courts, to hear the several Pleadings, or rather Wranglings of several Lawyers: but never to Courts, Masques, Plays, nor Balls; and she alwayes went to these places masqu'd, muffl'd and scarf'd; and her Uncle would make such means to get a private Corner to sit in, where they might hear well; and when he came home, he would instruct her of all that was read, and tell her where they differed from the old Authors; and then would give his opinion, and take her opinion of their several Doctrines; and thus they continued for two years.

In the mean time, her Beauty increased according to her Breeding, but was not made known to any as yet: but now being come to the age of sixteen years, her Uncle did resolve to present her to the World, for he knew, Youth was admired in it self: but when Beauty and Virtue were joyned to it, it was the greater Miracle. So he began to examine her; for he was jealous she might be catch'd with vain Gallants,<sup>12</sup> although he had observed her humour to be serious, and not apt to be catch'd with every toy; yet he knew Youth to be so various, that there was no trusting it to it self.

So he ask'd her, how she was taken with the Riches and Gallantry of the City, for she could not choose but see Lords and Ladies riding in their brave gilt Coaches, and themselves dress'd in rich Apparel, and the young Gallants riding on praunsing Horses upon imbroydered foot-cloaths as she pass'd along the Streets.

She answered, they pleased her Eyes for a time, and that their Dressings were like Bridal Houses,<sup>13</sup> garnished and hung by some Ingenious Wit, and their Beauties were like fine Flowers drawn by the Pencil of Nature; but being not gathered by Acquaintance, said she, I know not whether they are vertuously sweet, or no; but as I pass by, I please my Eye, yet no other wayes than as senseless Objects; they entice me not to stay, and a short

---

<sup>12</sup>*Gallants*] men who are showy and finely dressed (*OED* n. B 1 a). Here used negatively.

<sup>13</sup>*Brides Houses*] presumably brides' houses decorated for weddings.

view satisfies the Appetite of the Senses, unless the rational and understanding part should be absent; but to me they seem but moving Statues. [187:Bb2r]

Well, said he, I hear there is a Masque to be at Court, and I am resolved you shall go, if we can get in, to see it; for though I am old, and not fit to go, since my dancing dayes are done, yet I must get into some Corner to see how you behave your self.

Pray, said she, what is a Masque?

Said he, it is painted Scenes to represent the Poets Heavens and Hells, their Gods and Devils, and Clouds, Sun, Moon, and Stars; besides, they represent Cities, Castles, Seas, Fishes, Rocks, Mountains, Beasts, Birds, and what pleaseth the Poet, Painter, and Surveyour.<sup>14</sup> Then there are Actors, and Speeches spoke, and Musick; and then Lords or Ladies come down in a Scene, as from the Clouds; and after that, they begin to dance, and every one takes out<sup>15</sup> according as they phancy. If a Man takes out a Woman, if she cannot dance, or will not dance, then she makes a Curchy<sup>16</sup> to the King, or Queen, or chief Grandee, if there be any one, if not, to the upper end of the Room, then turn to the Man, and make another to him; then he leaves, or leads her to them she will take out; and she doth the like to him, and then goeth to her place again. And so the Men do the same, if they will not dance; and if they do dance, they do just so, when the Dance is ended, and all the chief of the Youth of the City come to see it, or to shew themselves, or all those that have youthfull Minds, and love Sights, and fine Cloaths; then the Room is made as Light with Candles, as if the Sun shined; and their glittering Bravery makes as glorious a Shew as his gilded Beams.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup>*Surveyour*] one who ponders, examines, or beholds (*OED* n. 4 a and b).

<sup>15</sup>*takes out*] escorts a partner from a group in order to dance (*OED* v. 6 a).

<sup>16</sup>*Curchy*] curtsy.

<sup>17</sup>Cavendish uses many dichotomies between artifice and authenticity. The uncle is wary of the city's 'gallantry', but there is also a sense in which he sees that the natural world is outdone by the pageantry of civilization.

Sir, said she, if there be such an Assembly of Nobles, Beauty, and Bravery, I shall appear so dull, that I shall be onely fit to sit in the Corner with you; besides, I shall be so out of Countenance,<sup>18</sup> that I shall not know how to behave my self; for private Breeding looks mean and ridiculous, I suppose, in publick Assemblies of that nature, where none but the Glories of the Kingdome meet.

Ashamed, said he, for what? you have stollen no Bodies Goods, nor Good Names, nor have you committed Adultery, for on my Conscience you guess not what Adultery is; nor have you murdered any, nor have you betrayed any Trust, or concealed a Treason; and then why should you be ashamed?

Sir, said she, although I have committed none of those horrid Sins, yet I may commit Errours through my Ignorance, and so I may be taken notice of onely for my Follyes.

Come, come, said he, all the Errours you may commit, although I hope you will commit none, will be laid upon your Youth; but arm your self with Confidence, for go you shall, and I will have you have some fine Cloaths, and send for Dressers to put you in the best fashion.

Sir, said she, I have observed how Ladies are dress'd when I pass the Streets; and if you please to give me leave, I will dress my self according to my judgement; and if you intend I shall go more than once, let me not be extraordinary brave, lest liking me at first, and seeing me again, they should condemn their former [188:Bb2v] judgement, and I shall lose what was gained, so I shall be like those that made a good Assault, and a bad Retreat.

But Sir, said she, if you are pleased I shall shew my self to the most view, let me be ordered so, that I may gain more and more upon their good opinions.

---

<sup>18</sup>*out of Countenance*] disconcerted (OED n.<sup>1</sup> 6 b).

Well, said her Uncle, order your self as you please, for I am unskilled in that matter; besides, thou needst no Adornments, for Nature hath adorned thee with a splendid Beauty. Another thing is, said he, we must remove<sup>19</sup> our Lodgings, for these are too mean to be known in; wherefore my Steward shall go take a large House, and furnish it Nobly, and I will make you a fine Coach, and take more Servants, and Women to wait upon you; for since you have a good Estate, you shall live and take pleasure; but I will have no Men-visiters but what are brought by my self: wherefore entertain no Masculine Acquaintance, nor give them the least encouragement.

Sir, said she, my Duty shall observe all your Commands.

When her Uncle was gone, Lord, said she, what doth my Uncle mean to set me out to shew? sure he means to traffick for a Husband; but Heaven forbid those intentions, for I have no minde to marry: but my Uncle is wise, and kinde, and studies for my good, wherefore I submit, and could now chide my self for these questioning Thoughts. Now, said she, I am to consider how I shall be dress'd; my Uncle saith, I am handsome, I will now try whether others think so as well as he, for I fear my Uncle is partial on my side; wherefore I will dress me all in Black, and have no Colours about me; for if I be gay, I may be taken notice of for my Cloaths, and so be deceived, thinking it was for my Person; and I would gladly know the truth, whether I am handsome or no, for I have no skill in Physiognomy;<sup>20</sup> so that I must judge of my self by the approbation of others Eyes, and not by my own. But if I be, said she, thought handsome, what then? why then, answered she her self, I shall be cryed up to be a Beauty; and what then? then I shall have all Eyes stare upon me; and what am I the better, unless their Eyes could infuse in my Brain Wit and Understanding? their Eyes cannot enrich me with Knowledge, nor give me the light of Truth; for I cannot see with their Eyes, nor hear with their Ears, no more than their Meat

---

<sup>19</sup>*remove*] leave, depart (*OED* v. 1 a).

<sup>20</sup>*Physiognomy*] study of appearance (*OED* n. 1).

can nourish me which they do eat, or rest when they do sleep. Besides, I neither desire to make nor catch Lovers, for I have an Enmity against Mankind, and hold them as my Enemies; which if it be a sin, Heaven forgive, that I should for one Man's neglect and perjury, condemn all that Sex.

But I finde I have a little Emulation,<sup>21</sup> which breeds a desire to appear more Beautifull than the Duke's Wife, who is reported to be very handsome; for I would not have the World say, he had an advantage by the Change: thus I do not envy her, nor covet what she enjoys, for I wish her all Happiness, yet I would not have her Happiness raised by my Misfortunes, for Charity should begin at home; for those that are unjust, or cruel to them- [189:Bb3r] selves, will never be mercifull and just to others. But, O my Contemplations, whither do you run? I fear, not in an even path; for though Emulation is not Envy, yet the Byas leans to that side.

But, said she, to this Masque I must go, my Uncle hath press'd me to the Wars of Vanity, where *Cupid* is General, and leads up the Train: but I doubt<sup>22</sup> I shall hang down my Head, through shamefastness,<sup>23</sup> like a young Souldier, when he hears the Bullets fly about his Ears: but, O Confidence, thou God of good Behaviour, assist me. Well, said she, I will practice against the day, and be in a ready posture. So after two or three days, was the Masque; and when she was ready to go, her Uncle comes to her, and sees her dress'd all in Black.

Said he, why have you put your self all in Black?

Sir, said she, I mourn like a young Widow, for I have lost my Husband.

Now by my troth, said he, and it becomes thee, for you appear like the Sun when he breaks through a dark Cloud. Sayes he, I would have you go veiled, for I would have you appear to sight onely when you come into the Masquing Room; and after the Masque

---

<sup>21</sup>*Emulation*] ambitious rivalry (*OED* n. 2).

<sup>22</sup>*doubt*] fear (*OED* v. II 5 b).

<sup>23</sup>*shamefastness*] modesty (*OED* n. 1 a).

is done, all the Company will rise as it were together, and joyn into a Croud: then throw your Hood over your Face, and pass through them as soon as you can, and as obscure, for I will not have you known untill we are in a more Courtly Equipage.<sup>24</sup> So away they went, onely he and she, without any attendance; and when they came to enter through the Door to the Masquing Room, there was such a Croud, and such a Noyse, the Officers beating the People back, the Women squeaking, and the Men cursing, the Officers threatning, and the Enterers<sup>25</sup> praying; which Confusion made her afraid.

Lord, Uncle, said she, what a horrid Noyse is here: pray let us go back, and let us not put our selves unto this unnecessary trouble.

O Childe, said he, Camps and Courts are never silent; besides, where great Persons are, there should be a thundring Noyse to strike their Inferiours with a kinde of Terrour and Amazement; for Poets say, Fear and Wonder makes Gods.

Certainly, said she, there must be great Felicity in the sight of this Masque, or else they would never take so much pains, and endure so great affronts to obtain it: but, pray Uncle, said she, stay while they are all pass'd in.

Why then, said he, we must stay untill the Masque is done, for there will be striving to get in untill such time as those within are coming out.

But when they came near the Door, her Uncle spoke to the Officer thereof; Pray Sir, said he, let this young Lady in to see the Masque.

There is no room, said he, there are more young Ladies allready than the Viceroy and all his Courtiers can tell what to do with. [190:Bb3v]

This is a dogged Fellow, said her Uncle; whereupon he told her, she must put up her Scarf, and speak your self; for every one domineers in their Office, though it doth not

---

<sup>24</sup>*Equipage*] retinue of followers (*OED* n. 11).

<sup>25</sup>*Enterers*] persons being newly introduced; initiates (*OED* n. 2).

last two hours; and are proud of their Authority, though it be but to crack a Louse; wherefore you must speak.

Pray Sir, said she to the Door-keeper, if it be no injury to your Authority, you will be so civil as to let us pass by.

Now by my troth, said he, thou hast such a pleasing Face, none can deny thee: but now I look upon you better, you shall not go in.

Why Sir? said she.

Why, said he, you will make the Painter and the Poet lose their design, for one expects to enter in at the Ears of the Assembly, the other at their Eyes, and your Beauty will blinde the one, and stop the other; besides, said he, all the Ladies will curse me.

Heaven forbid, said he<sup>26</sup>, I should be the cause of Curses; and to prevent that, I will return back again.

Nay Lady, said he, I have not the power to let you go back, wherefore pray pass.

Sir, said she, I must have this Gentleman along with me.

Even who you please, said she,<sup>27</sup> I can deny you nothing, Angels must be obeyed.

When they came into the Masquing Room, the House was full; now, said her Uncle, I leave you to shift for your self:<sup>28</sup> then he went and crouded himself into a Corner at the lower end.

When the Company was called to sit down, that the Masque might be represented,<sup>29</sup> every one was placed by their Friends, or else they placed themselves. But she, being unaccustomed to those Meetings, knew not how to dispose of her self, observing there was much justling and thrusting one another to get places, when she considered she had

---

<sup>26</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): The pronoun is corrected to 'she', p. 338. The emendation is not noted on the errata list.

<sup>27</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): Again the pronoun error is corrected: 'she' becomes 'he', p. 338.

<sup>28</sup>*shift for your self*] depend on oneself (*OED* v. 7 a).

<sup>29</sup>*represented*] performed on stage (*OED* v.1 10 a).



not strength to scramble<sup>30</sup> amongst them, she stood still. When they were all set, it was as if a Curtain was drawn from before her, and she appeared like a glorious Light; whereat all were struck with such amaze, that they forgot a great while the civility in offering her a place. At last, all the Men, which at such times sit opposite to the Women to view them the better, rose up, striving every one to serve her: But the Viceroy bid them all sit down again, and called for a Chair for her. But few looked on the Masque for looking on her, especially the Viceroy and the Duke, whose Eyes were rivetted to her Face.

When the Masquers were come down to dance, who were all Women, the chief of them being the Daughter of the Viceroy, who was a Widower, and she was his onely Childe, they took out the Men such as their Phancy pleased, and then they sate down; and then one of the chief of the Men chose out a Lady, and so began to dance in single Couples, the Duke being the chief that did dance, chose out this Beauty, not knowing who she was, nor she him: But when she danced, it was so becoming; for she ha- [191: Bb4r] ving naturally a Majestical Presence, although her Behaviour was easy and free, and a severe<sup>31</sup> Countenance, yet modest and pleasing, and great skill in the Art, keeping her Measures just to the Notes of Musick, moving smoothly, evenly, easily, made her astonish all the Company.

The Viceroy sent to enquire who she was, and what she was, and from whence she came, and where she lived, but the Enquirer could learn nothing. But as soon as the Masque was done, she was sought about for, and enquired after, but she was gone not to be heard of: whereupon many did think she was a Vision, or some Angel which appear'd, and then vanished away; for she had done as her Uncle had commanded her, which was, to convey her self as soon away as she could, covering her self close. So home they went, and her Uncle was very much pleased to see the Sparks of her Beauty had set their T'inder

---

<sup>30</sup>*scamble*] to struggle indecorously (*OED* v. 1 a).

<sup>31</sup>*severe*] restrained (*OED* adj. II 4 a).

Hearts on Fire. But as they went home, she enquired of her Uncle of the Company; Pray Sir, said she, was the Duke or Dutchess there?

I cannot tell, said he, for my Eyes were wholly taken up in observing your Behaviour, that I never considered nor took notice who was there.

Who was he that first took me out to dance? said she.

I cannot tell that neither, said he, for I onely took the length of your measure, and what through a fear you should be out, and dance wrong, and with joy to see you dance well, I never considered whether the Man you danced with moved or no, nor what he was: but now I am so confident of you, that the next Assembly I will look about, and inform you as much as I can: so home they went. But her Beauty had left such Stings behinde it, especially in the Breast of the Viceroy and the Duke, that they could not rest. Neither was she free, for she had received a Wound, but knew not of it; her Sleeps were unsound, for they indeed were Slumbers rather than Sleeps; her Dreams were many, and various: but her Lovers, that could neither slumber nor sleep, began to search, and to make an enquiry; but none could bring Tidings where she dwelt, nor who she was. But the Viceroy cast about to attain the sight of her once again; so he made a great Ball, and provided a great Banquet, to draw an Assembly of all young Ladies to his Court. Whereupon her Uncle understanding, told his Neece she must prepare to shew her self once again; for I will, said he, the next day after this Ball, remove to our new House.

Sir, said she, I must have another new Gown.

As many as thou wilt, said he, and as rich; besides, I will buy you Jewels.

No Sir, said she, pray spare that cost, for they are onely to be worn at such times of Assemblyes which I shall not visit often for fear I tire the Courtly Spectators, which delight in new Faces, as they do new Scenes. So her uncle left her to order her self; who dress'd her self this time all in white Sattin, all imbroydered with Silver. [192:Bb4v]

When her Uncle saw her so dress'd, now by my troth thou lookest like a Heaven stuck<sup>32</sup> with Stars, but thy Beauty takes off the gloss of thy Bravery; now, said he, you shall not go veiled, for thy Beauty shall make thy way; besides, we will not go too soon, nor while they are in disorder, but when they are all placed, you will be the more prospectious.<sup>33</sup>

But the Cavaliers, especially the Duke and the Viceroy, began to be melancholy for fear she should not come; their Eyes were alwayes placed at the Doors like Centinels, to watch her entrance; and when they came to the court, all the Crouds of People, as in a fright, started back, as if they were surprized with some Divine Object, making a Lane, in which she pass'd through; and the Keepers of the Doors were struck mute, there was no resistance, all was open and free to enter. But when she came in into the presence of the Lords and Ladies, all the Men rose up, and bowed themselves to her, as if they had given her Divine Worship; onely the Duke, who trembled so much, occasioned by the passion of Love, that he could not stir: but the Viceroy went to her.

Lady, said he, will you give me leave to place you?

Your Highness, said she, will do me too much Honour.

So he called for a Chair, and placed her next himself; and when she was set, she produced the same effects as a Burning-glass;<sup>34</sup> for the Beams of all Eyes were drawn together, as one Point placed in her Face, and by reflection she sent a burning heat, and fired every Heart. But he could not keep her; for as soon as they began to dance, she was taken out, but not by the Duke, for he had not recovered as yet Loves shaking Fit. But the young Gallants chose her too often to dance, for every one took it for a Digrace, as not to have the Honour to dance with her, insomuch that few of the other Ladies danced at all, as being Creatures not worthy to be regarded whil'st she was there.

---

<sup>32</sup>*stuck*] full of or adorned with.

<sup>33</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'remarkable' replaces 'prospectious', p. 342.

<sup>34</sup>*Burning-glass*] a lens that concentrates the beams of the sun (*OED* n. a).

But the Viceroy, for fear they should tire her, and she not daring to deny them, by reason it would be thought an affront, and rude, or want of Breeding, made the Viceroy call sooner for the Banquet than otherwise he would have done. Besides, he perceived the rest of the Ladies begin to be angry, expressing it by their Frowns; and knowing nothing will so soon pacifie that Bitter humour in Ladies as Sweet-Meats, he had them brought in. But when the Banquet came in, he presented her the first with some of those Sweet-Meats, and still filling her Ears with Complements, or rather chosen Words, for no Complement could pass on her Beauty, it was beyond all expressions.

At last, he asked her where her Lodging was, and whether she would give him leave to wait upon her.

She answered him, it would be a great grace and favour to receive a Visit from him; but, said she, I am not at my own disposing, wherefore I can neither give nor receive without leave.

Pray, said he, may I know who is this happy Person you so humbly obey. *[193:Cc1r]*

Said she, it is my Uncle, with whom I live.

Where doth he live? said he.

Truly, said she, I cannot tell the name of the Street.

He is not here, Lady? said he.

Yes, said she, and pointed to him. And though he was loth, yet he was forced to leave her so long, as to speak with her Uncle: but the whil'st he was from her, all the young Gallants, which were gathered round about her, presented her with Sweet Meats, as Offerings to a Goddess; and she making them Curtesies, as returning them thanks for that she was not able to receive, as being too great a Burthen; for she was offered more Sweet-Meats than one of the Viceroy's Guards could carry.

But all the while the Duke stood as a Statue, onely his Eyes were fix'd upon her, nor had he power to speak; and she perceiving where he was, for her Eye had secretly

hunted him out, would as often look upon him as her Modesty would give her leave, and desired much to know who he was, but was ashamed to ask.

At last, the Duke being a little encouraged by her Eye, came to her.

Lady, said he, I am afraid to speak, lest I should seem rude by my harsh Discourse; for there is not in the Alphabet, words gentle nor smooth enough for your soft Ears, but what your Tongue doth polish: yet I hope you will do as the rest of the Gods and Goddesses, descend to Mortals, since they cannot reach to you.

Sir, said she, but that I know it is the Courtly Custome for Men to express their Civilities to our Sex in the highest Words, otherwise I should take it as an affront and scorn, to be called by those names I understand not, and to be likened to that which cannot be comprehended.

Said the Duke, you cannot be comprehended; nor do your Lovers know what Destiny you have decreed them.

But the Viceroy came back with her Uncle, who desired to have his Neece home, the Banquet being ended.

But when the Duke saw her Uncle, he then apprehending who she was, was so struck, that what with guilt of Conscience, and with repenting Sorrow, he was ready to fall down dead.

Her Uncle, seeing him talking to her, thus spoke to the Duke.

Sir, said he, you may spare your Words, for you cannot justifie your unworthy Deeds.

Whereat she turned as pale as Death, her Spirits being gathered to guard the Heart, being in distress, as overwhelmed with Passion. But the bustle of the Croud helped to obscure her Change, as well as it did smother her Uncles words, which peirced none but the Dukes ears, and hers.

The Viceroy taking her by the Hand, led her to the Coach, and all the Gallants attended; whereat the Ladies, that were left behinde in the Room, were so angry, shooting forth Words like Bullets with the Fire of Anger, wounding every Man with Re- [194:Cc1v]proach: but at the Viceroy they sent out whole Vollyes, which battered his Reputation: but as for the Young Lady, they did appoint a place of purpose to dissect her, reading Satyrical Lectures upon every part with the hard terms of Dispraises. So all being dispersed, the Viceroy long'd for that seasonable<sup>35</sup> hour to visit her.

But the Duke wish'd there were neither Time nor Life; I cannot hope, said he, for Mercy, my Fault is too great, nor can I live or dye in quiet without it; but the Miseries and Torments of despairing Lovers will be my punishment.

But the old Gentleman was so pleased to see his Neece admired, that as he went home, he did nothing but sing after a humming way; and was so frolick,<sup>36</sup> as if he were returned to twenty years of age; and after he came home, he began to examine his Neece.

Said he, how do you like the Duke? for that was he that was speaking to you when I came.

She answered, that she saw nothing to be disliked in his Person.

And how, said he, do you like the Viceroy?

As well, said she, as I can like a Thing that Time hath worn out of fashion.

So, said he, I perceive you despise Age: but let me tell you, that what Beauty and Favour Time takes from the Body, he gives double proportions of Knowledge and Understanding to the Minde; and you use to preach to me, the outside is not to be regarded; and I hope you will not preach that Doctrine to others you will not follow your self.

Sir, said she, I shall be ruled by your Doctrine, and not by my own.

---

<sup>35</sup>*seasonable*] opportune (*OED* adj. 1 a), with the sense being opportune time.

<sup>36</sup>*frollick*] merry, frolicsome (*OED* adj. 1 a).

Then, said he, I take my Text out of Virtue, which is divided into four parts, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Justice. Prudence is to foresee the worst, and provide the best we can for our selves, by shunning the dangerous wayes, and choosing the best; and my Application is, that you must shun the dangerous wayes of Beauty, and choose Riches and Honour, as the best for your self.

Fortitude is to arm our selves against Misfortunes, and to strengthen our Forts with Patience, and to fight with Industry. My Application of this part is, you must barricade your Ears, and not suffer, by listning after the enticing perswasions of Rhetorick to enter; for if it once get into the Brain, it will easily make a passage to the Heart, or blow up the Tower of Reason with the Fire of foolish Love.

Temperance is to moderate the Appetites, and qualifie the unruly Passions. My third Application is, you must marry a discreet and sober Man, a wise and understanding Man, a rich and honourable Man, a grave and aged Man, and not, led by your Appetites, to marry a vain phantastical Man, a proud conceited [195:Cc2r] Man, a wilde debauched Man, a foolish Prodigal, a poor Shark,<sup>37</sup> or a young unconstant Man.

And fourthly and lastly, is Justice, which is to be divided according to Right and Truth, to reward and punish according to desert, to deal with others as we would be dealt unto.

My last Application is, that you should take such counsel, and follow such advice from your Friends, as you would honestly give to a faithfull Friend as the best for him, without any ends to your self; and so good night, for you cannot choose but be very sleepy.

When he was gone, Lord, said she, this Doctrine, although it was full of Morality, yet in this melancholy Humour I am in, it sounds like a Funeral Sermon to me; I am sure it is a Preamble to some Design he hath, pray God it is not to marry me to the Viceroy; of

---

<sup>37</sup>*Shark*] a worthless person, a swindler (*OED* n.<sup>2</sup> 1).

all the Men I ever saw, I could not affect<sup>38</sup> him, I should more willingly wed Death than him, he is an Antipathy to my Nature; good *Jupiter*, said she, deliver me from him. So she went to Bed, not to sleep, for she could take little rest, for her Thoughts worked as fast as a Feaverish Pulse.

But the Viceroy came the next day, and treated with her Uncle, desiring her for his Wife.

Her Uncle told him, it would be a great Fortune for his Neece, but he could not force her Affection; but, said he, you shall have all the assistance, as the power and authority of an Uncle, and the perswasions as a Friend can give, to get her consent to marry you.

Pray, said the Viceroy, let me see her, and discourse with her.

He desired to excuse him, if he suffered him not to visit her; for, said he, young Women that are disposed by their Friends, must wed without wooing. But he was very loth to go without a sight of her: yet pacifying himself with the hopes of having her to his Wife, presented his Service to her, and took his leave.

Then her Uncle sate in Council with his Thoughts how he should work her Affection, and draw her consent to marry this Viceroy, for he found she had no Stomack towards him; at last, he thought it best to let her alone for a week, or such a time, that the smooth Faces of the young Gallants, that she saw at the Masque and Ball, might be worn out of her Minde. In the mean time, she grew melancholy, her Countenance was sad, her Spirits seemed dejected, her Colour faded, for she could eat no Meat, nor take no rest; neither could she study nor practice her Exercises, as Dancing, &c. her Musick was laid by: Neither could she raise her Voyce to any Note, but walk'd from one end of the Room to the other, with her Eyes fix'd upon the Ground, would sigh and weep, and knew not

---

<sup>38</sup>*affect*] love or have affection for (*OED* v.1 4 a).



for what; at last, spoke thus to her self; Surely an evil Fate hangs over me, for I am so dull, as if I were a piece of Earth, without sense; yet I am not sick, I do not [196:Cc2v] finde my Body distempered,<sup>39</sup> then surely it is in my Minde; and what should disturb that? my Uncle loves me, and is as fond of me as ever he was; I live in Plenty, I have as much Pleasure and Delight as my Minde can desire. O but the Viceroy affrights it, there is the Cause; and yet methinks that cannot be, because I do verily believe my Uncle will not force me to marry against my Affections; besides, the remembrance of him seldome comes into my Minde; for my Minde is so full of thoughts of the Duke, that there is no other room left for any other; my Phancy orders, places, and dresses him a thousand several wayes: thus have I a thousand several Figures of him in my Head; Heaven grant I be not in Love; I dare not ask any one that hath been in Love, what Humours that Passion hath. But why should I be in Love with him? I have seen as handsome Men as he, that I would not take the pains to look on twice: But now I call him better to minde, he is the handsomest I ever saw: But what is a handsome Body, unless he hath a noble Soul? he is perjured and inconstant; alas, it was the fault of his Father to force him to swear against his Affections. But whil'st she was thus reasoning to her self, in came her Uncle; he told her, he had provided her a good Husband.

Sir, said she, are you weary of me? or am I become a Burthen, you so desire to part with me, in giving me to a Husband?

Nay, said he, I will never part, for I will end the few remainder of my dayes with thee.

Said she, you give your Power, Authority, and Commands, with my Obedience, away; for if my Husband and your Commands are contrary, I can obey but one, which must be my Husband.

---

<sup>39</sup>*distempered*] diseased, from the supposition that diseases are the result of an imbalance of the four humours (OED adj. 3 a, and OED *distemper* v.<sup>1</sup> 4 a).

Good reason, said he, and for thy sake I will be commanded to; but in the mean time, I hope you will be ruled by me; and here is a great Match propounded<sup>40</sup> to me for you, the like I could not have hoped for, which is the Viceroy, he is rich.

Yet, said she, he may be a Fool.

O, he is wise and discreet, said he.

Said she, I have heard he is ill natured, and froward.

Answered her Uncle, he is in great Power and Authority.

He may be, said she, never the honestest for that.

He is, said he, in great Favour with the King.

Sir, said she, Princes and Monarchs do not alwayes favour the most deserving, nor do they alwayes advance Men for Merit, but most commonly otherwise, the Unworthiest are advanced highest; besides, Bribery, Partiality, and Flattery, rule Princes and States.

Said her Uncle, let me advise you not to use Rhetorick against your self, and overthrow a good Fortune, in refusing such a Husband as shall advance your place above that false Dukes Dutchess; and his Estate, with yours joynd to it, it will be a greater than his, with which you shall be served nobly, attended numerously, live plentifully, adorned richly, have all the De- [197:Cc3r] lights and Pleasures your Soul can desire; and he being in years, will dote on you; besides, he having had experience of vain debaucheries, is become staid and sage.

Sir, said she, his Age will be the means to bar me of all these Braveries, Pleasures and Delights you propound; for he being old, and I young, he will become so Jealous, that I shall be in restraint like a Prisoner; nay, he will be Jealous of the Light, and my own Thoughts, and will enclose me in Darkness, and disturb the peace of my Minde with his

---

<sup>40</sup>*propounded*] proposed (OED v. 1 a).

Discontents; for Jealousie, I have heard, is never at quiet with it self, nor to those that live near it.

Come, come, said he, you talk I know not what; I perceive you would marry some young, phantastical, prodigal Fellow, who would give you onely Diseases, and spend your Estate, and his own to, amongst his Whores, Bauds, and Sycophants; whilst you sit mourning at home, he will be revelling abroad, and then disturb your rest, coming home at unseasonable times; and if you must suffer, you had better suffer by those that love, than those that care not for you, for Jealousie is onely an overflow of Love; wherefore be ruled, and let not all my pains, care, and cost, and the comfort of my labour, be lost through your disobedience.

Sir, said she, I am bound in Gratitude and Duty to obey your Will, were it to sacrifice my Life, or the Tranquillity of my Minde, on the Altar of your Commands.

In the mean time, the Duke was so discontented and melancholy, that he excluded himself from all Company, suffering neither his Dutchess, nor any Friend to visit him, nor come near him, onely one old Servant to wait upon him; all former Delights, Pleasures and Recreations were hatefull to him, even in the remembrance, as if his Soul and Body had taken a Surfet thereof. At last, he resolved she should know what Torment he suffered for her sake; and since he could not see nor speak to her, he would send her a Letter: then he called for Pen, Ink, and Paper, and wrote after this manner,

Madam,

*The Wrath of the Gods is not onely pacified, and pardons the greatest sins that can be committed against them, taking to mercy the Contrite Heart, but gives Blessings for Repentent Tears; and I hope you will not be more severe than they: let not your Justice be too rigid, lest you become cruel. I confess, the sins committed against you were great, and deserve great punishment: but if all your mercies did fly from me, yet if you did but know the torments I suffer, you could not choose but pity me; and my sorrows are of that weight, that they will press out my life, unless your favours take off the heavy Burthen: but howsoever, pray*

*let your Charity give me a line or two of your own writing, though they strangle me with Death: then will my Soul lye quiet in the Grave, because I dyed by your hand; and when I [198:Cc3v] am dead, let not the worst of my Actions live in your Memory, but cast them into Oblivion, where I wish they may for ever remain. The Gods protect you.*

Sealing the Letter, he gave it to his Man to carry with all the secrecy he could, bidding him to enquire which of her Women was most in her favour, praying her to deliver it to her Mistris when she was all alone, and to tell the Maid he would be in the Street to wait her Command. The Man found such access as he could wish, the Letter being delivered to the Lady; which, when she had read, and found from whom it came, her Passions were so mix'd, that she knew not whether to joy or grieve; she joy'd to live in his Thoughts, yet griev'd to live without him, having no hopes to make him lawfully hers, nor so much as to see or speak to him, her Uncle was so averse against him; and the greatest grief was, to think she must be forced to become anothers, when she had rather be his, though forsaken, than by another to be beloved with Constancy. Then musing with her self for some time, considering whether it was fit to answer his Letter, or no; If my Uncle should come to know, said she, I write to him without his leave (which leave I am sure he will never give) I shall utterly lose his Affection, and I had rather lose Life than lose his Love; and if I do not write, I shall seem as if I were of a malicious nature, which will beget an evil construction of my disposition, in that Minde I desire to live with a good opinion. And if I believe, as Charity and Love perswades me, that he speaks truth, I shall endanger his Life; and I would be loth to murder him with nice scruples, when I am neither forbid by Honour nor Modesty, Religion nor Laws: Well, I will adventure, and ask my Uncle Pardon when I have done; my Uncle is not of a Tyger's nature, he is gentle, and will forgive, and a Pardon may be gotten: but Life, when once it is gone, will return no more. Then taking Pen, Ink, and Paper, writ to him after this manner.

Sir,

*I Am obedient, as being once tyed to you, untill you did cut me off, and throw me away as a worthless piece, onely fit to be trodden under the feet of disgrace, and certainly had perished with shame; had not my Uncle owned me, I had been left destitute. And though you are pleased to cast some thoughts back upon me, yet it is difficult for me to believe, you, that did once scorn me, should humbly come to sue to me: but I rather fear you do this for sport, angling with the Bait of Deceit to catch my Innocent Youth. But I am not the first of my Sex, nor I fear shall not be the last, that has been, and will be deceived by Men, who glory in their treacherous spoils; and if you beset me with Stratagems, kill me outright, and not leade me Prisoner, to set out your Triumph: but if you have Wars with your Conscience, or Phancy, or both, interrupting the peace of your Minde, as your Letter expresses, I should willingly turn to your side, and be an Arbitrator; yet the Fates have destin'd it otherwise. [199:Cc4r] But what unhappy fortune soever befalls me, I wish yours may be good. Heavens keep you.*

Here, said she, give the Man, that brought me the Letter, this. The Man returning to his Lord so soon, made him believe he had not delivered her that Letter.

Well, said the Duke, you have not delivered my Letter.

Yes, but I have, said he, and brought you an Answer.

Why, said the Duke, it is impossible, you staid so short a time.

Then, said he, I have wrought a Miracle; but, said he, you did lengthen my Journey in your Conceits, with the foul wayes of Difficulties.

I hope, said the Duke, thou art so blessed as to make as prosperous a Journey, as a quick Dispatch; leave me awhile, said he, while<sup>41</sup> I call you. But when he went to open the Letter, Time brings not more weakness, said he, than Fear doth to me, for my Hands shake as if I had the Palsey; and my Eyes are so dim, that Spectacles will hardly enlarge my sight. But when he had read the Letter, Joy gave him a new Life: Here, said he, she plainly tells me, she would be mine; she saith, she would return to my side, if the Fates had not

---

<sup>41</sup>*while*] until.

destin'd against it, by which she means, her Uncle is against me: well, if I can but once get access, I shall be happy for ever. So after he had blessed himself in reading the Letter many times over, I will said he, strengthen my self to enable my self to go abroad, for as yet I am but weak; and calling to his Man, he bid him get him something to eat.

Did your Grace, said the Man, talk of eating?

Yes, answered the Duke, for I am hungry.

By my troth, said the Man, I had thought your Hands, Mouth, Appetite and Stomack had made a Bargain; the one, that it never would desire Meat nor Drink; the other, that it would digest none; the third, that it would receive none; and the fourth, that it would offer none; for on my conscience you have not eat the quantity of a pestle of a Lark<sup>42</sup> this week; and you are become so weak, that if a Boy should wrestle with you, he would have the better.

You are deceived, said the Duke, I am so strong, and my Spirits so active, that I would beat two or three such old Fellows as thou art; and to prove it, I will beat thee with one hand.

No pray, said he, I will believe your Graces report, and leave your active Grace for a time, to fetch you some Food.

When his Man came in with the Meat, he found the Duke a dancing.

I believe, said he, you carry your Body very light, having no heavy Burthens of Meat in your Stomack.

I am so Aëry,<sup>43</sup> said the Duke, as I will caper over thy Head.

By my troth, said he, then I shall let fall your Meat out of my hands, for fear of your heels. [200:Cc4v]

---

<sup>42</sup>*pestle*] the leg (*OED* n. 4 a). He has eaten very little.

<sup>43</sup>*I am so Aëry*] Ethereal, with the sense of 'I'm light as air!' (*OED* adj. 1).

Whilst the Duke was at his meat, he talkt to his man; Why hast thou lived an old Batchelour, and never married?

O Sir, said he, wives are too chargeable.<sup>44</sup>

Why, said the Duke, are you so poor?

No Sir, answered he, Women are so vain, besides they do not only spend their husbands estates, but makes his estate a bawd to procure Love servants, so as his wealth serves onely to buy him a pair of horns.

Pray thee, let me perswade thee to marry, and I will direct thee to whom thou shalt go a wooing.

Troth Sir, I would venture, if there had been any example to encourage me.

Why, what do you think of my Marriage, do not I live happily?

Yes, said he, when your Dutches and you are asunder, but when you meet, it is like *Jupiter* and *Juno*, you make such a thundring noise, as it frights your mortall servants, thinking you will dissolve our world, your Family, consuming our<sup>45</sup> hospitallity by the fire of your Worth;<sup>46</sup> Rowling<sup>47</sup> up the clouds of smoaky vapour from boyld Beef, as a sheet of Parchment;<sup>48</sup> When you were a Batcheler we lived in the Golden Age, but now it is the Iron Age, and Doomesday<sup>49</sup> draws near.

I hope, saith the Duke, thou art a Prophet, but when Doomesday is past, you shall live in Paradise.

In my conscience, Sir, said he, fortune hath mismatcht you; for surely nature did never intend to joyne you as Man and Wife; you are of such different humors.

---

<sup>44</sup>*chargeable*] burdensome, a heavy responsibility, with the pun of being also a costly tax (*OED* adj. 1 and 4).

<sup>45</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'your', p. 360

<sup>46</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'Wrath', p. 360.

<sup>47</sup>*Rowling*] Rolling.

<sup>48</sup>*Parchmen*] animal skin prepared for writing (*OED* n. 2). Possibly a reference to the making of parchment.

<sup>49</sup>*Iron Age*] In Greek and Roman mythology, the age marked by oppression and misery, an age following the Golden Age; it alludes to any era defined by debasement or evil (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> A 1). *Doomesday*] day of judgment.

Well, said the Duke, for all your rayling against women, you shall go a wooing, if not for your self, yet for me.

Sir, said he, I shall refuse no office, that your Grace imployes me in.

Go your ways, said the Duke, to that Ladyes maid you gave the letter to, and present her with a hundred pounds, and tell her, if she can help me to the speech of her Lady; you will bring her a hundred pounds more, and if you finde her nice,<sup>50</sup> and that she sayes she dare not, offer her five hundred pounds or more, or so much, untill you have out-bribed her cautious fears.

Sir, said the man, if you send her many of these presents, I will wooe for my self, as well as for your Grace, wherefore by your Graces leave, I will spruce up my self before I go, and trim my beard, and wash my face, and who knows but I may speed,<sup>51</sup> for I perceive it is a fortunate year for old men to winne young mayds affections, for they say, the Vice-Roy is to be married to the sweetest young beautifullest Lady in the world, and he is very old, and in my opinion, not so handsome as I am: with that the Duke turned pale.

Nay, said the man, your Grace hath no cause to be troubled, for tis a Lady you have refused, wherefore he hath but your leavings.<sup>52</sup>

With that the Duke up with his hand, and gave him a box on the eare: Thou lyst said he, he must not marry her.

Nay, said the man, that is as your Grace can order the *[201:Dd1r]* business; but your Grace is a just performer of your Word, for you have tryed your strength, and hath beaten me with one hand.

The Duke walked about the roome, and after he had pacified himself, at last spoke to his man; Well, said he, if you be prosperous, and can winn the maid to direct me the way to speak to her Lady, I will cure the Blow with Crowns.

---

<sup>50</sup>*nice*] fastidious (*OED* n. 2 a).

<sup>51</sup>*speed*] succeed (*OED* v. I 1 a).

<sup>52</sup>*leavings*] what has been rejected.



Sir, said he, I will turn you my other cheek to box that, if you please.

Go away, said the Duke, and return as soon as you can.

Sir, said he, I will return as soon as my business is done, or els I shall loose both paines and gaines, good fortune be my guide, said he, and then I am sure of the Worlds favour, for they that are prosperous shall never want friends, although he were a Coward, a Knave, or a Fool, the World shall say, nay, think him valliant, honest and wise.

Sir, said he to the Duke, pray flatter fortune, and offer some prayers and praises to her Deity in my behalf, though it be but for your own sake; for he, that hath not a feeling interest in the business, can never pray with a strong devotion for a good success, but their prayers will be so sickly and weak, as they can never travell up far, but fall back as it were in a swoun, without sense;<sup>53</sup> in the mean time the Vice-Roy and the Uncle had drawn up articles, and had concluded of the match without the young Ladyes consent; but the Uncle told her afterwards, she must prepare herself to be the Vice-Roys bride: And said he, if you consent not, never come neer me more, for I will disclaime all the interest of an Uncle, and become your enemy: his words were like so many daggers, that were struck to her heart: for her grief was too great for tears: but her maid, who had ventured her Ladies Anger, for gold had conveyed the Duke into such a place, as to go into her Chamber, when he pleased, and seeing her stand as it were, without life or sence, but as a statue carved in stone, went to her, which object brought her out of a muse, but struck her with such Amaze, as she fixt her eyes upon him, as on some wonder, and standing both silent for a time, at last she spake.

Sir, said she, this is not civilly done, to come without my leave, or my Uncles knowledge: nor honorably done, to come like a thief in the night to surprise me.

---

<sup>53</sup>This sentiment recalls Claudius's speech in *Hamlet*, act 3, scene 3, lines 38-40. Claudius's will to pray is weakened by his need to keep the throne and the queen, both of which he won through sin.

Madame, said he, Love, that is in danger to loose what he most adores, will never consider persons, time, place, nor difficulty, but runns to strengthen and secure his side, fights and assaults all that doth oppose him, and I hear you are to be married to the Vice-Roy: but if you do marry him, I will strive to make you a Widow the first houre, cutting your Vowes asunder: and your Husband, instead of his bride, shall imbrace death, and his Grave shall become his Wedding bed, or I will lye there my self shrowded in my winding sheet from the hated sight of seeing, or knowing you to be anothers: but if knowledge lives in the grave, think not your self secure when I am dead; for if Ghosts [202: *Dd1v*] as some imagines, they can rise from the Earth, mine shall visit you and fright you from delights, and never leave you untill you become a subject in deaths Kingdom; but if you are cruell and take delight to have your bridall health drunk in blood, marry him, where perchance we may be both dead drunk with that warme red liquor.

Sir, answered she, it is an unheard of malice to me, or an Impudent and vaine-glorious pride in you, neither to own me your self, nor let another, but would have me wander out of my single life, that the World may take notice and say, this is your forsaken maid; and I live to be scorned and become friendless, for my Uncle will never own me, which will prove as a proclamation to proclaime me a traitor to gratitude, and naturall affection, by committing the treason of disobedience.

Said the Duke, you cannot want an owner whilst I live, for I had, nor have no more power to resign the interest I have in you, than Kings to resign their Crowns that comes by succession, for the right lyes in the Crown, not in the man, and though I have played the tyrant, and deserved to be uncrowned, yet none ought to take it off my head, but death, nor have I power to throw it from my self, death onely must make way for a successor.

Then said she, I must dye, that your Dutches may have right, and a free possession.

Nay, said he, you must claime your own just interest and place your self.

What is that, said she, go to Law for you.

Yes, said he.

Where if I be cast,<sup>54</sup> said she, it will be a double shame.

You cannot plead and be condemned, said he, if Justice hears your Cause: and though most of the Actions of my life have been irregular, yet they were not so much corrupted or misruled by nature, as for want of a good education, and through the ignorance of my youth, which time since hath made me see my errors; and though your beautie is very excellent, and is able to enamour the most dullest sense, yet it is not that alone that disturbs the peace of my mind, but the conscientiousness<sup>55</sup> of my fault, which unless you pardon and restore me to your favour, I shall never be at rest.

I wish there were no greater obstacle, said she, than my pardon to your rest: For I should absolve you soon, and sleep should not be more gentle, and soft on your eyes, than the peace to your minde, if I could give it, but my Uncles dislike may prove as fearfull dreams to disturbe it: but indeed if his anger were like dreams, it would vanish away, but I doubt<sup>56</sup> it is of too thick a body for a Vision.

Sayes the Duke, we will both kneel to your Uncle, and plead at the bar of either eare, I will confess my fault at one eare, whilst you aske pardon for me at the other; And though his heart were [203:Dd2r] steele, your words will dissolve it into compassion, whilst my tears mixe the ingredients.

My Uncle said she, hath agreed with the Vice-Roy: and his word hath sealed the bond, which he will never break.

Sayes the Duke, I will make the Vice-Roy to break the bargain himself, and then your Uncle is set free: Besides, you are mine and not your Uncles; Unless you prove my enemy to deny me, and I will plead for my right: Heaven direct you for the best, said she, it is late, good night.

---

<sup>54</sup>*cast*] defeated in a law case (*OED* v. 14).

<sup>55</sup>*conscientiousness*] awareness or consciousness.

<sup>56</sup>*doubt*] fear.

You will give me leave, said he, to kiss your hands.

I cannot deny my hand, said she, to him that hath my heart.

The next day the Duke went to the Vice-Roys, and desired to have a private hearing, about a business that concerned him; And when he had him alone, he shut the door, and drew his sword; which when the Vice-Roy saw, he began to call for help.

Call not, nor make a noise, if you doe, hell take me, said the Duke, Ple run you thorough.<sup>57</sup>

What mean you, said the Vice-Roy, to give me such a dreadfull visit?

I come, said the Duke, to aske you a question, to forbid you an Act, and to have you grant me my demand.

Said the Vice-Roy, the question must be resolvable, the Act just, the demands possible.

They are so, said the Duke, My question is, whether you resolve to be married to the Lady *Delitia*.

Yes, answered he.

The Act forbidden, is, you must not marry her.

Why, said the Vice-Roy?

Because, said he, she is my Wife, and I have been married to her almost nine years.

Why, said he, you cannot have two wives?

No, said he, I will have but one, and that shall be she.

And what is your demand? My demand is, that you will never marry her.

How, sayes the Vice-Roy? put the case you should die, you will then give me leave to marrie her?

---

<sup>57</sup>*thorough*] through.

No, said the Duke, I love her too well, to leave a possibility of her marrying you: I will sooner die, than set my hand to this, said the Vice Roy.

If you do not, you shall die a violent death, by heaven, answered he, and more than that, you shall set your hand never to complain against me to the King; will you do it, or will you not? for I am desperate, said the Duke.

Said the Vice Roy, you strike the King in striking me.

No disputing, says he, set your hand presently, or I will kill you.

Do you say, you are desperate?

Yes, answered he.

Then I must do a desperate Act to set my hand to a bond I mean to break.

Use your own discretion, to that; [204:Dd2v]

Come, said he, I will set my hand before I read it; for whatever it is, it must be done; after he set his hand he read.

Here I do vow to Heaven, never to Wooe the Lady *Delitia*, not to take her to wife, whereunto I set my hand. To this paper too, said the Duke.

Here I do vow to Heaven, never to take revenge, nor to complain of the Duke to my King and master, whereunto I set my hand.

Saith the Duke, I take my leave, rest you in peace, Sir.

And the Devill torment you, said the Vice Roy! O fortune, I could curse thee with thy Companions, the fates, not only in cutting off my happiness, in the injoying of so rare a beauty, but in stopping the passage to a sweet revenge: And though I were sure, there were both Gods, and Devills, yet I would break my Vow, for the one is pacified by Prayers, and praises, and the other terrified with threats; but, O the disgrace from our fellow-creatures, mankind, sets closer to the life, than the skin to the flesh. For if the skin be flead off, a new one will grow again, making the body appear younger than before; but if a man be flead once of his reputation, he shall never regain it, and his life will be alwaies bare and

raw, and malice and envy will torment it, with the stings of ill tongues; which to avoid, I must close with this Duke in a seeming friendship, and not defy him as an open enemy, least he should divulge my base acts done by my Cowardly fear; but they are fools that would not venture their Reputations, to save their life, rather than to dye an honorable death, as they call it; which is to dye, to gain a good Opinion, and what shall they gain by it? a few praises, as to say, he was a valiant man; and What doth the valiant get, is he ever the better? No, he is tumbled into the grave, and his bodie rottes, and turnes<sup>58</sup> to dust; All the clear distinguishing senses, the bright flaming appetites are quenched out; but if they were not, there is no fuell in the grave to feed their fire; for, death is cold, and the grave barren; besides, there is no Remembrance in the grave, all is forgotten, they cannot rejoyce at their past gallant actions, or remember their glorious Triumphs, but the onely happiness is, that though there is no pleasure in the grave, so there is no paines; but to give up life before nature requires it, is to pay a Subsidy<sup>59</sup> before we are taxt, or to yield up our liberties before we are prisoners. And who are wise)<sup>60</sup> that shall do so, No, Let fools run head-long to death; I will live as long as I can, and not only live, but live easily, freely, and as pleasant as I can; wherefore to avoid this mans mischiefs, which lies to intrap my life, I will agree with him; and I had rather loose the pleasures of one Woman, than all other pleasures with my life; but to do him a secret mischief he shall not escape, if I can prevaile; but I perceive this Duke, since he can have but one Wife, intends to set up a Saraglia<sup>61</sup> of young wenches, and by my troth, he begins with a fair one, and whilst he courts his mistris, I mean to wooc his wife, for he hath not sworn me from that. So that my revenge shall be to make him a

---

<sup>58</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction changes 'burnes' to 'turnes', p. 205. The change is noted on the errata list, but the word is spelled 'turns'.

<sup>59</sup>*Subsidy*] particular to England, a tax levied on imports and exports, the income of which went directly to the King (*OED* n. 2 a).

<sup>60</sup>The rogue closing parenthesis appears in NP 1656 (*Wing* N855) but not in NP 1671 (*Wing* N856).

<sup>61</sup>*Seraglia*] Seraglio, a harem (*OED* n. 1 a).

Cuckold, so the Viceroy [205:Dd3r] went to the Dutchess; and after he had made his Complemental Addresses, they began to talk more serious.

Madam, said he, how do you like the rare Beauty which your Husband doth admire so much, that he is jealous of all that look on her, and would extinguish the sight of all Mens Eyes but his own, and challenges all that make Love to her, threatens ruine and murther to those that pretend<sup>62</sup> to marry her.

Answered she, if he be so enamoured, I shall not wonder now that my Beauty is thought dead, my Embraces cold, my Discourse dull, my Company troublesome to him, since his Delight is abroad: but, said she, I am well served, I was weary of my old Husband, and wished him dead, that I might marry a young one; I abhorred his old age, that was wise and experienced; despised his gray hairs, that should be revered with respect; O the happiness I rejected that I might have enjoyed! for he admired my Beauty, praised my Wit, gave me my Will, observed my Humour, sought me Pleasures, took care of my Health, desired my Love, proud of my Favours, my Mirth was his Musick, my Smiles were his Heaven, my Frowns were his Hell; when this Man thinks me a Chain that enslaves him, a Shipwrack wherein all his Happiness is drown'd, a Famine to his Hopes, a Plague to his Desires, a Hell to his Designs, a Devil to damn his Fruitions.

Nay certainly, said he, that Woman is the happiest that marries an antient Man; for he adores her Virtue more than her Beauty, and his Love continues; though her Beauty is gone; he sets a price of Worth<sup>63</sup> upon the Honour and Reputation of his Wife, uses her civilly, and gives her Respect, as Gallant Men ought to do to a tender Sex, which makes others to do the like; when a Young Man thinks it a Gallantry, and a Manly Action, to use his Wife rudely, and worse than his Lacquay, to command imperiously, to neglect despisingly, making her the Drudge in his Family, flinging words of disgrace upon her,

---

<sup>62</sup>*pretend*] claim a right to do something (OED v. 4 b).

<sup>63</sup>*sets a price of worth*] values.

making her with scorn the mirth and pastime in his idle and foolish discourse amongst his vain and base Companions; when an Antient Man makes his Wife the Queen of his Family, his Mistris in his Courtship, his Goddess in his Discourse, giving her Praise, applauding her Actions, magnifying her Nature; her Safety is the God of his Courage, her Honour the World to his Ambition, her Pleasure his onely Industry, her Maintenance the mark for his Prudence, her Delights are the Compass by which he sails, her Love is his Voyage, her Advice his Oracle; and doing this, he doth Honour to himself, by setting a considerable value upon what is his own; when Youth regards not the temper of her Disposition, slights her Noble Nature, grows weary of her Person, condemns her Counsels, and is afraid his Neighbours should think his Wife wiser than himself, which is the mark of a Fool, and a Disease most Men have (being married young.) But a Man in years is solid in his Counsels, sober in his Actions, gracefull in his Behaviour, wise in his Discourse, temperate in his Life, and seems as Nature hath made him, Masculine. When a young Man is rash in his Counsels, [206:Dd3v] desperate in his Actions, wilde in his Behaviour, vain in his Discourses, debauch'd in his Life, and appears not like his Sex, but Effeminate.

A fair Forehead, and a smooth Skin, a rosie Cheek, and a ruby Lip, wanton Eyes, a flattering Tongue are unmanly, appearing like Women or Boyes, let them be never so Valiant; and that appears, as if they would sooner suffer the Whip, than handle the Sword.

Where an antient Man, every Wrinkle is a Trench made by Time, wherein lyes Experience to secure the Life from Errours; and there Eyes are like active Souldiers, who bow and sink down by the over-heavy Burthens of their Spoils, which are several Objects that the Sight carries into the Brain, and delivers to the Understanding, as Trophies, to hang up in the Magazine<sup>64</sup> of the Memory. His white Hairs are the Flags of Peace, that Time hangs out on the Walls of Wisdome, that Advice and Counsel may come from and

---

<sup>64</sup>*Magazine*] A storage place for goods (*OED* n. 1 a).



to safely. Nay, the very Infirmities of Age seem manly; his feeble Legs look as if they had been overtired with long Marches, in seeking out his Foes; and his Palsey-Hands, or Head, the one seems as if they had been so often used in beating of their Enemies, and the other in watching them, as they knew not what Rest meant.

Sir, said the Dutchess, you commend aged Husbands, and dispraise young ones, with such Rhetorick, as I wish the one, and hate the other; and in pursuit of my Hate, I will cross my Husband's Amours as much as I can.

In the mean time, the Duke was gone to the old Gentleman, the young Ladies Uncle.

Which when the old Man saw him enter, he started, as if he had seen an Evil he desired to shun.

Sir, said he, what unlucky occasion brought you into my House?

First, Repentance, answered the Duke, and then Love; and lastly, my Respect which I owe as a Duty. My Repentance begs a Forgiveness, my Love offers you my Advice and good Counsel, my Respect forewarns you of Dangers and Troubles that may come by the marriage of your Neece to the Vice-roy.

Why? what danger, said he, can come in marrying my Neece to a wise, honourable, rich, and powerfull Man, and a Man that loves and admires her, that honours and respects me?

But, said the Duke, put the case he be a covetous, jealous, froward, ill-natured, and base cowardly Man, shall she be happy with him?

But he is not so, said he.

But, answered the Duke, if I can prove him so, will you marry her to him?

Pray, said he, spare your proofs of him, since you cannot prove your self an honest Man.

Sir, said the Duke, Love makes me endure a Reproach patiently, when it concerns the Beloved: but though it endures a Reproach, it cannot endure a Rival. [207:Dd4r]

Why, said the old Gentleman, I hope you do not challenge an interest in my Neece.

Yes, said the Duke, but I do, and will maintain that interest with the power of my Life, and never will quit it till Death; and if my Ghost could fight for her, it should.

Heaven bless my Neece, said the old Gentleman: What is your Design against her? Is it not enough to fling a Disgrace of Neglect on her, but you must ruine all her good Fortunes? Is your Malice so inveterate against my Family, that you strive to pull it up by the Roots, to cast it into the Ditch of Oblivion, or to fling it on the Dunghill of Scorn?

Said the Duke, my Design is to make her happy, if I can, to oppose all those that hinder her Felicity, disturbing the content and peace of her Minde, for she cannot love this Man; besides, he disclaims her, and vows never to marry her.

Sir, said the Gentleman, I desire you to depart from my House, for you are a Plague to me, and bring an evil Infection.

Sir, said the Duke, I will not go out of your House, nor depart from you, untill you have granted my Request.

Why, said the Gentleman, you will not threaten me?

No, said the Duke, I do petition you.

Said the Gentleman, if you have any Quarrel to me, I shall answer it with my Sword in my Hand; for though I have lost some Strength with my years, yet I have not lost my Courage; and when my Limbs can fight no longer, the heat of my Spirits shall consume you; besides, an Honourable Death I far prefer before a baffled<sup>65</sup> Life.

Sir, said he, I come not to move your Anger, but your Pity, for the Sorrows I am in, for the Injuries I have done you; and if you will be pleased to take me into your Favour,

---

<sup>65</sup>*Baffled*] Disgraced or dishonoured (*OED* adj. 1).

and assist me, by giving my Wife, your Neece, leave to claim the Laws of Marriage and Right to me, all my Life shall be studious to return Gratitude, Duty, and Service.

Yes, answered he, to divulge her Disgrace, declaring your neglect in an open Court, and to make my self a Knave to break my Promise.

Sir, said the Duke, your Disgrace by me is not so much as you apprehend; but it will be a great Disgrace when it is known the Vice-roy refuses her, as I can shew you his Hand to it; and if he deserts your Neece, you are absolved of your Promise made to him; and to let you know this is a Truth, I say here is his Hand.

The whilst the old Gentleman was reading the Papers, the Vice-roy comes in.

O Sir, said he, you are timely come; is this your Hand, sayes he?

Yes, answered the Vice-roy.

And do you think this honourably done, said the Gentleman.

Why, said the Vice-roy, would you have me marry another Man's Wife. [208:Dd4v]

Well, said the old Gentleman, when your Viceroy-ship is out, as it is almost, I will give you my answer; till then, fare you well.

But the Duke went to the young Lady, and told her the progress he had had with her Uncle, and his anger to the Vice-roy.

But after the old Gentleman's passion was abated towards the Duke, by his humble submission, and the passion inflamed towards the Viceroy, he hearkned to the Law-suit, being most perswaded by his Neece's affection, which he perceived was unalterably placed upon the Duke. And at last, advising all three together, they thought it fit, since the Parties must plead their own Cause, to conceal their Agreements, and to cover it by the Duke's seeming dissent, lest he should be convicted as a Breaker of the known Laws, and so be liable to punishment, either by the hazard of his Life, or the price of a great Fine.

But after Friends were made of all sides, the Law-suit was declared, which was a business of discourse to all the Kingdome, and the place of Judicature a meeting for all curious, inquisitive, and busiless<sup>66</sup> People.

When the day of hearing was come, there was a Bar set out, where the Duke and the two Ladies stood; and after all the Judges were set, the young Lady thus spake.

Grave Fathers, and most equal Judges,

*I Come here to plead for Right, undeck'd with Eloquence, but Truth needs no Rhetorick, so that my Cause will justifie it self: but if my Cause were foul, it were not pencill'd words could make it seem so fair, as to delude your Understanding Eye.*

*Besides, your Justice is so wise, as to fortifie her Forts with Fortitude, to fill her Magazine with Temperance, to victual it with Patience, to set Centinels of Prudence, that Falshood might not surprize it, nor Bribery corrupt it, nor Fear starve it, nor Pity undermine it, nor Partiality blow it up; so that all Right Causes here are safe and secured from the Enemies of Injury and Wrong. Wherefore, most Reverend Fathers, if you will but hear my Cause, you cannot but grant my Suit.*

Whereupon the Judges bid her declare her Cause. *Then thus it is.*

*I was married to this Prince; 'tis true, I was but young in years when I did knit that Wedlock knot; and though a Child, yet since my Vows were holy, which I made by Virtue and Religion, I am bound to seal that sacred Bond with Constancy, now I am come to years of knowing of Good from Evil.*

*I am not onely bound, most Pious Judges, to keep my Vow, in being chastly his, as long as he shall live, but to require him by the Law, as a Right of Inheritance belonging to me, and onely me, so long as I shall live, without a Sharer or Co-partner: so that this Lady, which [209:Ee1r] layes a claim, and challenges him as being hers, can have no right to him, and therefore no Law can plead for her; for should you cast aside your Canon Law,<sup>67</sup> most Pious Judges, and judge it by the Common Law, my Suit must*

---

<sup>66</sup>*busiless*] lacking a useful occupation (OED adj).

<sup>67</sup>*Canon law*] Ecclesiastical law, as opposed to 'common law', much as a common-law wife today differs from one married by a priest (OED n. 2).

*needs be granted, if Justice deals out right, and gives to Truth her own; for should an Heir, young, before he comes to years, run on the Lenders score, though the Lender had no Law to plead against nonage,<sup>68</sup> yet if his nature be so just to seal the bonds he made in nonage, when he comes to full years, he makes his former Act good, and fixes the Law to a just Grant, giving no room for Cosenage to play a part, nor Falshood to appear. The like is my Cause, most Grave Fathers, for my Friends chose me a Husband, made a Bond of Matrimony, sealed it with the Ceremony of the Church, onely they wanted my years of consent, which I, by an Approvement,<sup>69</sup> now set as my Hand-writing.<sup>70</sup>*

Sayes the Judges, what sayes the Duke? Then the Duke thus spake.

*I Confess, I was contracted to this Lady by all the sacred and most binding Ceremonies of the Church, but not with a free consent of Minde; but being forced by the duty to my Father, who did not onely command, but threatned me with his Curse, he being then upon his Death-bed, and I being afraid of a dying Fathers Curses, yielded to those Actions which my Affections and Free-will renounced; and after my Father was dead, placing my Affections upon another Lady, married her, thinking my self not liable to the former Contract, by reason the former Contract was but of six years of age, whose nonage I thought was a warrantable Cancel from the Engagement.*

Most Upright Judges,

*My nonage of years is not a sufficient Bail to set him free, he being then of full Age; nor can his fear of offending his Parents, or his loving Duty towards them, be a casting Plea against me; his Duty will not discharge his Perjury: nor his Fear could be no Warrant to do a Wrong; and if a Fool by promise*

---

<sup>68</sup>*Nonage*] the period during which a person is considered under legal age and unable to handle his or her own affairs (OED n.1 1 a).

<sup>69</sup>*Approvement*] act of sanctioning (OED n.1 2).

<sup>70</sup>*Hand-writing*] possibly a handwritten document with legal force (OED n. 1). Delitia's argument is based on law. Cressy explains that 'legally, pre-contract was a fatal impediment to marriage. If one intending partner was already contracted to another the wedding was not supposed to proceed. And if such a person forgot or concealed a pre-existing contract, the marriage, if solemnized, could be declared invalid' (p. 307).

*binds his Life to Inconveniencies, the Laws that Wise Men made, must force him to keep it. And if a Knave, by private and self-ends, doth make a Promise, Just Laws must make him keep it.*

*And if a Coward make a Promise through distracted Fear, Laws, that carry more Terrours, than the broken Promise, Profit, will make him keep it.*

*But a wise, just, generous Spirit will make no Promise, but what he can, and durst, and will perform.*

*But say a Promise should pass through an ignorant Zeal, and seeming Good, yet a Right Honourable and Noble Minde will stick so fast to its Engagements, that nothing shall hew them asunder; for a Promise must neither be broken upon Suspicion, nor false Construction, nor enticing Perswasions, nor threatenng Ruins, but it must be main- [210:Ee1v] tained with Life, and kept by Death, unless the Promise carry more malignity in the keeping them, than the breaking of them.*

*I say not this to condemn the Duke, though I cannot applaud his secondary Action concerning Marriage; I know he is too Noble to cancel that Bond his Conscience sealed before high Heaven, where Angels stood as Witnesses; nor can he make another Contract untill he is free from me;<sup>71</sup> so that his Vows to this Lady were rather Complemental, and Loves Feignings, than really true, or so Authentical to last; he built Affections on a wrong Foundation, or rather Castles in the Air, as Lovers use to do, which vanish soon away; for where Right is not, Truth cannot be; wherefore she can claim no lawfull Marriage, unless he were a Free-man, not bound before; and he cannot be free, unless he hath my consent, which I will never give.*

Then the other Lady spake.

Noble Judges,

---

<sup>71</sup>According to Martin Ingram, 'In Elizabethan and early Stuart England an informal declaration between a man and a woman was still sufficient in law to create a valid and binding marriage' (*Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 132). Delitia's contract with the duke was the result of more than an informal declaration. A priest and witnesses were present. Delitia, however, was underage and this complicates the situation. Marriages could be annulled if specific impediments were identified. Among the impediments were 'the existence of a prior contract of marriage' and 'the fact that one or both partners were under age' (Ingram, p. 145).

**T**His crafty, flattering, dissembling Child layes a claim to my Husband, who no way deserves him, she being of a low Birth, and of too mean a Breeding to be his Wife; neither hath she any right to him in the Law, she being too young to make a free Choyce, and to give a free consent. Besides, he doth disavow the Act, by confessing the disagreeing thereto in his Minde; and if she was to give a Lawfull Consent, and his Consent was seeming, not real, as being forced thereunto, it could not be a firm Contract; wherefore, I beseech you, cast her Suit from the Bar, since it is of no validity.

Just Judges, answered she.

**W**Hat though he secretly disliked of the Act he made? yet Humane Justice sentences not the Thoughts, but Acts; wherefore those Words that plead his Thoughts, ought to be waived as useless, and from the Bar of Justice cast aside.

And now, most Upright Judges, I must intreat your favour and your leave to answer this Lady, whose Passions have flung Disgraces on me, which I, without the breach of Incivility, may throw them off with scorn, if you allow me so to do.

Said the Judges, we shall not countenance any Disgrace, unless we knew it were a punishment for Crimes; wherefore speak freely.

Why then, to answer to this Lady, that I am meanly born. 'Tis true, I came not from Nobility, but I can draw a Line of Pedegree five hundred years in length from the root of Merit,<sup>72</sup> from whence Gentility doth spring. This Honour cannot be degraded by the Displeasure of Princes, it holds not the Fee-simple<sup>73</sup> from the Crown, [211:Ee2r] for Time is the Patron of Gentility, and the older it groweth, the more beautifull it appears; and having such a Father and Mother as Merit and Time, Gentry is a fit and equal Match for any, were they the Rulers of the whole World.

And whereas she sayes, most Patient Judges, I am a false dissembling Child.

---

<sup>72</sup>Cavendish often distinguishes between internal, natural merit, and merit bestowed on someone through titles.

<sup>73</sup>Fee-simple] estate of land (OED n. a).

*I answer, as to my Childhood, it is true, I am young, and unexperienced, a Child in Understanding, as in Years; but to be Young, I hope it is no Crime: but if it be, 'twas made by Nature, not by me. And for dissembling, I have not had time enough to practice much Deceit; my Youth will witness for me, it is an Art, not an inbred Nature, and must be studied with Pains, and watch'd with Observation, before any can be Masters thereof. And I hope this Assembly is so just, as not to impute my Innocent Simplicity to a subtil, crafty, or a deceiving Glass, to shew the Minds false Face, making that fair, which in it self is foul. And whereas she sayes, I have been meanly bred, 'tis true, Honoured Judges, I have been humbly bred, taught to obey Superiours, and to reverence old Age; to receive Reproofs with thanks, to listen to wise Instructions, to learn honest Principles, to huswif<sup>4</sup> Time, making use of every minute; to be thrifty of my Words, to be carefull of my Actions, to be modest in my Behaviour, to be chaste in my Thoughts, to be pious in my Devotions, to be charitable to the Distressed, to be courteous to Inferiours, to be civil to Strangers; for the truth is, I was not bred with Splendrous Vanities, nor learnt the Pomp and Pride of Courts; I am ignorant of their Factions, Envyes, and Back-bitings, I know not the sound of their flattering Tongues, I am unacquainted with their smiling Faces, I have not Wit to perceive their false Hearts, my Judgement is too young and too weak to fathom their deep and dangerous Designs.*

*Neither have I lived so long in populous Cities, as to share of the Luxuriousness therein; I never have frequented their private nor publick Meetings, nor turned the Day into Night by Disorders; I can play at none of their Games, nor can I tread their Measures: but I was bred a private Country Life, where the crowing of the Cocks served as Waights<sup>5</sup> of the Town; and the bleating of the Sheep, and lowing of the Cows, are the Minstrels we dance after; and the singing of the Birds are the Harmonious Notes by which we set our Innocent Thoughts, playing upon the Heart-strings of Content, where Nature there presents us a Masque with various Scenes, of several Seasons of the Year.*

*But neither low Birth, nor mean Breeding, nor bad Qualities, nay, were I as Wicked as I am Young, yet it will not take away the truth of my Cause, nor the justness of my Plea; wherefore I desire you*

---

<sup>4</sup>to huswif[e] to manage, as a wife does the household (OED v. 2).

<sup>5</sup>Waights] a group of wind instrumentalists maintained by a town (OED n. 8 a).



*to give my Suit a patient Trial, and not to cast me from the Bar, as she desires; for I hope you will not cast out my Suit by an unjust Partiality, nor mistake the right measure, and so cut the truth of my Cause too short: but I beseech you to give it length by your serious Considerations, and make it fit by your just Favour; for [212:Ee2v] though Truth it self goeth naked, yet her Servants must be cloathed with Right, and dress'd by Propriety, or they will dye with the cold of Usurpation, and then be flung into the Ditch of Sorron, there eaten up with the Ravens of Scorn, having no burial of Respect, nor Tombe of Tranquility, nor Pyramids of Felicity, which by your Justice may raise them as high as Heaven, when your Injustice may cast them as low as Hell. Thus you become to Truth, Gods or Devils.*

Madam, said the Judges to the young Lady, the justice of your Cause judges it self; for the severest Judge, or strictest rules in Law, would admit of no debate.

And truly, Madam, it is happy for us that sit upon the Bench, that your Cause is so clear and good, otherwise your Beauty and your Wit might have proved Bribes to our Vote: but yet there will be a Fine on the Duke for the breach of the Laws.

With that the Duke spake.

Most Carefull, Learned, and Just Judges, and Fathers of the Common-wealth.

*I Confess my Fault, and yield my self a Prisoner to Justice, to whom she may either use Punishment or Mery: but had I known the Laws of Custome, Religion or Honour, then, as well as I do now, I had not run so fast, nor plunged my self so deep in the foul erroneous wayes: but wilde Youth, surrounded with Ease, and fed with Plenty, born up with Freedome, and led by Self-will, sought Pleasure more than Virtue: but Experience hath learn'd me stricter Rules, and nobler Principles, insomuch as the reflection of my former Actions, clouds all my future Happiness, wounds my Conscience, and torments my Life: but I shall submit to what your wise Judgements shall think fit.*

My Lord, answered the Judges, your Grace being a great Peer of the Realm, we are not to condemn you to any Fine, it must be the King, onely we judge the Lady to be your lawfull Wife, and forbid you the Company of the other.

Said the Duke, *I shall willingly submit.*

With that, the young Lady spake. *Heaven, said she, send you just Rewards for your upright Actions: But I desire this Assembly to excuse the Faults of the Duke in this, since he was forced by Tyrant Love to run in uncouth wayes, and do not wound him with sharp Censures.*

*For where is he, or she, though ne'r so cold,  
But sometimes Love doth take, and fast in Fetters hold.a*

The Vice-roy being by, said to the other Lady; Madam, said he, since the Law hath given away your Husband, I will supply [213:EE3r] his place, if you think me so worthy, with whom perchance you may be more happy than you were with him.

I accept of your Love, said she, and make no question but Fortune hath favoured me in the change.

With that, the Court rose, and much Rejoycings there were of all sides. [214:EE3v]

*The seventh Book.*

*The Ambitious Traytor.*

**T**Here was a Noble man in Fairy Land, which was in great favour with King *Oberon*;<sup>76</sup> but the favour of the King made him so proud, and haughty, as his ambition grew so high, that he sought to usurpe the Crown to himself; his design was to kill the King, and then to marry Queen *Mabb*,<sup>77</sup> and to bring his evill designes to pass, he feasted the Nobilitie, devised sports for the Commonality, presented the old Ladies with gifts, flattered the young ones, in praising their beauties, made balls, playes, Masks, to entertain them; bribed the Courtiers, corrupted the Souldiers with promises of donatives,<sup>78</sup> fired the youth with thoughts of Chevalry, and expectations of honors, and was industrious to present the

---

<sup>76</sup>King of the fairies. In Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Oberon and his queenly wife, Titania, rule the forest benevolently, but they are also volatile and their feuds affect the weather. Cavendish would have found their connection to the natural world appealing.

<sup>77</sup>Mischievous fairy queen.

<sup>78</sup>*donatives*] Gifts, with a negative connotation (*OED* n. B 1).

petitions of suiters, followed the Causes of the distressed; pleaded for Clients and all to get a popular esteem and love; but there is none so wise and craftie, as can keep out envy from searching into their wayes with the Eyes of Spight; for his popular applause begot in him private enemies, which advertised<sup>79</sup> the King to look to himself, and to cut off his growing power, not out of Loyaltie to the King, but out of hate to the favorite; and Kings being jealous, are apt to suspect the worst, which made him observe with a stricter Eye, setting spies and watches on all his actions, untill he catcht him in the trap of his Rebellion, for speaking some dangerous and seditious words was cast into prison, untill further trial; a day being appointed for his hearing, a Councell was called of all the Peers of the land: which were his Judges; witness was brought whereby he was cast and condemned to die; great preparations was made against the day of execution. Scaffolds were set up, windows were pulled down, that people might behold him, Guards were set at each corner of the streets (the multitude thronging to see him) this Noble man passing along, where every Eye strove [215:EE4r] to out-stare each other, and every neck stretch'd to out-reach his forstanders<sup>80</sup> head; and every Ear listened to hear if he did speak, and every tongue moved with Inquiries, every minde was fill'd with expectation of the event, and every one as busie as a Judge to condemn him, or a Hangman to execute him; and those that profest most friendship to him in his prosperity, were his greatest enemies; upbraiding him with the name of Traytor, though truly, yet not seemly, from former profest friends, but he with a sloe pace, and a sad countenance habited in black went on, untill he came to the scaffold, then turning his face to the people, he thus spake.

I do not wonder to see so great a multitude, to be gathered together, to view the death of a single person; although death is common to every one, by which is as many severall ways to die, as Eyes to look thereat; yet beasts do not gather in troops, to see the

---

<sup>79</sup>*advertised*] notified, warned (*OED* v. 1 b).

<sup>80</sup>*forestanders*] the persons standing in front blocking the view.

execution of their kinde; but I wonder, men should change their opinion with the change of fortune, as if they did applaud her inconstancie, hating what she seemed to hate; and loving what she seemed to love: Calling them fools which she casts down, and those wise which she raises up, although it be without desert, for had I been prosperous in my Evil Intention, I should have had as many acclamations, as now I have accusations, called Wise, Valiant, Generous, Just, and all that prayse could honour me with. And not only called me so, but have thought me to have been so. But, O odd man, how singular art thou made, to have so much Ambition, as to desire the power of Gods, yet more foolish than beasts, and as ill natured, as Devills of Hell; for beasts follow the Lawes of Nature, but men followes their own Lawes, which make them more miserable than nature intended them to be. Beasts do not destroy themselves, nor make they Lawes to intangle themselves in the netts of long, and strong suites, but follow that which pleaseth them most. Unless men vex them, they weary not themselves, in unprofitable labours, nor vex their brain with vain phantasmes; they have no superstitious fear, nor vain curiositie, to seek after that, which when they have found, are never the better; nor strange opinions, to carry them from the truth; nor Rhetorick to perswade them out of the right way. And when beasts prey upon one another, it is out of meer hunger; not to make spoil, as man, who is so disorderly as that he strive; to destroy nature herself, and if they could pull *Jupiter* out of Heaven; But when we come to be destroyed by death, then we have a seeming Repentance, and flatter the Gods to have pittie on us; and though my nature is so bad, as being of mankinde, as that I may dissemble so nicely, as not to perceive it in my self, yet I hope, the Gods will have as much mercy on me, as I think I am truly sorrowfull for my fault. And then kneeling, thus said. O *Jupiter!* how should weak and evil men amongst themselves agree, When there have been quarrells in thy heavenly mansions? envying thy glorie, and ambitious of thy

power, conspiring against thee;<sup>81</sup> and since ambition hath been in Heaven, pardon it on Earth; [216:Ec4v] for it was not against thee, thou Maker; but against my fellow creature.

O Jupiter! Check thy Vice-gerent nature,<sup>82</sup> for making me of such an aspiring quality; *coveting* to be the chiefest on earth, for she might have made me Humble & Lowly, and not of so proud and haughty disposition; for it was in her power to have made me, in what temper she had pleased; I do not expostulate this out of a murmuring discontent, but to draw down thy pittie for my unhappie nature, that in a manner inforced me thereunto, but I submit, as thou hast commanded me; And am content to obey thy will; which content thou givest me, either to undergoe *Plutoe's* punishments, or to be annihilated, but if thy judgement may be diverted, send me to the blessed *Elizium*.

Then turning to the block, was executed; no sooner was his head off, but all his acquaintance, friends,<sup>83</sup> and kindred forgot him, as the living usuall doth to any that dye; And although most rejoyce at the fall of those that are most eminent, as if the chiefest ingredient of man were malice and spight, which produceth crueltie (yet when the multitude saw all was done) and that their greedy appetite was satisfied with blood, then a lasie and sleepe pittie seized on them, and with yawning wishes, would have him alive againe.

But King *Oberon* and Queen *Maab*, after the execution, giving order for his Quarters<sup>84</sup> to be set up on the gates of the City, rid to their Palaces in state, hoping they should have no more such traiterous Subjects to disturbe their peace. [217:Ff1r]

### *The eight Book.*

**I**N this following tale or discourse, my endeavor was to shew young Women the danger of travelling without their Parents, Husbands or particular friends to guard them; for

---

<sup>81</sup>An allusion to Revelations 12:7-9, in which Michael and his angels fight the devil and cast him from heaven.

<sup>82</sup>Nature here is Jupiter's vicegerent, and the speaker blames Nature for his character flaws.

<sup>83</sup>*friends*] friends.

<sup>84</sup>*Quarters*] The four parts into which a traitor's body was divided after he was executed (*OED* n. II 9 a).

though Vertue is a good guard: yet it doth not always protect their persons, without human assistance: for though Vertue guardes, yet youth and beauty betrayes,<sup>85</sup> and the treachery of the one, is more than the safety of the other: for oftentimes young beautifull and vertuous Women, if they wander alone, find but rude entertainment from the Masculine sex: as witness *Jacobs* daughter *Dinah*, which *Shechem*<sup>86</sup> forced. And others, whose inforcement mentioned in holy Scripture, and in histories of less Authority (sans number) which shews, that heaven doth not alwayes protect the persons of vertuous souls from rude violences: neither doth it always leave vertue destitute, but sometimes sends a human help, yet so, as ne- [218:Ff1v] ver, but where necessity was the cause of their dangers, and not ignorance, indiscretion, or curiosity: for Heaven never helpes but those that could not avoid the danger: besides, if they do avoid the dangers, they seldom avoid a scandall. For the world in many Causes judges according to what may be, and not according to what is, for they judge not according to truth, but shew; no not the heart, but the countenance, which is the cause that many a chast women hath a spotted reputation: but to conclude, I say, those are in particular favoured with Heaven, that are protected from violence and scandall, in a wandring life, or a travelling condition. [219:Ff2r]<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup>In 'Howe the mayde shal behave her selfe being abroad', chapter 12 of *A Verie Fruitfull and Pleasant Booke, Called the Instruction of a Christian Woman*, Vives discusses the danger a woman travelling alone faces: 'Forth she muste needes goe some times, but I woulde it shoulde be as seldome as may be, for many causes. Principally bycause as ofte as a mayde goeth forth among people, so often she commeth in judgement and extreame perill of her beautie, honestie, demurenes, witte, shamfastnes, and virtue' (p. 107). In *As You Like It*, Rosalind comments on the same problem: 'Alas, what danger will it be to us, / Maids as we are, to travel forth so far! / Beauty provoketh thieves sooner than gold' (I.iii.108-110).

<sup>86</sup>Genesis 34: Dinah travels out on her own 'to see the daughters of the land', and when Shecum spots her, he rapes her. The episode ends with Dinah's brothers, Simeon and Levi, killing all of the men of Shecum's city through trickery. Jacob, to protect his family from retribution, flees and eventually establishes Israel.

<sup>87</sup>Signature F2 in the copy text.

*Assaulted and pursued Chastity.*<sup>88</sup>

IN the Kingdom of Riches, after a long and sleepy Peace, over-grown with plenty and ease; Luxury broke out into factious sores, and feavorish ambition, into a plaguy<sup>89</sup> Rebellion; killing numbers with the sword of unjust War, which made many fly from that pestilent destruction into other Countryes, and those that stayed, sent their daughters and wives, from the fury of the inhumane multitude, chosing to venture their lives with the hazards of travells, rather than their Honours and Chastities, by staying at home, amongst rough and rude Souldiers; but in ten years Warrs, the ignorant vulgar, in the Schools of experience, being often whipt with misery, had learnt the lesson of Obedience, and peace that laid all the time in a swoond, revived to life, and Love, as the vitall spirits thereof, restored to their orderly motions, and Zeal, the fire of the publick heart, flamed anew, concocting the undigested<sup>90</sup> multitudes to a pure good government: And all those that fear, or care had banished, were invited and called home, by their naturall affections to their Country; a Lady amongst the rest inricht by nature; with vertue, Wit and Beauty: in her returning voyage, felt the spight of fortune, being cast by a storm, from the place she steered to: upon the Kingdom of sensuality, a place and people strange unto her; no sooner landed, but treacherie beset her; those she intrusted, left her: And her years being but few, had not gathered enough experience, to give her the best direction, thus knowing not how to dispose of herself, wanting means for support: Calling her young and tender thoughts to Counsell; at last they did agree, she should seek a service, and going to the chief City, which was not far from the Haven-town, with a Skipper whom she had intreated to go

---

<sup>88</sup>This prose romance has connections to Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. The cross-dressing female protagonist eventually marries the man she initially rejects. In an illuminating essay, Mihoko Suzuki tracks the parallels between Travalia, the heroine, and Viola and Desdemona from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and *Othello*, respectively. See Mihoko Suzuki, 'Gender, the Political Subject, and Dramatic Authorship', Romack and Fitzmaurice, pp. 103-120.

<sup>89</sup>*plaguy*] causing severe damage, as does a plague (*OED* adj. A 1 b).

<sup>90</sup>*concocting*] making ready (*OED* v. I) also digesting (*OED* v. II).  
*undigested*] confused (*OED* adj. 3 a).

along with her, who left her in a poor and mean house, to Chance, Time, and Fortune; where her Hostess seeing her handsome, was tempted by her poverty and covetousness, to consider her own profit more than her guest's safety; selling her to a Bawd, which used to marchandize; and trafficked to the Land of youth, for the riches of beauty. This old Bawd, having commerce with most Nations, could speak many Languages; And this Ladyes amongst the rest, That what with her Languages and her flattering words; she inticed this young Lady to live with her, and this old bawd (her supposed vertuous mistris) used her kindly, fed her daintily, clothed her finely; in so much as she began to think she was become the darling of fortune, yet she keeps her closely from the view of any, untill her best Customers came to the town, who were at that time in the Country.

The mean time her Mistris began to read her Lectures of Nature, telling her she should use her beauty whilst she had it, and not to wast her youth idly, but to make the best profit of both, to purchase pleasure and delight; besides, said she, nature hath [220:Ff2v] made nothing vainly, but to some usefull end; and nothing meerly for its self, but for a Common benefit and generall good, as Earth, Water, Aire and Fire, Sun, Moon, Starrs, Light, Heat, Cold and the like. So beauty with strength and appetites, either to delight her Creatures that are in being; or to the end, or ways to procure more by procreation; for nature only lives by survivors, and that cannot be without communication and society. Wherefore it is a sin against nature to be reserved and coy, and take heed, said she, of offending Nature, for she is a great and powerfull Goddess, transforming all things out of one shape into another, and those that serve her faithfully and according as she commandes, she puts them in an easie and delightfull forme; but those that displease her, she makes them to be a trouble, and torment to themselves; wherefore serve Nature, for she is the only and true Goddess; and not those that men call upon, as *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and a hundred more, that living men vainly offers unto; being only men and women which were Deified for Invention, and Heroick Actions: for these dead, though not forgotten Gods,



and Goddess, as they are called through a superstitious feare, and an Idolatrous Love to Ceremony, and an ignorant zeale to Antiquity, men fruitless pray unto; but nature is the only true Goddess and no other, Wherefore follow her directions, and you shall never do amiss, for we that are old said she, are Natures Priest's, and being long acquainted with her Lawes and Customes, do teach youth the best manner of ways to serve her in.

The young Lady being of a quick apprehension began to suspect some designe and treachery against her; and though her doubts begot great fears; yet her confidence of the Gods protection of Vertue gave her courage, and dissembling her discovery as well as she could for the present, gave her thanks for her counsell; but when she was gone, considering in what a dangerous condition she stood in; And that the Gods would not hear her, if she lasily called for help and watch'd for Miracles neglecting Naturall means; Whereupon she thought the best way was secretly to convey herself out of that place, and trust herself againe to chance; by reason there could not be more danger than where she was in; but those thoughts being quickly cut off; by reason she could find no possibility of an escape being strictly kept by the care of the old Baud, for fear she should give away that by inticement, which she meant to sell at a high rate, wherefore she was forced to content herself; And to satisfy her fears, with hopes of finding some meanes to be delivered from those dangers, praying to the Gods for their assistance to garde her from cruell Invaders of Chastity: but after two or three dayes, a subject Prince of that Country, which was a grand Monopolizer of young Virgins came to the town, which was the Metropolitan City of that Country, where as soone as he came, he sent for his Chief Officer the old Bawd to know of her how his Customers increased, which when she came, she told him she had a rich prize, [221:Fj3r] which she had seized on, and kept only for his use, telling him she was the rarest piece of Natures works, only saith she, she wants mature confidence; but time and heat of affection would ripen her to the height of boldness: so home she went to prepare for his coming, adorning her house with costly furniture, setting up a rich bed, as

an Altar to *Venus*, burning pleasant and sweet perfumes, as Incense to her Deity, before the sacrifice of Chastity, Youth and Beauty; And instead of Garlands, dress'd her with costly and rich Jewells, but the faire aspect of her beauty, her lovely features, exact proportion, gracefull behavior, with a sweet and modest countenance, was more adorned, thus by Natures dresse than those of Arts, but these preparations turned *Miseria*, for so she was called from doubts to a perfect believe of what she feared before; And not knowing how to avoid the shipwrack, she grew into a great passion, and disputing<sup>91</sup> in Controversies with her self, whether she should loose her Honour and live, or save her Honour and dye; dishonor she hated, and death she feared; the one she blusht at, the other she trembled at: but at last with much strugling, she got out of that Conflict, resolving to dye; for in death, said she, there is no paine; nor in a dishonorable life no content: but though death, says she, is Common to all; yet when it comes not in the ordinary wayes of Nature, there must be used violence by artificiall instruments: and in my condition there must be used Expedition; and considering what wayes to take, she bethought of a maid servant that used to make clean the rooms, and such kinde of works, to whom she had often talked as she was about her employments, and had gotten much of her affections, her she called and told her, that a wise Wizard had advised her, that ever on her birthday, she should shoot off a pistoll, and in so doing she should be happy, so long as she used the same custome; but if she neglected, she should be unfortunate, for by the shooting thereof, said she, I shall kill a whole year of evill from doing me hurt, but she told her withall, that it must be that day, and it must be a small one for fear of making a great noise, and done privatly for fear her mistris should know of it or any body els, for it will be of no effect, if above one know of it besides my self, The simple Wench easily believing what she said, was industrious to supply her wants, and in a short time brought her desires, which when she had got, her

---

<sup>91</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction blots out 'departing' and inserts 'disputing', p. 222. The change is noted on the errata list.

dejected spirits rose, with an overflowing joy. And setting down with a quiet minde, since before she could not stand nor set still; for her troubled, and rough thoughts drove her from one end of the roome to the other, like a Ship at Sea, that is not anchored nor ballasted, or with storme, tost from point to point, so Was she, but now with a constant wind of Resolution, she sailed evenly, although she knew not to what Coast she should be driven to: but after some expectation, in came the old Bawd and the Prince, who was so struck with her beauty, as he stood sometime to behold her: at last coming neere her, earnestly viewing her and asking her some light questions to which she answered briefly and wittily; [222:Ff3v] which took him so much as he had scarce patience to bargain with the old Bawd for her; but when they were agreed, the wicked Bawd left them to themselves; where he turning to the young Lady, told her that of all the Women that ever he met with, his senses were never so much delighted, for they had wedded his soul to admirations.

She answered, that if his Senses or her<sup>92</sup> Person did betray her to his Lust, she wished them all annihilated, or at least buried in Dust: but I hope, said she, by your noble and civil usage, you will give me cause to pray for you, and not to wish you Evil; for why should you rob me of that which Nature freely gave? and it is an Injustice to take the Goods from the right Owners without their consents; and an Injustice is an Act that all Noble Minds hate; and all Noble Minds usually dwell in Honourable Persons, such as you seem to be; and none but base or cruel Tyrants will lay unreasonable Commands, or require wicked Demands to the powerlesse, or vertuous.

Wherefore most Noble Sir, said she, shew your self a master of Passion, a King of Clemency, a God of Pity and Compassion, and prove not your self a beast to Appetite, a Tirant to Innocents, a Devill to Chastity, Vertue and Piety; and with that tears flowing from her eyes, as humble petitioners to beg her release from<sup>93</sup> his barbarous intention, but

---

<sup>92</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): The original word appears to be 'his' with 'her' handwritten over it, p. 223. The change is listed in the errata.

<sup>93</sup>[*rom*] 'frō' in copy-text.

he, by those teares, like drink, to those that are poisoned, growes more dry, so did his passions more violent, who told her no Rhetorick could alter his affections which when she heard and he ready to seize on her, she drew forth the pistoll, which she had concealed: bending her brows, with a resolute spirit told him she would stand upon her garde: For why said she, it is no sin to defend my self against an Obstinate and cruell enemy, and know said she, I am no wayes to be found, by wicked persons but in death; for whilst I live I will live in Honour, or when I kill or be kill'd I will kill or dye for security.

He for a time stood in amaze to see her in that posture, and to hear her high defiance, but considering with himself that her words might be more than her intentions, and that it was a shame to be out-dared by a woman, with a smiling countenance, said he, you threaten more Evill than you dare performe; besides, in the grave honour will be buried with you, when by your life you may build Palaces of pleasure and felicity; with that he went towards her to take away the pistoll from her. Stay, stay, said she, I will first build me a Temple of fame upon your grave, where all young Virgins shall come and offer at my Shrine, and in the midst of these words shot him; with that he fell to the ground, and the old Bawd, hearing a pistoll, came running in, where seeing the Prince lye all smeared in blood, and the young Lady as a marble Statue standing by, as if she had been fixt to that place, looking steadfastly upon her own Act, she running about the roome called out murther, murther, help, help, not knowing what to do; fear had so possest her, at last drew her knife, thinking to stab her, but the Prince forbid her, saying, he hoped he should live to give her, [223:F/4r] her due desert, which if the Gods grant, said he, I shall aske no more; so desiring to be laid upon the bed, untill the Chirurgions<sup>94</sup> came to dresse his wounds stenching the blood as well as they could, the meane time; but after the Chirurgion had searcht his wounds, he askt them whether they were mortall; they told him they were

---

<sup>94</sup>*Chirurgions*] Surgeons.

dangerous, and might prove so; but their hopes were not quite cut off with despaire of his recovery; but after his wounds were drest, he gave order for the young Lady to be lock't up close, that none might know there was such a creature in the house, nor to disclose how, or by what means he came hurt, then being put in his Litter, he was carried into his own house, which was a stately Palace in the City: the noise of his being wounded, was spread abroad, & every one inquiring how he came so, making severall tales & reports, as they fancied; but none knew the truth thereof; after some dayes his wounds began to mend, but his mind grew more distemper'd with the love of the fair Lady; yet loath he was to force that from her, she so valiantly had guarded, and kept: and to enjoy her lawfully he could not, because he was a married man, and had been so five years, for at the years of twenty by his parents perswasion, being a younger brother at that time, although afterwards he was left the first of his family by the death of his eldest brother: he married a widow, being noble and rich: but well sticken<sup>95</sup> in years, never bearing child, and thus being wedded more to interest than Love, was the cause of seeking those societies, which best pleased him, but after long conflicts and doubts; fears, hopes and jelousies, he resolved to remove her from that house, and to try to win her by gifts, and perswasions; and sending for a reverent Lady his Ant, whom he knew loved him, and told her the passage of all that had happened, and also his affection, praying her to take her privately from that place, and to conceale her secretly untill he was well recovered, intreating her also to use her with all civillity, and respect that could be, and going from him, she did all that he had desired her, removing her to a house of hers a mile from the City, and there kept her; The young Lady in the mean time, expecting nothing lesse than death, and was resolved to suffer as valiantly as she had acted; so casting off all care, only troubled she lived so idly; but the old Lady coming to see her, she prayed her to give her something to imploy her time on, for said

---

<sup>95</sup>*sticken*] stricken; advanced in age.

she, my brain hath not a sufficient stock to work upon it self; whereupon the old Lady asked her, if she would have some books to read in; she answered, yes, if they were good ones, or els, said she, they are like impertinent persons, that displease more by their vaine talke, than they delight with their company. Will you have some Romances, said the old Lady? She answered no, for they extoll vertue so much as begets an envy, in those that have it not, and know, they cannot attain unto that perfection: and they beat infirmities so cruelly, as it begets pittie, and by that a kind of love; besides their impossibilities makes them ridiculous to reason; and in youth they beget wanton desires, and amorous affections. What say you to naturall Phylo- [224:Ff4v] sophy, said she, she answered, they were meer opinions, and if there be any truthes said she, they are so buried under falshood, as they cannot be found out; will you have Morall Philosophy? no said she, for they divide the passions so nicely, and command with such severity as it is against nature, to follow them, and impossible to performe them. What think you of Logick? said she, answered she, they are nothing but Sophistry, making factious disputes, but concludes of nothing. Will you have History? no said she, for they are seldom writ in the time of Action, but a long time after, when truth is forgotten; but if they be writ at present, yet Partiality or Ambition, or fear bears too much sway, (said she) you shall have Divine books, no said she, they raise up such controversies, as they cannot be allayd againe, tormenting the minde about that they cannot know whil'st they live, and frights their consciences so as makes man afraid to dye; but said the young Lady, pray give me play-books, or Mathematicall ones, the first, said she discovers and expresses the humors and manners of men, by which I shall know my self and others the better, and in shorter time than experience can teach me, and in the latter, said she, I shall learn to demonstrate truth by reason, and to measure out my life by the rule of good actions, to set Ciphers<sup>6</sup> and Figures on those persons to whom I ought

---

<sup>6</sup>*Ciphers*] zeroes, which when placed after a whole number increase its value (*OED* n. 1 a). In *NP* 1671 (*Wing* N856) this phrase reads 'to set Marks and Figures', p. 408.

to be gratefull, to number my dayes by pious devotions, that I may be found weighty, when I am put in the scales of Gods Justice; besides said she, I learn all arts usefull & pleasant for the life of man, as Music, Architecture, Navigation, Fortification, Water-works, Fire-works, all engines, instruments, wheeles and many such like, which are usefull, besides, I shall learne to measure the earth, to reach the heavens, to number the Starrs; to know the Motions of the Planets, to divide time and to compass the whole world, the Mathematicks is a candle of truth, whereby I may peepe into the works of nature to imitate her in little therein, it comprises all that truth can challenge, all other books disturbe the life of man, this only settles it and composes it in sweet delight.<sup>97</sup>

Said the old Lady, by your beauty and discourse you seem to be of greater birth, and better breeding, than usually ordinary young maids have, and if it may not be offensive to you, pray give me leave to aske you from whence you came, and what you are, and how you came here, she sighing said, I was by an unfortunate war sent out of my Country with my Mother for safety, I being very young and the onely childe, my parents had; my Father being one of the greatest and noblest subjects in the Kingdome, and being employed in the Chief Command in that War, sent my Mother, not knowing what the issue would be, to the Kingdom of security, where he had been formerly sent as an Ambassador, so my mother and I, went to remain there, untill the trouble were over; but my Father being killed in the Wars, my Mother dyed for grief, and left me destitute of friends in a strange Country, only some few servants; but I hearing a Peace was concluded in the Kingdome, I was resolved to returne to my own native soil, to [225:Gg1r] seek after my Estate which my Father left me as his onely heir, and when I imbarked, I onely took two servants, a maide and a man, but by an unfortunate storme I was cast upon a shore belonging to this

---

<sup>97</sup>Cavendish generally speaks well of mathematics and mathematicians: See *The Philosophical and Physical Opinions*: 'Indeed the Mathematicks brings both profit and pleasure to the life of man, it gives just measure and equal weight, it makes all odd reckonings even, it sets all musical notes, it brings concord out of discord, it gives diminution and extention' (sig. a2r).

Kingdom, where after I was landed, my two servants most treacherously robb'd me of all my Jewells, and those moneys I had, and then most barbarously left me alone, where afterwards my Host sold me to an old Bawd, and she to one of her Customers, who sought to inforce me, where I, to defend my self shot him, but whether he be dead or alive I know not; afterwards I was brought hither, but by whose directions you I suppose can give a better account to your self than I; yet I cannot say, but since I came hither I have been civilly used, and courteously entertained by your self who seemes to be a person of worth, which makes my feares lesse, for I hope you will secure me from injuries, though not from death; And since you are pleased to inquire what I am, and from whence I came, I shall intreat the same return, to instruct me in the knowledge of your self, and why I was brought hither, and by whose order.

The old Lady said, she was sister to the Prince's Mother, and a tender lover of her Nephew; and to comply with his desires, she was brought there to be kept, untill he should dispose of her, then she told her what he was, but never mentioned the affection he had for her, but rather spoke as if her life were in danger. So taking her leave she left her, telling her she would send her such books as she desired. And thus passing some weeks, in the meane time the Prince recovered, resolving to visit this young Lady who had heard by his Aunt the relation of what she was, whose birth made him doubt she would not be so easily corrupted, as he hoped before, and she knowing his birth gave her more hopes of honourable usage, yet sitting in a studious posture with a sad countenance and heavy fixt eyes, accompanied with melancholy thoughts contemplating of her misfortunes past, with a serious consideration of the condition she stood in, advising with her Judgement for the future; In comes the Prince, she no sooner saw him, but she trembled for fear, remembering her past danger, and the trouble she was like to run through; but he with an humble behavior and civill respect, craved pardon for his former faults, promising her, that if she



would be pleased<sup>98</sup> to allow him her conversation, he would never inforce that from her which she was not willing to grant, for there was nothing in this world he held deerer than her company, and setting down by her, began to question her of Love, as whether she had ingaged her affection to any person of her own Country, or any where els, she told him no; which answer, being jealous before, imagining she might be so valliant as to wound him more for the sake of her Lover than out of a love to honour or reputation, received great content and joy, esteeming it the next happiness, that since she loved not him to love no other.

I wonder at your courage, said he, for usually your sex are so tender and fearfull, and so far from using instruments of death, [226:Gg1v] as swords, gunns, or the like, as they dare not look at them, but turn their head aside.

She answered, that necessity was a great Commandress, and thus discoursing some time, at last he took his leave untill the next day: but when he was gone, glad she was. O what a torment will this be, said she, to be affrighted every day with this ravenous Lion! but said she, I must get a spell against his fury, and not only against him but against all such like, which by her industry she got a subtile poison, which she put in a very small bladder, then she put that bladder of poison in a lock, which she fastened to her Arme, that when any occasion served, she might have ready to put in her mouth, which in great extremity she would use: for crushing it but betwixt her teeth, it would expell life suddenly.

The next morning the Prince sent her a present of all kindes of rich Persian silks, and tishues,<sup>99</sup> fine linnen and laces, and all manner of toyes which young Ladyes use to make them fine and gay. But she returned them with great thanks, bidding the bringer tell the Prince, that she did never receive a present, but what she was able to return with

---

<sup>98</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten mark blots out the 'd' in 'pleaded'; the resulting word is presumably 'pleased', p. 226. The errata list notes the word as 'pleased'.

<sup>99</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'Tissues', p. 412. 'A kind of cloth, often interwoven with gold or silver' (*OED* n. 1 a).

advantage, unless it were from those she had a neer relation, as parents and kindred, or the like; but he when he saw them returned, thought it was, because they were not rich enough, and sent her another present of Jewells of great value; which when she had viewed, she said, they were very rich, and costly: but returning them back, said she, I dare not trust my youth with the riches and vanities of the world, least they may prove bribes to corrupt my free and honest minde; wherefore tell the Prince, said she; I am not to be catcht with glorious baites, and so returned them back.

The Prince, when he saw he could fasten no gifts on her, was much troubled, yet hoped that time might work her to his desire; so went to visit her, where when he saw her, he told her he was very unfortunate, that not onely himself, but even his presents were hatefull; for he could guess at no other reason why she should refuse them, since they were neither unlawfull nor dishonourable to receive.

She answered, that the principles that she was taught, were, that gifts were both dangerous to give and take, from designing or covetous persons. He said he was unhappy, for by that, she would not receive Love, nor give Love; thus daily he visited her, and hourelly courted her, striving to insinuate himself into her favour by his person and services, as poudring, perfuming and rich clothing, although he was so personable and well favoured, with such store of eloquence, as might have perswaded both Eares and Eyes to have been advocates to a young heart and an unexperienced braine, his service was in observing her humour, his courtship was in praising her disposition, admiring her beauty, applauding her Wit, approving her Judgement, insomuch that at the last she did not dislike his company; and grew to that pass, as to be melancholy when he was gone, blush when he was [227:Gg2r] named, start at his approaching, sigh, weep, grew pale and distempered, yet perceived not, nor knew her disease; besides, she would look often in the glass, curle her haire finely; wash her face cleanly, set her clothes handsomely, mask her self from the Sun, not considering why she did so; but he, as all Lovers have Watchfull

eyes, observed she regarded her self more than she used to do, which made him more earnest for fear her passion should coole; protesting his Love, vowing his fidelity and secrecy, swearing his constancy to death; she said, that he might make all that good, but not the lawfulness; can you said she, make it no sin to God, no dishonour to my family, no infamy to my Sex, no breach in vertue, no wrong to honesty, no immodesty to my self?

He answered, it was lawfull by Nature.

Sir, said she, it is as impossible to corrupt me, as to corrupt Heaven; but were you free, I should willingly imbrace your love, in lawfull marriage;

He told her they were both young, and his wife old, almost ripe enough for death, sith<sup>100</sup> a little time more would cut her down; Wherefore, said he, let us enjoy our selves in the mean time, and when she is dead, we will marrie.

No, said she, I will not buy a husband at that deere rate, nor am I so evill, as to wish the death of the living for any advantage, unless they were enemies to vertue, innocencie, or Religion; but he was so importunate, as she seemed displeas'd, which he perceiving left off persisting, lest he might nip off the young and tender buds of her affection. But it chanced, not long after, there was a meeting of many Nobles at that feast, where healths to their mistrisses were drank round: where the Prince, who thought it a sin to love to neglect that institution, offered with great ceremony and devotion, for his mistrisses health, sprinkling the Altar of the brain with fume,<sup>101</sup> burning the incense of reason therein; after the feast was ended, he went to see his mistriss, whose beauty like Oyle set his spirits in a flame, which made his affection grow to an intemperate heat; whereat she became so afraid, as she puts the poison into her mouth, the Antidote of all evill, as she thought, then told him her intention; but he having more passion than doubt, would not believe her; which she perceiving, broke the bladder asunder betwixt her teeth,

---

<sup>100</sup>*sith*] 'since'. In NP 1671 (*Wing* N856), this word is deleted and replaced with 'and', p. 415.

<sup>101</sup>*fume*] a vapour, a bodily waste, rising from the stomach to the brain, the result of ingesting drinks containing alcohol (*OED* n. I 4).

and immediately fell down as dead; whereat he was so amazed as he had not power to stir for a time, but at last calling for help, the old Lady came to them, he telling her what she had done, as well as his fear would give him leave; the Lady having skill in Physick,<sup>102</sup> as most old Ladyes have, reading in her Herballs,<sup>103</sup> and such kinde of Books, gave her something to make her vomit up the poyson, whereat she weakly revived to life againe; but she was so very sicke, as almost cut off of all hopes of keeping that life; whereat he lamented, tearing his haire, beating his breast; cursing himself, praying & imploring his pardon and her forgiveness, promising & protesting never the like again, she returning no answer, but grones and sighs: But he [228:Gg2v] being a diligent servant, and much afflicted, watch'd by her, untill she mended by the Ladyes care and skill; when she was indifferent well recovered, she began to lament her ill condition and the danger she was in, imploying her thoughts how she might escape the snares of spightfull fortune, and gaine her friendship; where after some short time, finding opportunity to take Time by the forelock; the Prince being sent for to Court, and the old Lady being not well, whereby she had more liberty, and searching about the roome found a sute of clothes of the old Ladyes Pages, which sute she carried into her chamber, and privately hid it, then taking pen and ink, writ two letters; the one to the Prince, the other to the old Lady; so sealing the letters up, and writing their direction,<sup>104</sup> left them upon the table; then she straight stripped her self of her own clothes, which she flung in a black place with her haire that she had cut off; And putting the Pages clothes on, in this disguise she went towards the chief City, to which came an arme of the Sea up, making a large Haven for many Ships to lye at anchor in; but as soon as she came to the Sea side, there was a Ship just going off; which she seeing, got into it; her fears being so great, as not to consider, nor examin, whither they

---

<sup>102</sup>*Physicke*] medical healing (*OED* n. I 3 b).

<sup>103</sup>*Herballs*] treatises on plants and their properties (*OED* n. 1)

<sup>104</sup>*direction*] address (*OED* n. 6 c).

were bound; and they were so imployed, hoisting their sailes, and fitting their tacklings,<sup>105</sup> as they took no notice when she came in: but being gone three or four leagues from the shore, and all quiet, and free from labour; the master waking upon the Deck, seeing a handsome youth stand there in Pages clothes, askt him who he was, and how he came there. Said she, I do suppose, you are bound for the Kingdom of Riches, where I desire to go; but coming late, seeing every one busily imployed, I had no time to bargain for my passage; but I shall content you what in reason, you can require.

Said the master, we are not bound to that Kingdom; but are sent for new discoveries towards the South, neither have we provision for any more than those that are appointed to go; which when she heard, the tears flowed from her eyes, which became her so well, as moved the Master to pity and affection, then asking him what he was; she answered him, that she was a Gentlemans son, whom by the reason of Civill Warrs, was carried out of his own Country very young by his mother, and so related the truth of his being cast into that Kingdom, only she fained she was a youth, and had served a Lady as her Page; but desiring to return into his own Country, had mistaken and put himself into a wrong Vessell; but said she I perceive the fates are not willing I should see my Native Country, and friends; but I being young, travell, said she, may better my knowledge; and I shall not neglect any service I am able to do, or you are pleased to imploy me in, if you will accept thereof; at last her gracefull and humble demeanor, her modest countenance, and her well favoured face preferr'd<sup>106</sup> her to this masters service, who was a grave and a discreet man, who told her, as supposing her a boy, that since<sup>107</sup> was there, he would not cast him out, although, said he, it will be hard for me to keep you, yet you shall partake of what I have allowed for my self; [229:Gg3r]

---

<sup>105</sup>*tacklings*] ship's gear – sails, cables, ropes, etc.

<sup>106</sup>*preferr'd*] promoted, advanced (*OED* v. I 3).

<sup>107</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856) inserts the missing 'he', p. 419.

She giving him many thanks, said she would strive to deserve it. But after some weeks, the Master fell very sick; in which sickness she was so industrious to recover his health by her diligent attendance and care, as begot such affection in the old man, that he adopted him his son, having no children of his own, nor like to have, he being in years. But having sailed five or six months without any tempestuous winds, yet not without danger of rocks and shelves of sand, which they avoyded by their skill, and many times refreshed themselves in those Harbours they might put into, which made them hope a pleasant and prosperous Voyage.

But Fortune playing her usual tricks, to set men up on high hopes, and then cast them down to ruine, irritated the Gods against them, for their curiosity in searching too far into their works, which caused them to raise a great storm, making the Clouds and Seas to meet, Showers to beat them, Winds to toss them, Thunder to affright them, Lightning to amaze them, insomuch as they had neither strength to help themselves, nor sight to guide them, nor memory to direct them, nor courage to support them; the Anchor was lost, the Rudder was broke, the Masts were split, the Sails all torn, the Ship did leak, their hopes were gone;

*Nothing was left but black despair,  
And grim Death on their face to stare;  
for every gust of wind blew Death into their face,  
And every Billow digg'd their burial place.*

In this time of confusion, the Travellia<sup>108</sup> (for so now she called her self) followed close her old new Father, who had as many carefull thoughts, and as great a regard for her safety, as she of her self; and giving order to the Pilate that had lost his steerage, to cast over the Cock-boat,<sup>109</sup> which no sooner done, but a gust of wind drave them on a Rock that split the Ship; which as soon as he perceived, he took his beloved and supposed Boy,

---

<sup>108</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten note changes 'Traveller' to 'Travellia', p. 230. The errata list notes the change but spells the name with only one 'l'.

<sup>109</sup>*Cock-boat*] 'a small ship's-boat' (*OED* n.).

and put him in with himself and the Pilate into the Boat, cutting that Cable, and imploring the favour of the Gods, committing themselves to the Fates, setting up a little Sail for the wind to carry them which way it pleased. No sooner put off, but the Ship and all therein sunk: but the Gods favouring the young Lady for her virtue, tyed up the strong winds again into their several corners: After which they sailing six dayes, at last were thrust through a Point<sup>110</sup> into a large River, which for the greatness might be called a large Sea; for though it was fresh water, yet it was of that longitude and latitude, that they could not perceive land for four dayes together; but at the last they espyed land, and coming nigh, they perceived a multitude of people, which when they came to the shore affrighted each other, for those on the land never saw any Bark or the like swim upon the water, for they had that propriety to swim naturally like Fishes; Nor they in the Boat never saw [230:Gg3v] such complection'd men, for they were not black like Negroes, nor tauny, nor olive, nor ash-colour'd, as many are, but of a deep purple, their hair as white as milk, and like wool; their lips thin, their ears long, their noses flat, yet sharp, their teeth and nails as black as jet, and as shining; their stature tall, and their proportion big; their bodies were all naked, onely from their waste down to their twist<sup>111</sup> was there brought through their legs up to the wast again, and tyed with a knot; 'twas a thin kinde of stuff, which was made of the barks of trees, yet looked as fine as silk, and as soft; the men carried long darts in their hands, spear-fashion, so hard and smooth, as it seemed like metal, but made of Whales bones. But when they landed, the people came so thick about them, as almost smothered them. But the grave and chief of them, which seemed like their Priests, sent them straight to their chief Governors of those parts, as their custome was, as it seemed to them afterwards; for all that was strange or rare was usually presented to their Chiefs, so that they staid not so long as to see the Ceremony of that Sacrifice they were offering, onely they perceived it was a

---

<sup>110</sup>*Point*] a promontory; a piece of land jutting out to sea (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> II 22 a).

<sup>111</sup>*twist*] 'the junction of the thighs' (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> I 3 a).

Sacrifice of Fish to some Sea-god; and then setting them on a Creature half fish, half flesh, for it was in shape like a Calf, but a tail like a Fish, a horn like a Unicorn which lives in the River, but yet would lye upon the Sands in great herds or shoals, as Seils do, so as they might take for their use at any time, without the trouble of keeping them up, for they were tame and gentle of themselves.

But thus riding along the Sand two or three Leagues to the Governours House, for all along those Sands onely upon a bank were houses all in a row built with Fishes bones, which bones were laid with great art, and in fine works, and so close as stone or brick; the tops of these houses were scales of Fishes laid like tile or slat; these scales glistred so in the Sun, as they looked some wayes like Silver, other wayes like Rain-bows, in all manner of colours.

When the Governour had viewed them, he sent them with other Messengers, but on the same Beasts, to the next Governour; and thus they riding upon the Sands for some dayes, their food being broiled Fish, but broiled upon the hot Sands, for there was no other food but Fish and Water-fowls, whereof they had great store, but yet of strange kinds to those strangers view, for there was no pasture, nor any thing like green.

At last they came to a place, which seemed like a Forrest, for there were a number of bodies of trees, but having neither branches nor leaves, and yet the bodies of those trees, if one may call them so, having no branches, were so big as to hold a Family of twenty, or more of the Governours house, for so they serve, for their house was as big as four other; and the bark of those trees, or indeed the wood of the tree quite through, were as all manner of flowers both for colour, shape, and scent, painted and set by nature in the wood; as when the wood was cut one way, flowers were all perfect in shape, but cut another way, and they [231:Gg4r] seemed like flowers shedded from the stalks; and this wood was so sweet as all the Forrest smelt thereof.



After the Governour of this place had viewed them, he set them on other Beasts, and sent them by other Messengers; where leaving their fleshy fishy Beasts which run back again to the place they were taken from: But those they rid after, were like a Stag in the body, which was as big as a Horse, black as a coal, a tail like a Dog, horns like a Ram, tipped with green like buds of trees, as swift as a Roe: And thus riding untill they came to another Forrest, where all the Trees were very high and broad, whose leaves were shadowed with several greens, lighter and darker, as if they were painted, and many Birds of strange colours and shapes; some Birds had wings like Flyes; beaks, bodies and legs like other Birds; some the bodies like Squerils, but had feather'd wings: there was one, a very fine kinde of Bird in shape, both for beak, head, body and legs, like a Parrot, but in stead of feathers, it was covered with hair like Beasts, which hairs were of the colour of Parrots feathers, and the wings like Bats wings, streakt like a Rainbow; the eyes looked as yellow as the Sun, and sent forth a kinde of a light like to small rayes of the Sun; in the midst of the forehead it had a small horn, which grew winding and sharp at the end like a needle: this Bird did mount like a Hawk in Circle, and after would fly down at other Birds as they do; but in stead of tallons, that horn struck them dead, for with its horn it would thrust them into their bodies, and so bear their bodies upon their horn, and fly some certain lengths as in triumphs, and then would light and eat it.

Some Birds no bigger than the smallest Flyes there were, yet all feather'd; besides, there were many sorts of Beasts, for some had beaks like Birds, and feathers in stead of hair, but no wings, and their bodies like a Sheep. There was one kinde of Beast in the shape of a Camel, and the neck as white as a Swan, and all the head and face white, onely a lock of hair on the top of his crown of all manner of colours; the hair of his body was of a perfect gold yellow, his tail like his fore-top, but it would often turn up like a Peacocks tail, and spread it as broad; and the hairs being of all several colours, made a most glorious shew, the legs and feet of the colour of the body, but the hoofs as black as jet.

At last, they were carried to another Governour who lived in a Town, whose House was built with Spices; the roof and beams as big as any house need to have, made of Cynamon, and the walls were plastered with the flakes of Mace, which flakes were a foot square; the planches<sup>112</sup> were cut thick, like bricks, or square marble peices, out of nutmegs; the long planches out of Ginger, for their nutmegs and races<sup>113</sup> of Ginger were as great as men could carry; the House was covered on the top, some with Pomegranats rines, others of Oranges and Citrons, but the Pomegranats last the longer, but the other smelt the sweeter, and looked the more pleasanter to the eye; they never have rain there, nor in any part of the Kingdome, for the air is alwayes serene and clear; [232:Gg4v] nor no higher winds than what fans the heat; their exercise was hunting, where the women hunted the females, the men the males.

But as they went to the Governour, all the people run about to see them, wondring at them, viewing them round: But the Governour seemed to admire the Youth much, but durst not keep him, being against the Custome, but sent them straight towards their chief City where their King was; whereafter some dayes riding, came out of the Forrest into great Plains and Champains, which were cover'd with a sea green and willow-colour'd grass, and some meadows were covered with perfect shadows of all manner of sorts of greens. But as they drew near the City, there were great quarries of Chrystal, as we have of Stone. But when they came up to the City, all about without the walls were Orchards, and Root gardens, where there grew Roots as sweet, as if they were preserved, and some all juicy; most of their Fruits grew in shels like Nuts, but most delicious to the tast; but their shels were like a Net or Caule,<sup>114</sup> that all the Fruit was seen through, and some kinde of Fruits as big as ones head, but some were no bigger than ours, others very small; there never fell rain, but dewes to refresh them, which dewes fell upon the earth, every night they

---

<sup>112</sup>*planches*] planks (OED n. 1).

<sup>113</sup>*Races*] roots (OED n.2).

<sup>114</sup>*Caule*] an ornamented, close-fitting net cap for women (OED n.<sup>1</sup> 1 a).

fell like flakes of snow; and when they were upon the earth, they melted; and those flakes to the tast were like double refined sugar.

At last, they entred the City, which City was walled about with Chrystal, and all their houses thereof, which houses were built both high and large, and before the house were arched walks set upon great pillars of Chrystal; through the midst of the street run a stream of golden sands, and cross the stream were little silver bridges to pass and repass over to each side of the street; on each side of this stream grows rows of trees, which trees were about the height of Cypress trees, but instead of green leaves, upon every stalk grew a several sweet flower, which smelt so sweet, that when Zephyrus blew, for they never had higher<sup>115</sup> winds, they gave so strong a scent, that to those that were not used to them, did almost suffocate their spirits.

The Kings Palace stood in the midst of the City, higher than all the other houses; the outward wall was Chrystal, cut all in triangulars, which presented millions of forms from one object; and all the ridge of the wall was all pointed Chrystals, which points cutting and dividing the beams of the Sun so small, as the wall did not onely look sparkling, but like a flaming hoop or ring of fire, by reason the wall went round. To this wall were four open passages, arched like gates; from those passages went walks, and on each side of these walks were trees, the barks thereof shadowed with hair colour, and as smooth as glass, the leaves of a perfect grass-green, for that is very rare to have in that Country, Nature hath there so intermix'd several colours made by light on several grounds or bodies of things; and on those trees birds do so delight therein, that they are alwayes full of birds, every tree [233:Hb1r] having a several Choir by it self, which Birds do sing such perfect notes, and keep so just a time, that they do make a most ravishing melody; besides, the variety of their tunes are such, that one would think Nature did set them new every day. These walks leade

---

<sup>115</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten note alters 'high' to 'higher', p. 233. The change appears on the list of errata.

to another Court, which was walled about with Agats, carved with all Imagery, and upon the ridge of the wall were such Agats chose out as most resemble the eyes, for in some Agats their colours are naturally mix'd, and lye in such circles as eyes, these seem as if so many Centinels lay looking and watching round about. From this wall went a walk, where on each sides were Beasts cut artificially to the life out of several colour'd stones, according as those Beasts were they were to resemble. This walk leads to another Court, which was not walled, but rather railed with white and red Cornelians; these rails were cut spear-fashion. From the rails went onely a plain walk paved with gold, which went straight to the Palace; this Palace standing on a little Mount, whereto went up a pair of stairs; the stairs went round about the house, ascending by degrees on steps, which steps were of Amber, leading up to a large and wide door; the frontispiece therof was Turkey stones<sup>116</sup> curiously carved in so small works, as if it had been engraven; the Palace wals were all pure Porcelline, and very thick and strong, yet very clear; it was all roofed or covered with Jet,<sup>117</sup> & also paved with the same, so that the black Jet was set forth by the white Porcelline, and the white Porcelline seemed whiter by the blackness of the Jet; their windows were onely arched holes to let in Air. Then in the midst of the Palace was a large room like a little enclosed meadow, where in the midst of that room ran a spring of clear water, where the King bathed himself therein. Also, there were brave<sup>118</sup> Gardens of all sorts of Flowers, where in the midst was a Rock of *Ammittisis*,<sup>119</sup> and artificial Nymphs cut out to the life of mother Pearl,<sup>120</sup> and little Brooks winding and streaming about of golden sands; the wonder was, that although there were many Mines in that Kingdome, yet it was very fertile.

At last, they were brought to the Kings presence, who was laid upon a Carpet made of Thistle-doun, with great attendance about him: but he, and all those of the Royal Blood,

---

<sup>116</sup>*Turkey stones*] turquoise (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 2 a).

<sup>117</sup>*Jet*] black semi-precious brown coal that can be polished to a brilliant shine (*OED* n.<sup>2</sup> A 1a).

<sup>118</sup>*brave*] splendid, showy, excellent (*OED* adj. A 2 and 3 b).

<sup>119</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'Amethysts', p. 429.

<sup>120</sup>*artificial* . . . *Pearl*] life-like nymphs sculpted of mother pearl.

were of a different colour from the rest of the people, they were of a perfect Orange colour,<sup>121</sup> their hair coal black, their teeth and nails as white as milk, of a very great height, yet well shaped.

But when the King saw them, he wondred at them; first, at the old Mans beard, for they have none; the next, at their habit, which were Seamans cloaths; but above all, at the Youth, who looked handsome in despight of his poor and dirty garments; at last, he would have their cloaths pull'd off: But no sooner did they come to execute their command: but *Travelia* was so affrighted, that he fell down in a swound; those that touched him started back when they saw him dead; but the old Man bending him forward, brought him to life again: whereupon they straight thought that their touching him killed him, and that the old Man [234:Hb1v] had power to restore life, which made them afraid to touch them any more; for that disease of swoounding<sup>122</sup> was not known to them; then were their Priests and Wizards called for, to know from whence they came, and what should be done with them, which Priests were only known from the rest of the people, by a tuft of hair growing just upon the crown of the head, and all the head els had no hair, where other Priests are onely balde upon the crown,<sup>123</sup> the King and they fell into great dispute.

The King pleaded hard to keep the youth, but at last the priest had the better, as most commonly they have in all Religions, and so carried them away, and kept them a twelve month, but never dared touch them, for fear they should dye, because *Travelia* swoounded, but they beckned and pointed to them, they gave them ease, not imploying them to any labour, and fed them daintily of what they could eat; for some meats they could not eat, as mans flesh, for they had a custome in that Country, to keep great store of slaves, both males and females, to breed on, as we do breed flocks of sheepe, and other

---

<sup>121</sup>In the *The Blazing World and Other Writings* (ed. by Kate Lilley), Cavendish also features orange complexioned characters. In this case, however, they are not royalty (p. 133).

<sup>122</sup>[*swoounding*] fainting disease (*OED* n. derivative of *swoound* v.).

<sup>123</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): After 'crown', the phrase 'and all the head' is blotted out, p. 235. This change is not noted in the errata.

cattle; the children were eaten as we do Lambes or Veal, for young and tender meat; the elder for Beef or Mutton, as stronger meat; they kill five males for one female, for fear of destroying the breed, although they were so fruitfull: they never bear less than two at a birth; and many times three, and they seldome leave Child-bearing, untill they are threescore years old, for they usually live there untill they are eight score, and sometimes 200. years, but the ordinary age is a hundred, unless plagues come; but not out of sluttery, or evill, or corrupt aire, but with too much nourishment, by reason of their delicious diet, which breeds such a superfluity of humors, that it corrupts their blood; as for their houses, they are kept very cleanly, by reason they never eat in them, for their custome was to eat altogether in common Halls, as the *Lacedemonians*<sup>124</sup> did, onely they had better cheere and more libertie; likewise their women were common to every ones use, unless it were those women of the Royall blood, which is a sort by themselves, as was described before, and therefore never mixt with the rest; but if they did, and were known, it was death; these of the Royall blood all their skinns were wrought, like the Britons.<sup>125</sup> As for their government, it was Tyrannical, for all the common people were slaves to the Royall.

But to returne to the old man, observing how carefull and choice they keep him, he told his son what he thought was their intentions, which was to sacrifice them, and said he, there is no way to escape, unless we had their language, and could make them believe we came from the Gods; and that the Gods would punish them, if they put them to death, and you are young, said he, and apt to learn; but I am old, and my memory decayed; wherefore now study for your life or never.

Well, said he, since my life lyes in my learning, I will learn for my life, which he did so well, that he got in that twelve month their language, so perfect as he understood, and

---

<sup>124</sup>[*Lacedemonians*] Spartans.

<sup>125</sup>A number of early writers, including Caesar, Ovid, and Pliny, reference the wrought skin of the ancient Britons, who used a blue dye to stain and tattoo their bodies. See Gillian Carr, 'Woad, Tattooing and Identity in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 24.3 (August, 2005), pp. 273-292.

could [235:Hh2r] speak most of it, in which time he understood all that I have delivered to the Reader, and besides understood that they had many Gods, and Goddesses.

The Sunne was their chief God, and the Earth the chief Goddesses; their next God was the Sea, and their Goddesses the Moon, and they prayed to the Starrs, as some do to Saints, to speak in their behalf, and to present their prayer to the Sun and Moon, which they thought to be as man and wife, and the Starrs their children; to their Gods, they offered none but the males, and those offerings were offered by men; and the men prayed only to the Gods; and to their Goddesses none but the women; nor none but female offerings were offered unto them: at last by their discourse and preparation, they perceiv'd they were to be sacrificed to the Sun, as being both males, as they thought, and with great ceremony, as being strangers, and such Rarities,<sup>126</sup> yet they did not touch *Travelia*, as supposing, if they should, he would dye before he was brought to the place of Sacrifices; yet in all this time he never disclosed that he could speak their language, nor to understand them; but in this time the old man had got some Saltpeeter,<sup>127</sup> and burnt wood into Charcole, so made Gun-powder, for they had the liberty to go where they would about their Temples, and after he had made the Gun-powder, he made two things like pistolls, although not so curious and neat, yet well enough to serve his turn, and directed his son what he should do and say; Whereupon against that day he made himself a garment of a grass which was like to green silke, and with the same he had woven it so finely, as it look'd like Satin, also the calves of his leggs like buskins were severall coloured flowers, and a garland of flowers on his head, the soles of his Sandales were of that green; but the stripes atop was of flowers like his buskins; in each hand he held the two pistolls; his hair which was grown in that time, for he never discovered<sup>128</sup> it, keeping it tyed up, untyed it, and that

---

<sup>126</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction blots out 'varieties' and inserts 'rarities', p. 236. The change is noted in the errata list.

<sup>127</sup>*Saltpeeter*] potassium nitrate, a white crystalline powder used to make gunpowder (*OED* n. 1 a).

<sup>128</sup>*discovered*] exposed (*OED* v. I 4 a and II 9 a).

day let it down, which spread upon his back, but when the Priest which came to fetch him forth, saw him thus drest, never seeing hair before, for they had none but wooll, and very short as Nigers<sup>129</sup> have, was amazed at the sight; and not daring to touch him, went by him as guarding him, as the chief Sacrifice to the place, where the King and all his Tribe, and all his people waiting for their coming, the King being placed at the head of the Altar with a dart in his right hand, the spear of the dart being an entire Diamond, cut with a sharp point, to signify the piercing beams of the Sun, which spear, he usually strook into the heart of the sacrificed; which heart the Priest used to cut out, and gave the King to eat raw, the whil'st the Priest song<sup>130</sup> songs in the praise of the Sun, as the Father of all things; Thus after some expectations the Priest came with their Sacrifices, which when the King and people saw, they were all amazed, as well they might; for he appear'd most beautifull; but at last they all shouted, and cryed out, their Gods had beautified and adorned their Sacrifices, as being well pleased therewith, making great shouts and noises of [236:Hh2v] joy; but when he came to the Altar he call'd to them, in their own language, at which they grew mute with wonder, and being all silent, he thus spake.

#### THE SPEECH.

*O King, and you Spectators, why do you offend the Gods, in destroying their Messengers; which comes to bring you life, and to make you happy; had I brought you plagues, then you might have sacrificed me unto your God of Lights, as coming from Death and Darkness, his enemies; but for this your false devotion, the great Sun, saith he, will destroy you with one of his small Thunder-bolts, killing first your Priest and then the rest. With that shot off his pistoll into the breast of the chief Priest, wherewith he straight fell down dead; the noise of the pistoll, and the flash of the fire, which they never saw before, and the effect of it upon the Priest, strooke them with such a horror, and did so terrify them, as they all kneeled down imploring mercy, and*

---

<sup>129</sup>[Nigers] Africans.

<sup>130</sup>[song] sang.



forgiveness, with trembling limbs, and weeping eyes, whereupon he told them, there was no ways to avoid punishment, but first to fast two dayes from any kinde of nourishment; Next, not to open their lipps to speak, and then to obey whatsoever he shall teach them, as being sent from the Gods; bidding them go home untill their time of fasting were out; and then to return to the Temple again, commanding none to remain there, but to leave it to the old man, and he. Which Temple was most rich and curiously built, having in that Countrey great Art and Skill, in Architecture.

Whereupon, the King and all the people, rising up, bowing their heads down low, as in humble obedience to his<sup>131</sup> commands, praying to him as a God to divert the punishments intended to them, and in sorrow, as lamenting their fault went home, each to his house, sealing up their lipps for such a time, from receiving meat, or sending forth Words; in the mean time the old man and he had leasure, to bethink themselves what to do, having at that time the Temple as a Palace to live in, none to disturbe them, nor to hinder their thoughts from working out their advantage, and sitting in Councell a long time, disputing with each other, what was best to do, at last resolved the old man should go to the King as sent from the Gods, to bid him send a command to all his people to eat such hearbs, as a sallet, drinking their water without mixture just before they came, for els, said the old man, their hunger will make them impatient, or so dull, as it may stop their ears, by the faintness of their spirits, caused by their empty stomacks, and too much said he, makes them furious, sending up malignant vapours to their braines, which may cause our ruins; but after he had been with the King, he returned back to the Temple again, and the King obeyed his desire, as a Command from the Gods, and brought the people all to the Temple, where after they were all gathered together, *Travelia* advanced himself so much higher than the rest, as they might hear him round about. [237:Hb3r]

---

<sup>131</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): The errata list inserts 'his', but the correction is not indicated in the text. For clarity, it has been inserted.

Then thus spake.

*Pious friends, for so I may call you, being willing to please the Gods; but your ignorance hath lead you<sup>132</sup> wrong ways; yet the Gods seeing your zeal, though through a false devotion, pitying your ignorance did by their wisdom find means to appease the wrath of their Justice, for every Attribute of the Gods must have a satisfaction; for Right is their Kingdom, and Truth is their Scepter, wherewith they governe all their Works; but the Gods hath strowed<sup>133</sup> Lotts amongst mankinde of moveable things which Chance gathers up, and Chance being blind<sup>134</sup> mistakes both in the gathering and distributing: now the Gods made this chance by their providence when they made man, for man hath no more knowledge of the transitory things of the world, than what chance gives them, who is an unjust distributor, For all externall gifts comes from her hand, which for want of sight, she gives oft times, the beggers lot to the King, the servants to the masters, the masters to the servants: and for the internall gifts which the Gods have bestowed on men, are different, as the externall are transitory; for some are neerer to perfection, some farther off: yet none have perfect knowledge, for the Gods mix mans nature with such an aspiring ambition; that if they had a perfect knowledge of the glory of the Gods, and a perfect knowledge of the first cause; and the effects produced there from, they would have warr'd with the Gods, and have strove to usurp their authority, so busie and vain-glorious hath the Gods made the minds of men. Wherefore the Gods governe the world by ignorance: and though the goodness of the Gods are great, yet their goodness is bound in with their Justice, which is attended with terrours,<sup>135</sup> to punish the Crimes of men: And even to punish the innocent errors that proceed from that ignorance, which they have muzzled man withall; but as their power made the World; their Wisdom rules the World; their Justice punishes the World: so their Mercy keeps the World from destruction, and their love, not only saves man; but prefers man to a glorious happiness. And some of this Love the Gods have sent to you, although by your ignorance you had almost cast it from you. And since the Gods have*

---

<sup>132</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction inserts 'you', p. 238. The correction is noted on the errata list.

<sup>133</sup>*strowed*] past tense of 'strew' (*OED* v.)

<sup>134</sup>A reference to Fortuna, the goddess of chance or luck (Hornblower and Spawforth). She is often presented as blindfolded.

<sup>135</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction blots out 'tears' and inserts 'terrous', p. 238. The errata gives the word as 'terrous'.

*sent you knowledge by us, take hold of it: and not willingly fall into your superstitious Errors, although it is a difficult paines, even for the Gods themselves to perswade man, who is of a crosse, suspitious, inquisitive, and murmuring nature, accusing the Gods for partiality, saying, they prefer or cast out whom they please, not as man deserves; thus they Judge of the Gods, by their own passions, but the Gods by variations are pleased to continue the World, and by contradiction do govern it, by simpathy delights it, For delight lives not altogether in the power of Chance; being created in the Essence and Soul of man, for though Chance can present those things which Antipathies, or Sympathies, to the senses which presents them to the soul, yet it hath not the power to rule it: For the Soul is a kind of God in it self; to direct and guide those things that are inferior to it; to perceive and descry into those things that are [238:Hh3v] far above it, to create by invention, to delight in contemplations; and though it hath not an absolute power over it self, yet it is a harmonious and absolute thing in it self; and though it is not a God from all eternity, yet it is a kinde of Deity to all eternity, for it shall never dye; and though the body hath a relation to it, yet no otherwise than the mansion of Jove hath unto Jove; the Body is onely the residing place, and the Sensitive Spirits are as the Souls Angels, or Messengers and Intelligencers; so the Souls of Men are to the Gods as the Sensitive Spirits to the Soul; and will you dislodge the Sensitive Spirits of the Gods, by the destroying and unbuilding each others Body by violent deaths, before it be the Gods pleasure to dissolve that Body, and so to remove the Soul to a new Mansion? And though it is not every Creature that hath that Soul, but onely Man, for Beasts have none, nor every Man, for most Men are Beasts, onely the Sensitive Spirits and the Shape may be, but not the Soul; yet none know when the Soul is out or in, but the Gods; and not onely other Bodies may not know it, but the same Body be ignorant thereof.*

*For the Soul is as invisible to the Sensitive Spirits, as the Gods to Men; for though the Soul knows and hath intelligence by the Sensitive Spirits, yet the Sensitive have none from the Soul; for as Gods know Men, but Men know not Gods, so the Soul knoweth the Senses, but the Senses know not the Soul; wherefore you must seek all the wayes to preserve one another, as Temples of the Gods, not to destroy and pull them down; for whosoever doth so, commits sacriledge against the Gods; wherefore none must dye, but those that kill, or would kill others, Death must be repaid with death, saith Jove, and onely death is in*

*the power of man to call when they please, but life is in the power of the Gods, and those that displease the Gods shall have a miserable life, not onely in the bodily part, which is sensible of pain, and may be tormented out of one shape into another, and be perpetually dying or killing with all manner of torments, and yet never dye; as in the shape of a Man, feels stabs in the sides, or the like; in the shape of a Bull, knocks on his head, or the like; in the shape of a Hart, Arrows in the haunch, or the like; in the shape of a Fish, Hooks tearing the jaws, besides all manner of diseases and infirmities; thus burning, hanging, drowning, smothering, pressing, freezing, rotting, and thousands of these kinds, nay, more than can be reckoned, may suffer: thus several Bodies, though but one Minde, may be troubled in every Shape.*

*But those that please the Gods, live easy in every Shape, and dye quietly and peaceably; or when the Gods do change their Shapes or Mansions, 'tis for the better, either for ease or newness.*

*Thus have the Gods sent us to instruct you, and to stay so long amongst you as you can learn and know their commands; then to return unto them.*

With that, the King and People bowed their faces to the ground, adoring him as a God, and would have built Altars, and offered Sacrifices unto him; but he forbade them, telling them they must build Altars in their hearts of repenting, humbling, and [239:Hb4r] amending thoughts, and offer Sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving to the great and incomprehensible *Jove*, and not Altars built with hands unto Men, nor to offer inhumane Sacrifices to Gods of their own making.

Thus preaching every day for some time, forbidding vain and barbarous Customes, and inhumane Ceremonies, teaching and perswading them to believe the Gods were not to be known nor comprehended, and that all that they have discovered of themselves to their Creatures, was onely by their Works, in which they should praise them: for and by which Doctrine they were brought to be a civilized People, and approved of their Teacher so well, that they would do nothing concerning Religion, or any other Affairs of Government without them; and being dismiss for that time departed, leaving them to themselves in the Temple. But at certain and set times the King and People repaired thither

to hear him preach, who taught them according to his belief; and whensoever they moved out of the Temple, all the People flocked about them with acclamations of joy; and whensoever the King sent for them, as he often did for their counsels, all the Princes attended, and People waited upon them, and thus they lived with great splendour, love and admiration amongst them; their persons were thought divine, their words were laws, and their actions examples, which they kept, and the People followed.

Thus for a while we leave them, and return to the old Lady and the Prince.

The old Lady sending into *Affectionata's*<sup>136</sup> Chamber (as then called) for so she named her self there, to intreat her company, for therein she took so great delight, she being witty in her conversation, and pleasing in her humour: But the Messenger bringing his errand, miss'd of the mark, looking about, and calling aloud, could neither hear nor see her; so returning to the old Lady, she was not to be found; whereat she grew into a great passion, not onely for her loss, which she thought great, since her love to her, and esteem of her, was not small, which she had for her: but that she apprehended the Prince would think that she had neglected that charge he had entrusted her with.

But whil'st she was in this passion, the Prince came in, who had been in the young Ladies chamber, but missing her, thought she had been there: but seeing her not, and the old Lady weeping, straight asked her for his Mistris; but she through tears and sobs could not answer; whereupon some about her answered, she was gone none could tell where: At whose words, the Prince's countenance and complexion exprest his grief, the one being

---

<sup>136</sup>Lady Orphant, the cross-dressing protagonist in Cavendish's play *Loves Adventures*, also takes the name 'Affectionata'. Suzuki characterizes Lady Orphant as 'actively and strategically [choosing] her disguise to pursue her love for Lord Singularity' ('Gender, the Political Subject, and Dramatic Authorship', Romack and Fitzmaurice, p. 108). Arbella Stuart, like Lady Orphant, actively sought out a relationship with a lover. She married William Seymour without permission from King James I and was subsequently arrested. She later plotted an escape during which, to avoid capture, she disguised herself as a man. In a letter dated 8<sup>th</sup> June 1611, a Mr. John More writes to Sir Ralph Winwood about 'Lady *Arabella's* and Mr. *Seimour's* Flight', saying, she [disguised] her selfe by drawing a pair of great French-fashioned Hose over her Petticotes, putting on a Man's doublet, a man-lyke Perruque with long Locks over her Hair, a blacke Hat, black Cloake, russet Bootes with red Tops, and a Rapier by her Syde' (Edmund Sawyer, ed., *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I*, vol. 3, collected from the original papers of Sir Ralph Winwood (London: W. B., 1725).

sad, the other pale, standing in a fix'd posture, his body seeming like a statue which his soul had left, being gone to seek after her: But at last, as if it had returned in despair, grew frantick with grief, tearing himself, cursing his misfortunes: At last, goeth into her chamber, looking in every corner, even where she could not be, as much as where she might be; for Lovers leave no place nor [240:Hb4v] means unsought or untryed. At last, he espyed a Letter upon the table directed to the Lady, which he opened, considering not the incivility of breakng up the seal without the Ladies leave, for jealous Lovers break all such ceremonies; and thus read;

Madam,

**P***Ray think me not ungratefull after all your noble favours, that I go away without your leave or knowledge; for could I have staid with security, nothing but your commands could have forced me from you; or could my life have served you, I would have offered it as a Sacrifice to obligation: but Madam, it is too dangerous for a Lamb to live near a Lyon; for your Nephew is of so hungry an appetite, that I dare not stay, which makes me seek safety in some other place: but when my thoughts forget your honourable memory, let them cease to think. The Gods protect your virtue, and send you health. Fare you well.*

Affectionata.

When he had read this Letter, and went to lay it on the Table again, he perceived another Letter directed to him, which he opened and read.

Sir,

**Y***OU cannot condemn me for going away, since my stay might prove my ruine, you having not power over your passions; but had my life been onely in danger, I should have ventured it; not that I am so fond of death as to give my life willingly away; but I am so true a Votress<sup>137</sup> to Chastity, that I will never forsake her Order, but will carry her Habit to my Grave; nor will I give Virtue an occasion to weep over my follies, nor Truth to revile me with falsbood, but Honour as a Garland shall crown my Hearse,*

---

<sup>137</sup>*Votress*] a female votary; one who is bound by special vow or devoted to a specific pursuit or occupation (OED n.<sup>1</sup> and OED *votary* II 4 a). The word has religious overtones.

*whilst Innocency enshrines my Corps, that Fame may build me a Monument in Noble minds: but had you been Master of your passion, or had the temperance of your affections been equal to your other virtues, I should have joyed to live near you, as Saints do to Gods; and though my hard fortune have driven me into many dangers, and more I am like to run through by the unknown wayes you have forced me into, yet the blessing of Jupiter fall upon you, whatsoever chance to me. Farewell.*

Affectionata.

When he had read his Letter, he sits down musing with himself a long time; then rose, and without speaking any words, departed to his house in the City.

The old Lady, his Princess, seeing him so sad, asked him what was the cause.

He answered, he was sick, and went to bed.

The next day, calling his Steward, he settled his estate, and ordered every thing according to his minde; then bid him provide so much moneys; which done, he sent for his wife, telling her she must not take it ill, if he left her for a short time, for he was resolved to travel, for, said he, I have a quarrel to one that is stollen out of the Kingdome, and I cannot be at quiet untill I have found the party out to be revenged for the injury done me, bidding her conceal the cause.

She with tears intreated his stay; but no perswasions could prevail to alter his intention, or rather resolution; for Love is obstinate; and if it finds not a like return, but a neglect, grows spightfull, rather wishing evil to what they love, than another should enjoy what they would have, and hate themselves out of a displeasure in not having what they desire; so did he, and was impatient untill he was shipt and gone; who steered his course towards the Kingdome of Riches, as believing she was sailed towards her own Country, for resolved he was to finde her out, or to end his dayes in the search, his life being a burthen without her company.

Thus Love sailing in the Ship of Imagination, on the Ocean of the Minde, toss'd on the troubled Waves of discontented Thoughts, whilst his Body sailed in the Ship on

the Ocean of the Sea, cutting the salt Waves, they were set on by Pyrates, and were taken Prisoners, so that he was doubly captivated, his Soul before, and now his body; at first, they used him but roughly, according to their barbarous natures; but by degrees, his noble disposition and affable behaviour got indifferent entertainment.<sup>138</sup>

It chanced some time after, in the sharing of those Prizes they got with him, and some others they had got before, they fell out, and from rude words they fell to ruder blows. The Prince apprehending the danger that might befall to himself, strove to pacifie them, giving them such reasons in elegant words, that it charmed their ears, and softned their hearts, and ended the strife amongst them, and begot from them such love and respect, that they made him their Arbitrator, and Divider of the Spoys; which he performed with that justice and discretion to each one, that they made him their Governour and chief Ruler over them; which power he used with that clemency and wisdom, that he was esteemed rather as their God than their Captain, giving him all ceremonious obedience. And thus reigning in his watry Kingdome with his three forked trident,<sup>139</sup> we leave him for a time, and visit the old Man and his adopted Son, who now began to grow weary of their Divine Honours, and like wise Men that seek a retired and secure life from the pomp of dangerous glories, bethought themselves how they might get away, and return into their own Countryes again; for an humble and mean Cottage is better beloved by the Owner, than the bravest and stateliest Palace, if it be anothers. Thus putting their designs in execution, they invited the King and People to a solemn Meeting in the Temple; where *Travelia*, standing in his usual place, thus spake. [242:1i1v]

*The Gods, said he, hath caused us to return from whence we came; and to you Great King their Command is, to love your people and to distribute Justice amongst them, guarding the Innocent, punishing the offender, and not to use any cruell Ceremony to destroy your own kinde, but to instruct them in the*

---

<sup>138</sup>That is, inspired different treatment.

<sup>139</sup>Allusion to Poseidon, god of the sea who is associated with a trident, a three-pronged spear (Hornblower and Spawforth).



*Right, and to lead them into the ways of truth, as being their high Priest amongst them; also to make no Warrs against your neighbouring Kingdomes, but as a defence and guard to your own, for in peace, lives happiness, when Warrs brings ruine and distruction; and in doing this tranquillity shall be as a bed of ease for life to sleep on, and length of dayes as a Chariot for life to ride in to heaven; where your Soul shall dwell in the height of blisse: And in this World, fame shall Crown your deeds; and your Posterity shall glory in your Name.*

*And to you beloved people, the Gods commands Piety in your devotion; Obedience to your King; Love to your neighbour; Mercy to your Enemies; Constancie to your friends; Libertie to your Slaves; Care and industry for your Children; Duty to your parents; And in doing this, plenty shall flow in amongst you; Mirth shall dance about you; Pleasures shall invite you; Delight shall entertain you; Peace shall keep you safe, till the Gods call you to partake of the glories of Heaven; and my prayers shall always be; that Jove may preserve you all.*

Then going off from the place where he stood, they went to the King, to take their leaves, whereat the King and People wept: and wished, the Gods had given them leave to dwell amongst them; but since they could not have their desire therein, they travelled to the river side in attendance on them, offering them great riches to carry with them, but they desired, nor took they any more with them, than they thought would defray their charges, in a time of necessity; neither did they build a new Ship to saile in, but went in the same boat they came, which had been kept as a relick safe; for the old man considered with himself, that a bigger vessell would be more dangerous without men, to serve therein than the small Boat, which they could mannage thēselves;<sup>140</sup> And so with great sorrow of either side, the one to loose their Angells, as they thought them to be; the others for the dangers they were to run through\*<sup>141</sup> and thus parted, putting forth their Boat from the shoare, but the old man who was very skilfull at Sea, observing what angle they came in,

---

<sup>140</sup>themselves.

<sup>141</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): The asterisk draws the reader's eye to the marginal note 'Here ends the Kingdom of Phancy', p. 243.

returned the same way, where after six dayes they were upon the maine Sea, the winds being fair, and the waters smooth, the Boat went as swift as an Arrow out of Parthians bow,<sup>142</sup> and as even as if it meant to hit a mark, but if by a fresh gale, the Waves did chance to rise, the Boat would as nimbly skip, each ridge, as a young Kid over a green hillock, being as light as *Mercuries* winged heels; whereat Joy filled their hearts with hopes, as winds filled their sailes; but various fortune causing severall changes in the world, did raise such stormes of fears, as drowned all their Joyes; for a Ship fraughted<sup>143</sup> with Pirates, like a great Whale seized on them; Pirats letting nothing escape which they can get to make [243:li2r] advantage on, so ravenous is their covetous appetite, but finding not such a prize as they did expect: But such as rather might prove a burthen, consulted to put the old man into the Boat againe, and to keep only the young youth, being very handsome, they might sell him for a Slave, and get a sum of money: but when the old man was to depart, *Travelia* clasped about him so close, as his tears and the tears of the old man mixt and joined, and flowed as waters through a channell swell'd with severall brooks; but when he was forced to leave his hold down on his knees he fell, begging he might go or keep his father there, said he, pittie my fathers age; Cast him not out alone to sail on the wide and dangerous Sea; for though my help is weak, yet I am a stay and staff for his dycayed<sup>144</sup> life to lean upon, and I hope the Gods have destined me to that end, but if no pittie can move your hearts for him, O let it try for me:

*Cut me not from the root, though old and dry;  
For then poor branch I wither, and shall dye.*

Nay, said he, I will dye when I can no longer help him, for death is in my power, though life is not, but the Prince, who was their Commander, hearing a noise, came on the

---

<sup>142</sup>Parthian horsemen were known for their crafty manoeuvres and skill at shooting arrows 'backwards while fleeing' (*OED* 'Parthian' adj. B 2).

<sup>143</sup>*fraughted* loaded or filled with (*OED* past participle of *fraught* v. 1 a).

<sup>144</sup>*dycayed* aged; impaired (*OED* adj. 1).

Deck, who no sooner saw him, but was struck with compassion, raised by a resemblance of his mistriss appearing in the face of the youth; and going to him, bid him dry his eyes, and cease his sorrow, for they both should live together, so long as he could keep them.

Heaven bless you, said he, and may you never part from that you most do love, but when *Travelias* tears were stopped, and sight got a passage through his eyes again; and looking up to view that man, from whom his obligation came, no sooner saw his face, but terror struck his heart, and trembling, seized her limbs, as if she had seen some hideous and prodigious things. The Prince observing her in that agony, asking him, as supposing her a boy, what made him shake and tremble so, in quivering words she answered, fear as before had shrunk his sinnewes short; so now joy had extended them too far; The Prince then stroaking his head, promised they should be used both well, and so returned into his Cabbin. Thus travelling on the Sea, as on a great Champaign; the Ship like a horse went severall paces, according as the waves did rise and fall.

But at last this Ship became like a horse diseased with Spavens,<sup>145</sup> which broke out, or springing aleake, which they stopt as well as they could for the time, but doubting it could not long hold out; grew very sad, some weeping, some praying, some murmuring, some raving, according as their fear and hopes were: but the Prince who was valliant by nature, expected death with as much patience, as they with fear did apprehend; neither was he struck with terror, but yielded to the Fates, and was willing to dye; but in the midst of their afflictions at last espied an Island; at which sight they all shouted for joy. [244:li2v]

Thus in the life of man, many severall accidents passeth about, and it chanches many times, out of the midst of grief and sorrow, rises up objects of comfort; so it was here, and setting up all their sailes, made hast to it, but before they could come close to it, although they were not far from it; the leake broke out again, likewise their fears, for the Ship grew

---

<sup>145</sup>*Spavens*] hard bony tumours caused by inflammation (*OED spavins* n.<sup>1</sup> 1 a).

so sick, it could swim no farther, but like a lingering disease perished, by little and little, which perceiving, they hoist out their Boat, where the Prince gave order that those which were most afraid, should goe first, he himself was the last that went therein, though the Boat did go and unload, and return many times, insomuch that not only all the passengers were saved, but all their goods, which no sooner was out, but the Ship sunk; thus dyed with an uncurable dropsie; but in these dangers the Prince forgot not *Travelia*; for why, the Prince was more fond of him than *Travelia* was of himself; for her fears of being known gave her no rest, but being all safely arrived in the Island; they began to consider what to do; the Prince counselled them to choose out some of the company, and to leave them thereabout to build up hutts, to lay their goods in; and also to cut down some trees, there being great store of wood, choosing that which was most proper and fit to build a new ship, whilst the rest of the company went to seek food, and to discover the place.

This being agreed upon, they devided themselves, and those that travelled up into the Island, found it very small, as being not above thirty miles long, and twenty broad, unpeopled; but great store of fish and fowl; few beasts, but those that were, were of a gentle kinde; fine Meadows full of hearbs and sweet Flowers, refreshing and shady Woods, wherein ran cleer Springs and bubbling brooks; Thus though it were little, it was very pleasant, the greatest inconveniencies they found there, was want of houses; for they found the ground somewhat dampe with dewes, which being an Iland,<sup>146</sup> was subject unto, but the aire was serene and cleere: the climat a little more than temperatly hot, but the time that the Ship was a building, the Prince had a little house, or rather like an Arbor, built in the midst of the Island, to lodge in, and the rest made little huts for themselves, and severall recreations they found to pass away the time, but being in that solitary place, the Prince, who was melancholy for the loss of his mistriss, grew full of thoughts, and having her

---

<sup>146</sup>[*Iland*] Island.

picture in his mind drawn to the life, comparing it to *Travelia's* face, which he often looked upon, began to reason with himself why that might not be she, considering her private escape, and the little acquaintance she had in that Country, and seeming of a better breeding than a Ship master's son could have, it did almost confirme his hopes; but discoursing one day with the old man, of severall accidents, telling their misfortunes and good hap<sup>147</sup> of both sides, and being both of one Countrey, the old man thinking no harme, discovered by his talking, that *Travelia* was none of his son, begotten from his loynes, but adopted through compassion and affection, and then telling the [245:li3r] story, how he came into his Ship unknown, or without his leave, by which circumstance of time, place, and manner found that it was she, where with the joy thereof he could scarce conceale his passion, but dissembled his knowledge, as well as he could, for the present, yet after that time sought an occasion to get her alone, where he for his exercises and pastimes did usually go a birding, and did command *Travelia* to carry his bags of shot after him, who loved the service, though she feared the Lord, and when they were gone some distance from the rest of the company, and being in a shady wood, the Prince fained himself weary, where setting him down to rest, and commanding him to do the like, at last discovered to him how he came to know her, she finding herself discovered turned as pale as death, and in that passion of fear prayed him to kill her, or otherwise she should find a way to do it her self.

But the Prince told her he would satisfy himself, first, unless she would consent to live with him as his wife, in that Iland, wherein, said he, we may live free, and secure, without a disturbance.

She musing with her self what to do, believing he was not grown the chaster, with living amongst rude and barbarous people, thought it best to dissemble and give a seeming

---

<sup>147</sup>*hap*] good fortune or good luck (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 1).

consent. Whereat the Princes thoughts were more elevated, than if he had been master of the whole world, where after returning to the rest of the company, the one with an overjoyed minde, the other sad and full of perplexed thoughts; but when she came to a place where she might be alone, setting down in a melancholy posture, where for a time without uttering words, or shedding tears, for grief and amazement had congealed the one, and stopt the other, yet at last her smothered sorrow broke out into complaint.

*You Gods, said she, who will offer sacrifice to your Deities since you give Innocency no protection, nor let Chastity live undefiled. Cruell fates to spin my thread of life, to make me up a webb of misery; accurst fortune that brake not that thread with an untimely death, and you unjust powers to torment poor vertue, making it a sinne to free it self, for had I leave to dye I would not live in shame for to dwell here committing acts dishonorable, although I am forced, yet shall I seeme a party guilty, and though no outward Accusers, yet my Conscience will condemn me; but, O you Gods of Light, since you regard me not, nor will not bear me; You Powers of darkness, hearken unto me, and wrap me up in your dark mantles, of perpetuall night, that no eye may see me, and cast me into black oblivion, where no remembrance is.*

The old man her father, who was come from the water side, where he had been for the directing and ordering for the building of a new Ship, came to her in the middst of her complaints, and asked her what she lacked, or if she were sick; I would I were, said she, then might I hope death would reprieve me, but I am worse, for I am miserable, having torments like those of hell [246:li3v] within my minde; my thoughts are Vulters, eating on my carrion infamy, or like the restless stone, that cannot get up to the hill of Peace, but rolleth back with fear,<sup>148</sup> and sad remembrance: then telling him what she was, which he did never know before, and what had pass'd since the first of her misfortunes to

---

<sup>148</sup>Allusions to both Prometheus and Sisyphus, Greek mythological figures, communicate the sense of perpetual torture. Prometheus, a Titan, tricked the gods and then stole fire from them. In retaliation, Zeus had Prometheus chained to a pillar, where an eagle (or vulture) consumed his liver daily. The liver was restored nightly and the cycle began again. Sisyphus, the founder of Corinth, like Prometheus, was a trickster, but instead of stealing fire, he cheated death. As punishment, he had to push a boulder up a hill, but once the boulder reached the top, it rolled back down again, and he had to start over again (Hornblower and Spawforth).

that present, and how he had ignorantly discovered her: Which, when he heard, he cursed his tongue for telling how, and where he found her.

Father, said she, what is past cannot be recalled, wherefore I must strive to help myself in what's to come; and since I have been dutifull, and you so loving and kinde as to save me from the jaws of death, help me now to protect my honour, convey me hence, let me not live here to please his appetite, but cast me to some unknown place, where like an Anchoret I may live from all the World, and never more to see the face of Man, for in that name all horrour strikes my Senses, and makes my Soul like to some furious thing, so affrighted it hath been.

Said her Father, Heaven give you quiet, and me aid to help your designs; but you must, said he, dissemble to compass your designs;<sup>149</sup> wherefore rise, and put on a smooth and pleasant face, and let your discourse be compliant, that you may have a free liberty; for if a doubt should cross his thoughts, you may chance to be restrained and kept by force, which will break that assistance I may bring you.

Whil'st they were thus discoursing, the Prince came to them, who had not the patience to be long from her, for her absence was his Hell, and her presence was his Heaven; and flattering the old Man, My Father, said he, for so I may call you now, onely let me intreat you I may be your Son, and she your Daughter, since she you thought a Boy, is proved a Girl; and since Fortune hath brought us so happily to meet, let us not despise her favours, but make the best use of them to our advantage.

Then telling the old Man how that Island might be made a Paradice, and in what felicity they might live therein, if their peevish humours did not overthrow their pleasures, the old Man seemed to approve of all the Prince said; whereupon the Prince took him to be his dear Friend, and secret Counsellor; for the old Man did not omit to give him counsel

---

<sup>149</sup>*dissemble . . . designs*] disguise yourself to achieve your end.

concerning the settling and advancing of his new and small Monarchy, because he thought in doing so he might the better work out his own design, by taking away those suspicions that otherwise he thought he might have.

Then the Prince bidding the old Man to have a care, and to order his Maritime Affairs in overseeing his Ships and Boats built, for, said he, our chief maintenance will be from the Sea; the whil'st, said he, I will perswade these Men I have here to make this place the Staple and Port of their Prizes, and Dwelling.

Then taking *Travelia* along with him, the old Man and he parted for that time; and going to the rest of the Company, he perswaded so well with his Rhetorick, that they resolved to stay, and build them Houses there to live, and also Warehouses to lay [247:li4r] their Prizes in, and from thence to traffick with them into safe and free places; whereupon every one put himself in order thereunto, some cut down wood, others digg'd up stones, some carried burthens, some placing and building; thus like Bees, some gathered the honey and wax, whil'st others made and wrought the combs. The mean time the old Man made himself busy at the Coast side about Ships and Boats, as being the chief Master employed in that work. But oft times he would go out a fishing in a Fisher-boat all alone, bringing several draughts<sup>150</sup> of Fish; and when he thought he should be least mistrusted, conveyed Victuals therein, and then gave *Travelia* notice to steal to the water side; where watching his opportunity, when the Prince was busy in surveying and in drawing the plats<sup>151</sup> and forms of the City he would have built, stole away; where as soon as he came, his old Father went, as if he meant to go a fishing, carrying his Nets and the like with him to the Boat, his supposed Son busy in helping him, and so both being put out to Sea; where they had not gone very far, but were taken by the sympathetical Merchants; who trafficking into the Kingdome of Amity,<sup>152</sup> sold them there to other Merchants; where carrying them to the

---

<sup>150</sup>*draughts*] loads (*OED* n. I 2 a).

<sup>151</sup>*plats*] diagrams, plans (*OED* n.<sup>3</sup> II 2).

<sup>152</sup>*Amity*] friendly relations (*OED* n.)



chief City, the Queen of that Country, who was an absolute Princess in the rule and government thereof, seeing *Travelia*, who was brought to her as a rarity, took such a liking to him, that she received him into her Family, as also to attend near her Person; wherein he behaved himself so well, that he became her Favourite, where the old Man was treated well for his Sons sake.

But in the mean time, the Prince was in a sad condition for the loss of his Mistris, who searched about all the Island for her, but could hear nothing of her, untill he sent to the Seaside for the old Man, to enquire for her; who had answer back, that the old Man and the Youth went out a fishing, but were not as yet returned.

Which he no sooner heard, but guessed aright that they were fled away; whereupon he grew so enraged, that he lost all patience, swearing, tearing, stamping, as if he had been distracted.

But when his fury was abated, his melancholy increased, walking solitary, accompanied onely with his sad thoughts, casting about which way to leave that hated place, for all places seemed so where his Mistris was not: yet he knew not yet very well what to do, because he had perswaded the rest of the Company to abide there, and make it their home, which in order thereunto he knew they had taken great pains; besides, he thought they might despise him, as seeming unconstant, yet stay he could not; wherefore calling them together, spake in this manner. [248:1i4v]

*My friends, said he, We have here a pleasant Island and unhabited, but what is possest by our selves; and certainly, we might become a famous people, had we women to build posterity; making a Commonwealth: but as we are all men, we can only build us houses, to live and dye in, but not children to survive us.*

*Wherefore my counsell is, that some of us that are least employed, may take the new Ship, and goe a piracing for Women, making some adventure on the next Kingdom, which may be done by a sudden*

*surprisall, which prizes, if we get, will bring us more comfort, pleasure and profit than any other goods; For what contentment can other riches bring us, if we have not posterity to leave it with.*

They all applauded so well of his advise, as they were impatient of his stay, striving who should go along with him, and so pleased they were with the imagination of the femall Sex, as those whose lot was to stay, prayed for the others good success, that seldome or never prayed before; but the Princes intention was only to find that female he lost; caring not to seek those he never saw; but most of those, setting out with great hopes and expedition, of a good return, sailed with a fair wind, three or four days, at last saw land, part of the Kingdom of *Amour*, no sooner landed, but they were beset with multitudes of Country people, who flocked together, being affrighted with the arrivall of strangers; and being more in numbers than they were, overpower'd them, taking them as Prisoners; they were examined, for what they came? they answered for fresh water, but they believed them not, for, said they, it is not likely you would come in a troop so armed for fresh water, so they bound them, and sent them to the King to examin them farther; and being carried to the chief City where the King was, who was advertised of such strangers, sent for them into his presence to view them; And being brought unto them, the Prince, who was of a comely and gracefull presence, being a handsome man, bowing his head down low, and in a submissive stile, thus spake.

*Great King, We poor watry Pilgrimes; travelling through the vast Ocean of the Sea to search the curiosity of nature, to whom we may offer our Prayers of Admiration on her Altar of new discoveries, but cruell fortune, who strives to persecute, hath forced us to your Coast for the relief of fresh water, for we came not here to rob, nor to surprize, but to relieve our feeble strength; that was almost famished with thirst; not that we were afraid to dye, but loath to live in pain; nor would we willingly yield up our lives, unless great honour lay at stake, but if the fates decree our death, what way soever it comes, with patience we submit.*

*But if great King your Generosity dare trust our faiths, so far as to imploy us in your service, we may prove such by our courage, as our Acts may beg a pardon for those necessitated faults we have*

*committed; and if we dye in Warrs, we dye like Gallant men, but to dye shackled prisoners, we dye like slaves, which all noble natures shun.*

The King, when he had heard him speak, thus answered [249:Kk1r] the Prince as their accustomed manner was in verse.

*Your Faith I'll trust and Courages will try,  
Then let us see how bravely you dare dye.*

The Prince poetically answered again, as he perceived it an usuall custome to speak:

*Our lives, said he, wee'll give before we yield,  
Wee'll win your battles, or dye in the field.*

For the King at that time was newly entred into a war with the Queen of Amity; the chief cause was for denying him Marriage, he being a batchelor, and she a maid; and their Kingdomes joyning both together, but he neerer by affection, being much in Love with her, but she was averse and deaf to his suit, besides her people was loth, for fear it should be made a subordinate Kingdom, wherefore he sought to get her by force; And the King liking the Princes demeanor, demanded who he was, from whence he came; the Prince told him truly whom he was, from whence he came, how he was taken by the Pirats, and how long he had lived with them; but not the cause of his journey, but by his discourse and behaviour, he insinuated himself so far into the Kings favor, and got such affections in his Court living therein, as he became very powerfull, in so much as he was chosen the chief Commander to lead out the Army, believing him (as he was) nobly born, and observing him to be honorably bred; and they a people given to ease, and delighting in effeminate pleasures, shunned the warrs, sending out only the most vulgar people who were rather slaves than subjects, all this meeting together produced the choosing of the Prince, who ordered and directed their setting out so well and prudently, as gave them great hopes of a good success;

In the meane while the Queen was not ignorant of their intentions, nor slack in her preparations, sending forth an Army to meet them; but the Queen herself had a War in her minde, as great as that in the field, where Love as the Generall lead her thoughts, but fear and doubt of times made great disorder, and especially at that time; for *Travelia*, on whom she doted, was then sick, in which sickness she took more care to recover him, than to guard her self and Kingdom; but the Army she sent out, was lead by one of her Chief Noble men, who marched on untill he had view of the other Army, and being both met, they set their Armies in battail array.

When they were ready to fight, the Prince thus spake in the most general Language.

*Noble friends, You being all stangers to me, makes me ignorant both of your natures and customes, and I being a stranger to you, may cause a mistrust, both of my fidelity and conduct, as for my experience I am not altogether ignorant of the discipline of War, ha- [250:Kk1v] ving been a Commander in my own Countrey, neither need you doubt of my Zeal, and Loyalty to your Kings services, by reason I owe my life to him, for it was in his power to have taken it away, neither can I have more honour bestowed on me from any Nation than from this; were I never so ambitious, or basely covetous, to bribe out my fidelity, wherefore, if I loose, as I am perswaded I shall win the day; yet it will not be out of my neglect, falshood or want of skill, but either it must be through fortunes displeasure, or by your distracted fears, which fear I cannot believe will possess any spirit here, being so full of alacrity, cheerfulness and readiness to meet the enemy, and may the thoughts of honour maintaine that heat and fire, not only untill it hath consumed this Army, but all that shall oppose you;*

After he had spoke thus to them they began the onset, long was the dispute, but at last by the Princes courage, which animated the rest by his example; and by his wise conduct and diligent care in rectifying the disordered ranks, and supplying their broken files<sup>153</sup> by fresh men, he got the day, and put the enemy to a rout, killing many, and taking

---

<sup>153</sup>*files*] rows of soldiers arranged one behind another (OED n.<sup>2</sup> II 7 a).

store of Prisoners; the Prince when he saw that fortune was his friend at that time, though at other times she had frowned, yet now he thought to make his advantage whilst she was in a good humor; wherefore he called to the Souldiers to follow their pursuit; but they were so busie in the dividing of the spoiles, as they were deaf to all commands, or intreaties, giving their enemies leave to rallye their scattered forces, and so to march away, and by that means they got so far before them, as they had time to get up their spirits, and strengthen their towns by fortification, to man their Forts, and to intrench themselves, which if they had followed their victory, they might have taken a great part of the Country, for all places, as Towns, Forts, and the like, seldome stand out, but yields to a victorious Army; yet it must be whilst the terror and fright of their losses hath wholly possesst their minds, leaving no place for hope: but when the Prince thought they had lost that opportunity through the covetousness of the Souldiers, he sent a Messenger to the King of the Victory, and with the reasons why he could not follow the same, but if his Majesty would give permission he would march on, and try out his fortune: In the mean time the Queen hearing of the losse of her Army was much perplexed, then musing with her self what way she were best to take, she straight went to *Travelia* who was indifferently well recovered, to him she related the sad news, then asking his counsell what she were best do.

He told her his opinion was, for her to call a Councell of the Gravest and Noblest of her subjects, and those whose Age had brought experience: for if worldly wisdom dwells anywhere, it is in aged braines, which have been ploughed by various accidents; and sowed with the seed of observation, which time hath ripened to a perfection, these are most likely, said he, to pro-produce<sup>154</sup> a plentiful and good crop of advise; but young brains, said he, wants both, manuring and maturity, which makes their counsels green, and unwholesom,

---

<sup>154</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): This word appears at the end of a line, so the repeated 'pro' is most likely a printer's error.

whereupon they called a Coun- [251:Kk2r] cell, where after they had disputed long, at last they all agree in one consent, that the best was for her to go herself in person, to animate her Souldiers, and to give a new life to their dejected spirits; whereat she was much troubled, by reason *Travelia* was not so well as to travell with her, and to leave him, seemed worse to her than death; but after her Councell was broken up, she returned to him, and told him what her Councell had decreed.

And this, said she angerly to him, was by your advise? For, had I not called a Councell, but had sent a Generall of my own choice, it would not have been put to a vote, for me in person to have gone; but if you had that love for me, as I have for you, I should have had better advice; and with that wept, heaven knows, said she, the greatest blow fortune can give me, is to go and leave you behind me; he seeing her weep, thus spake.

**B***Eauty of your Sex, and Natures rarest piece; Why should you cast your Love so low upon a slave so poor as I, when Kings their Kingdom hazard for your sake? and if your people knew, or did suspect your Love to me, they would rebell and turn unto your Enemy: besides, Conquerors are feared and followed; where loosing is a way to be despised, and trod into the earth with scorns. Alas, I am a creature mean and poor, not worthy such a Queen, as you, and 'twere not wise to hazard all for me. Wherefore go on great Queen, and may you shine as glorious in your Victories, as the brightest Starrs in heaven, may Pallas be your guide, and Mars the God of War to fight your battles out; may Cupid give you ease, and Venus give delight; may Hymen give such nuptialls as best befits your dignity; may Fortune always smile, Peace in your Kingdome dwell;*

*And in each heart such loyall love May grow:  
No disobedience may this Kingdome know;  
Age Crown your life; and Honour close your dayes:  
Fames trumpet loud to blow about your praise.*

She weeping said.

*No sound will pierce my Ear, or please my minde,*

*Like to those words you utter when th'are<sup>155</sup> kinde.*

But at last by his perswasions, more than by her Councells advise, she consented to go, upon that condition he would take upon him the government of her kingdom untill such time as she returned again, but, said she, if I dye, be you heir to my Crown, and ruler of my People; And may the Gods keep you from all opposers: the people knowing her Commands, and pleasure by her Proclamation, fell a murmuring, not only in that she left a stranger, but a poor slave, who was taken prisoner and sold, and a person who was of no higher birth, than a Ship-Masters-Son, that he should govern the Kingdom, and rule the people; Whereupon [252:Kk2v] they began to design his death, which was thought best to be put in execution when she was gone.

But he behaved himself with such an affable demeanor, accompanied with such smooth, civil, and pleasing words, expressing the sweetness of his nature by his actions of clemency, distributing Justice with such even Weights, ordering every thing with that Prudence, governing with that Wisedome, as begot such Love in every Heart, that their Mouths ran over with Praises, ringing out the sound with the Clappers<sup>156</sup> of their Tongues into every Ear, and by their Obedience shewed their Duty and Zeal to all his Commands, or rather to his Perswasions; so gently did he govern.

Thus whil'st he ruled in peace at home, the Armies met abroad; and being set ready to fight, the Trumpets sounded to charge, and every one prepared to encounter his Enemy, striving for the honour of reputation, which is got by the ruine of one side; so equally hath Nature distributed her gifts, that every one would have a just proportion, did not Fortune disorder and misplace her Works by her several Accidents.

---

<sup>155</sup>*th'are]* they're. NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'they're', p. 471.

<sup>156</sup>*Clappers]* the free-swinging metal pieces, also called tongues, inside bells that when moved cause the bells to sound (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> I 3 a). Cavendish uses the term figuratively, comparing the voicing of their praises to the ringing of bells.

But the terrour of the former blows was not quite extinguished in the Queens Army, nor the insulting Spirits of the other Army laid, but rather a new Courage added to their old Victory, did help them now to win that day; and with such victorious fortune, that they took the Queen a Prisoner, with the destruction of the whole Army.

The Prince thinking the Kingdome won in having the Queens Person, made him divide his Army into two parts; the one half he sent to take possession of the Towns, Castles, and Forts; the other part he led himself to conduct the Queen, being much pleased that he had such a Gift to present to the King, which Present he knew his Royal Master would prize above the World, which made him choose to return; for had the Spoys been less, he had sent them with some Messengers; but being so rich, he durst trust none to guard it but himself.

The King hearing of their coming, made all the preparations of State that could be, sending the Prince a triumphant Chariot, and his own Robes to wear; which Chariot coming as they were ready to enter the City, the Prince sets the Queen thereon, and walks on foot by the Chariot side, as being Mistris to the King his Master. And the King being attended by all his Nobles of the Kingdome, met the Queen, and with great respect led her to his Palace; where when she came, the King kissed her hand, and smiling, said.

The Gods had brought her thither; for certainly, said he, the Gods by their Fates have decreed and destined you to be my Queen; in which Gifts the Gods have made me like themselves, to enjoy all Felicity.

She with a face cloathed in a sad countenance, answered, Fortune was his Goddess; and if he were like her, he might prove unconstant, and then, said she, you may change from love to dis- [253:Kk3r] like, if so, I may chance to have liberty, either by death, or to be sent into my own Kingdome again.

If you will accept of me, said he, you shall not onely have your own Kingdome, but mine, wherein you shall be adored and worshipped as the onely She in the World.



Answered she, I had rather have what I adore, than to be adored my self.

Then was she conducted to a strong and safe, but a pleasant place, to be kept in, where the King visited her often, treated her civilly, courted her earnestly, loving her with an extraordinary passion.

The Prince in the mean time was in high favour with the King, who asked and took his counsel in every thing; and sending for him one day, where when he came, he hung about his neck, as was his custome so to do, saying to him,

O My Friend, (for that was his usual name he gave him) my cruel Prisoner, said he, you brought me, despises my Affection, slights my Addresses, condemns my Suit, scorns my Profers, hates my Person; what shall I do to gain her Love?

Alas, said the Prince, I have had so ill success in Love, that what I doted on most did hate me worst; which is the cause I have left my Country, Friends, and Estate, lost the peace of Minde, the joy of Mirth, the sweets of Pleasures, the comfort of Life, hating my self because she doth not like nor love me; jealous I am of light, darkness, heat, cold, because they come so near as to touch her; I wish her dead, because none should enjoy her but my self; yet I cannot live without her, and loth I am to dye and leave her behind: thus hang I on a tortur'd life, and bear my Hell about me.

Whil'st they were thus lamenting their hard fortunes in Love, a Messenger brought news that their Forces were beaten that were sent into Amity.

How can that be, said the Prince? most of the Nobles being here, and none but Pesants left behind, who have no skill in Wars, onely to fight like Beasts, to martial Forces they know not how.

But the Alarms came so thick, one after another, to tell they had not onely beaten their Forces, but were entred into their Kingdome.

With that, the King in hast dispatched the Prince with a fresh Supply added to those Forces he brought the Queen with, so march'd out to meet the Enemy; for *Travelia*,

hearing the Queen was taken Prisoner, was high enraged, which choler begot a Masculine and Couragious Spirit in her; for though she could not have those affections in her for the Queen as a Man, yet she admired her Heroick Virtues, and loved her as a kinde and gracious Princess to her, which Obligations made her impatient of Revenge: then calling all the chief of the Kingdome together, thus spake unto them.<sup>157</sup> [254:Kk3v]

Honourable, and most Noble,

**Y**OU have heard the sad news of the Queens being taken Prisoner, which cannot choose but strike your hearts through your ears, and make them burn in flames of high revenge; and may those flames be never quenched untill you fetch her back, and set her in her Throne again; she went to keep you safe, and nothing can be more ungratefull than to let her live amongst her Enemies. Nor can you here be free, whil'st she is made a Slave, your Wives and Children will be bought and sold, and you be forced to do their servile work; what Goods you now possess, your Enemies will enjoy: then let your hands and strength redeem your Countryes loss, or sacrifice your Lives in Services thereunto.

After she had spoke, they proclaimed her with one voyce, general, raising new Forces, making Vows that they would never forsake their Queen, but dye, or be Conquerors.

Then fitting themselves in order thereunto, as their General and chief Governour, caused a solemn Fast and Procession, sacrificing to the Gods for good Success.

After that, she took a view of her Arms and Ammunition, selecting out the ablest and youngest Men to fight, making the better sort Commanders, that Envy might not breed Disobedience; the aged she chose for her Councillors, her old Father being made one; the most Mechanicks went with the Bag and Baggage, as Smiths, Farriers, Pioneers, Cannoneers, Sumpter-men,<sup>158</sup> Wagoners, Cooks, Women, and the like. Neither did he omit

---

<sup>157</sup>While living in Paris (1646-1648), Margaret was exposed to 'a new movement [that] idealized strong women who possessed all the male virtues of courage, energy, physical and moral strength, generosity, fortitude, patriotism and liberality, while still retaining their feminine beauty and compassion' (Whitaker, p. 90). This movement clearly influenced Cavendish's characterization of Travalia and other heroines.

<sup>158</sup>Sumpter-men] drivers of pack-horses (OED n. 1).

to take good Chyrurgeons, Doctors, Apothecaries, and Drugsters, to help the sick or wounded. And at the Armies going out she caused a Proclamation to be read, that all the Women and Children, and infirm persons which were left behind, not being fit to go, should pray uncessantly to the Gods for Victory, and safe return; for, said he, Women, and Children, and the Infirm, are the best Advocates even to the Gods themselves, being the most shiftless Creatures they have made, wherefore the most aptest to move Compassion.

Thus settling the Kingdome in a devout and orderly posture, marched on, re-taking their Towns, Forts, and Castles lost, beating the Enemy out of every place; insomuch as they did not onely clear their own Kingdome of their Enemies, but entred into theirs; and being gone some days journey, their Scouts brought them word there was an Army coming to meet them; where after a short time, the Armies were in view of each other; whereupon she drew up her Forces; the right and left Wings she gave to be commanded by two of the Valiantest and experienced Commanders, the Rear unto another, the Van<sup>159</sup> she led herself,<sup>160</sup> the Reserve she gave her old Father in charge to bring in, as he saw occasion, praying him he would not stand with it so far off, but that he might come soon enough to their aid, nor yet to stand [*Kk4r:255*] so neer as to be annoy'd<sup>161</sup> with their present fight; Father, said he, I give you this part to command, because I dare trust your faith, as well as your Judgement, Courage, and Skill.

Then she commanded every Captain of a Company, should place himself in the middst of their second Ranks, for if the Chief Commander, said she, in a Company be kill'd, the spirits of the common Souldiers soon dye, and their nerves grow slack with fear, and all their strength will fail: unless it be to run away.

---

<sup>159</sup>[*Van*] the leading division of a military force (*OED* n.<sup>2</sup> 1 a).

<sup>160</sup>Margaret may have taken Queen Henrietta Maria, in part, as her model for the character of Travalia. In 1643, after having gathered 'money, soldiers, and arms for her husband's cause', Queen Henrietta returned to England, marching to Oxford at the head of a large army transporting ammunition and money (see Whitaker pp. 42-43). Other warrior women appear in Cavendish's work, one of whom is a protagonist in the play *Bell in Campo*. Lady Victoria, through a number of plot twists, ends up leading a group of women into battle, during which they rescue their men.

<sup>161</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'annoy'd', p. 478. The word is used in the sense of 'harmed'.

The Lieutenants she ordered them to place themselves in their last ranks, to keep the Souldiers from flying; for said she, shame will cause Obedience to submit to Authority; wherefore his eye will be as a Fort, and his breast as a Bulwark to keep them in, then she gave order that every squadron should be but five Ranks deep, and fifty on a breast, which number, said she, is enough to knit into a proportionable body, more makes it unwildy, and is like a man over-grown with fat, whose bulk makes him unactive, either to assault or to defend himself, and Ranks of Ten deep, said she, are not only unusefull and troublesome, but so many men are lost to employment; for the hindermost Ranks comes seldome, or never to the charge: then in every Troop of Horse she placed some foot, both Pikes<sup>162</sup> and Musketts; to gall<sup>163</sup> and hurt their enemyes Horse when they meet to encounter: for if once the Horse failes, the man is down; after that she commanded her Army to march in such a slow pace, as not to break or loosen their Ranks, but commanded them to joyn so close, as if there were no Vacuum in their troops, and so to move as one entire body or piece; Lastly, she Commanded all the Cuirassiers<sup>164</sup> should stand in the forefront to bear the shock, or break the Ranks; thus setting the Battalia in order, form and figure, as the ground and places would permit to their best advantage.

The Prince ordered his Battalia, as he was used to do, making it thick and less contracting it, as believing it to be the stronger: but to give a judgement, this way of setting a Batalia is best, if it were only to stand still, for a defence, but not to assault; for in action those thick bodies the half serves only as Cyphers without a figure; but never helps to multiply the numeration of blows, but the Armies being both ready to joyne, the young Generall thus spake to his Souldiers;

---

<sup>162</sup>*Pikes*] implements with sharp metal tip; spears (*OED* n.1 I 2 a).

<sup>163</sup>*gall*] 'to harass or annoy in warfare (esp. with arrows or shot)' (*OED* v.1 5).

<sup>164</sup>*Cuirassiers*] soldiers wearing armour for the body (*OED* n. 2).

**N**oble friends, brave Souldiers, and wise Councillors; who knows but this our meeting may produce good and great effects, as to bring Peace to the Country which is molested with Warrs, Ruin to your enemies, that hath almost ruined you; Comfort to your sad friends we have left behind; Libertie to your imprisoned friends; We fight for fame to after Memories, Honour, and Profit in our living times, but if we let our enemies become our masters; they will give us restless fears, unreasonable taxes, unconscionable Oathes, whereby we shall loose the Peace of our minds, the conversation of our friends, the traffick with our neighbors; the plenty of our Land, the form of our customes, the order of our Ceremonies, [256:Kk4v] the Libertie of a Subject, the Royaltie of your government, and the companie and rule of our gracious vertues and beautifull Queen: and shall they have courage to spoile, and we none to right our wrongs? Shall they live by our hard labour and shall we live by their hard Lawes? All Noble Spirits hate bondage, and will rather dye than endure slavery. Wherefore my friends be you constant to your Just Resolutions, circumspect in your ways; patient in your labours, Heroick in your actions; for what man can remember such injuries, and let their courages be cold? Wherefore for your own sakes, your Countreys sake, your Royall Queens sake, go on with valliant hearts, and active strengths, and may Apollo be your friend, shooting his darts, dazzling your enemies eyes; may Mars the God of War direct you, in your fight; May Fortune give you aid, and Pallas give you Victorie.

After she had thus spake, the trumpets sounded to charge, where the young General sent some flying horse to give the onset, and then to run away, which the other Army seeing thought it was out of fear, and followed them as in pursuit, which hast disordered and broke all their Ranks, which the Queens Army no sooner saw, but it marched in good order to meet them, the enemy viewing their unexpected posture, was so danted<sup>165</sup> as they neither had spirits to fight, nor power to run away, whereby there was a great number killed, and taken prisoners, which made them become absolute masters of the field.

---

<sup>165</sup>danted] NP 1671 (*Wing*N856): 'daunted', p. 481.

The Prince with much difficulty retreated back about a days march, with some few; but with the prime of his horse, where he heard of a fresh Army coming to assist them; for the King fearing they were not strong enough, being forced suddenly away, caused new men to be raised to follow them, the newes of this Army rejoyced the Prince much, being at that time very melancholy for the great loss he received, and a disgrace, as he thought; by reason he despised the enemies to the King, and to be overcome, by those he scorned, did wrack his Soul; but taking up fresh hopes with his new-come Army returned back to the Queens Army again, which when they heard of a new supply, was much amazed and dejected, by reason they were weary & tired with their<sup>166</sup> fights, and disordered with gathering up and carrying away their spoiles; but the young Generall perceiving them to hang down their heads, thus spake.

Noble Friends,

*I* Perceive such a sadness in your faces, as if fear had taken possession of your hearts, which if it hath, except courage beates it out, it will betray your lives unto your enemyes, and to be taken by a timorous thought, before your strength hath grappled with your foes, were base, and if right and truth be on your side, as sure it is, and Reason rules your judgment, as I hope it doth, you have no cause to doubt: but if you fear the conduct of my youth, as wanting experience to judge or direct the best, then here are aged men who with Ulysses, and Nestor may compare; their Counsel is your [257:L11r] aide; Thus let no vain suspition quench your hopes, but courage set your spirits on fire and with their heat consume our enemies to ashes.

With that they all aloud did say; Go on, we will dye or Conquer.

In the meane while, the Prince was encouraging his new-come Army, who was struck with the newes of the last Battail, hearing nothing of it untill they met the Prince; the sudden report like thunder shaked their spirits, which to appease, the Prince thus spake.

---

<sup>166</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction blots out three letters, emending the word to 'their', p. 257. The change is noted on the errata list.

Noble friends,

**Y***ou that have Humilitie to obey, Love to unite, Charity to redresse, have hopes to obtain; for hope is the ground on which Courage is built: Let not the enemy of mistrust vanquish your Faith, but performe your Loyaltie, through your industrie; for obedient thoughts is not sufficient, without obedient actions; Wherefore take courage to fight; Let not your enemies kill your spirits, weepe not, nor Condole at our Losses, but let us regain our honours, either by Victory or death; And they that are slothfull, or cowardly in this Army, may they neither enjoy the Lawrell, Olive or Cyprus, but go to the grave unregarded, or forgotten, or live in shame despised; but those that are industrious and valliant, may they sit high in honours throne, as fame may blow their praises so loud, and far, no time can stop the sound.*

Then the two Armies being set in Battail-array, the Prince to save the infusion of blood, finding his Army not full of alacrity, sent the young Generall a challenge, which when it came, although he knew himself unfit for a single Duell, accepted it, being afraid of the dishonour of denying it: but the two Armies would not consent to look on, whilst they fought, for in the encounter, both the Armies joynd in cruell fight.

But he having no skill in the Art and use of the sword, nor strength to assault, nor resist, was wounded, which wound bled so fast that he fainted and fell down to the ground; but the Prince, who was of a noble nature, perceiving by his shape, that he was but a stripling, run to untie his headpiece, and viewing his face straight knew her, who grew so astonished thereat, as he had not power to stir for the present, but he stopping the wound as well as he could, brought life again, yet so faint she was, as she could not speak, neither had he power to go away, but sate by untill some found him.

In the mean time, the Army being left to chance, having not their Generall to direct them; Fortune plaid a part of Civillity, and Courtship, giving victory to the Ladyes, so the Queens Army had the day, and some of the Common Souldiers, seeking for spoile, found them in this posture, he sitting by, holding her in his Armes, from whence they took her, and put her in a Litter, and he also in the same as a Prisoner, carrying them to the body of

the [258:L1v] Army; and as she went, having recovered her Spirits again, thus complaining, said.

*I have heard of Pleasure, nev'r could it obtain,  
 For what we Pleasure call, still lives in Pain:  
 Then Life is Pain, and Pain is onely Life  
 Which is a Motion, Motion all is strife;  
 As forward, backward, up or down, or so  
 Sidewayes, or in a Circle round, doth go.  
 Then who would live, or would not wish to dye,  
 Since in the Grave there is no Misery?  
 O let me dye, strive not my Life to save,  
 Death happy is, and Peace lyes in the Grave.*

The Prince told her, she preached to her self a false Doctrine; for, said, he,

*Life is a Blessing which the Gods do give,  
 And nothing shews them Gods but that they live;  
 They the Original of Life, the Spring,  
 Life the beginning is of every thing;  
 And Motion is from all Eternity,  
 Eternal Motions make the Gods to be.  
 To wish no Life, we wish no Gods, and then  
 No resurrection to the Souls of Men;  
 In Resurrection, we as Gods become  
 To be, \_\_\_\_\_ none would refuse a Martyrdome;<sup>167</sup>  
 The very being pleaseth Nature well,  
 Were she to live alwayes in pains of Hell;  
 Nature, nothing is more horrid to her  
 Than Annihilation, that quite undoes her.  
 Thus Gods and Nature you do wish to spoyl,  
 Because a little pain endures a while;  
 Devils had rather Devils be, than nought at all,  
 But you like Angels that did never fall.*

---

<sup>167</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): The blank line appears in the original, p. 259.



Thus they discoursed as they went; but he strove to conceal himself from her knowledge untill such time as he thought he might make his peace with her, for fear she should run away again out of the hate and dislike to him.

But the Army, when they miss'd their young General, grew so sad, that they took no pleasure in their Victory, for they were all as one dumb man, no noyse was heard, all eyes were full of tears. But when they saw the Litter, as supposing she was dead, they raised a Cry that rent the Air, and made the thicker Clouds to move. Which when she heard, and saw them running to her, she shook her hand, to shew them she did live.

*Then sent they shouts of joy to Heaven high,  
And every countenance sad look'd merrily. [259:L12r]*

But when they came so near to view her face, and saw her pale and weak, they grew into such a rage, that they would have killed the Prince, hearing he wounded her: but she intreated for his life, and begg'd him for her Prisoner; no sooner ask'd, but granted, who gave the charge into her Fathers keeping.

Then being brought into her Tent, the Army watch'd by turns whil'st she was under the Chyrurgeons hands for cure; nor would they take any of the Spoils, but what she did divide unto them; nor any direction, but what she gave; nor would they stir untill her health permitted her to travel; but being indifferently well, gave order to march on.

But the King had raised another Army in the time of her sickness, and sent it out to meet them.

Where she, although weak, went about to order and encourage her Souldiers, who loved her better than their life; by which Affections made them fight so well, that they overcame their Enemies; and before the King could raise another Army, they got unto the City.

Where as soon as she came near, she gave order to her Souldiers to intrench about it; then gave order that they should cast at every corner of the City a Mount of Earth, on

which she placed her Cannon to batter down the Walls: then did she build Forts about to place her Men to shoot and cast Granadoes in; and by their several Assaults they battered their City, and killed many of their Men by sundry and sudden Assaults: at last, she resolved to storm it. But the King perceiving his weakness, and that he could not hold out long, sent to the young General, desiring a Treaty, withall a Cessation of Arms.

In the mean time, the Queen, being weary of her Imprisonment, longing for the coming of her Beloved, in a melancholy humour thus spake;

*O what a Hell it is to love, and not be loved again! nay not onely to love, but to love a Slave, and he regards me not: do I say, Slave? no, he is none that hath no slavish passion: Then he is free.*

*And I am onely bound to Slavery;*

*First to my Passions, then to his Tyrannie:*

*What shall I do, you Gods above?*

*You punish me, and yet you make me love.*

*Do you delight still in a tortur'd minde?*

*Make you no sympathy in humane kinde?*

*Must all your Works consist in contradiction?*

*Or do we nothing enjoy but Fictions?*

*The Mind is nothing but Apprehension,*

*'Tis not a Thing, unless it hath Dimension.*

*But O you powerfull Gods, by your Decree,*

*Can of Nothing a Something make to be:*

*Then make me Something, grant me my Delight,*

*Give me my Lover, or destroy me quite. [260:L12v]*

Thus leaving her in a melancholy posture and humour, we return to the Armies.

The Cessation being near expired, the young General called a Council, and thus spake to them.

Right Noble and Valiant Heroicks,

**T**HE King hath sent to treat of Peace, but in my opinion there can be no honourable Agreement next to the setting the Queen at liberty, but the resigning of his Crown, and so his Kingdome to her.

*First, for raising Hostility, disturbing the sweet Peace, and happy condition of a Kingdome that never molested them.*

*Then, for the dishonour, in taking the Queen Prisoner, the ruine and spoyl of your Country, the death of your Friends, and the loss of your Gallant Men killed in this Dissention, making many Widows, and Fatherless Children.*

*Besides, who can rely upon the faith of an unjust Prince, who made War upon his Neighbours without a just offence, but onely through an ambitious attempt upon your Queen and Kingdome; Have we not Victory? and yet shall we return with Loss? shall we despise the Gifts of the Gods, in making no use of what they give us? and shall the Trumpet of loud Fame report the Queen was taken Prisoner, and resigned upon a low Agreement? no; let Fame divulge unto the World, her Release came with the Ruine of this Kingdome.*

After the General had spoken, one of the Council, who was like Nestor for years and experience.

**O**UR General, said he, hath spoke a Speech so full of Courage and Honour, as shews him to be of so true an Heroick Spirit, that he hath left no room for Policy to play a part. But States cannot subsist with Valiant Hands alone; unless they hold the Politick Head, which is the Guide to great Designs; it burns more Cities than Granadoes do, it undermines strong Towns, pulls down great Works, wins Forts, sets Battails, takes Prisoners, makes Slaves, and conquers Kings and Kingdomes; and that we call Policy in a publick State, is called Discretion in a private Family and it is not, as the Vulgar think it, a Cheat,

*or meer Deceit, but a wise Prudence, to prevent the worst of ills, or to keep Peace, or get Tranquillity. 'Tis true, Valour is a daring Spirit, but Policy is a trusty Friend, and covers all those faults it cannot mend with skill, it guides the Bark in which Mans life swims in, and keeps them from the Shipwrack of the World, pulls down the Ambitious Sails, when blown too full with Pride, lest it should overturn the Ship of Safety, so drowned in Seas of Miseries: but Policy will rather choose the Oars of Patience, and take the Tides of Time, than venture where the Doubts are more than Hopes, or Hazards more than Gains: then let us try to make a prudent Peace, not trusting to Fortunes Favour, unless she were more constant:*  
[261:L13r]

*For in the Wars such unknown Chance may fall,*

*In stead of Victory, be ruin'd all.*

*I speak not this to cross my General, for I shall be as ready to obey all his Commands, be it never so dangerous, as I have freely delivered my opinion.*

After he had spoke, the General rose up, and said, these Counsels are too solid to be contradicted by rash Youth. Whereupon they all agreed to treat with the King, giving his Embassadors audience. The Kings Embassadors coming into their Assembly, thus spake.

You great victorious Amitenians,

**M***Y Master should not need to seek for Peace before it sought for him, had not the God of Love proved his Enemy, perswading Mars to be his Foe; for those that are cross'd in Love, have seldome Victory; for Mars doth take the part of Cupid, Venus son. Thus our great King and Master is by Love undone: But since 'tis the Gods that work his fate, he humbly doth submit; wherefore he sends these proffers unto you.*

*First, he will build your broken Forts again, and raise those Walls his Souldiers have pulled down.*

*Secondly, he will repay your Charges and Expences in this War, although his own is great, and his Loss is more.*

*Thirdly, he will restore his Prisoners, if you will do the like to those you have taken; but for the Queen, she is no Prisoner;*

*For our Master is her Captive, and her Thrall,  
Both to command him, and his Kingdome all.*

After the Amitenians had consulted, they told the Kings Embassadors, that words were not acts, wherefore they could conclude of nothing untill the Queen was in her Army to make her atonement for her self; and if she were no Prisoner, they desired to wait on her out of the City; if not, they must use force.

Whereupon the Embassadors went back to their King to declare their answer, but to return to the Captive Prince, who was more fetter'd in his Minde than in his Body, for his old Father treated him civilly, and used him kindly: but perceiving him to be very melancholy, thought it might proceed from the Overthrow he received; which he strove to mediate, telling him, nothing was more subject to Chance than War, and that the valiantest and wisest Men might fall by Fortunes hand; for, said he, she on Wheels, not on firm Ground did stand.

*She seeks not Worth and Merit to advance,*

*Her Scepter which she govern'd all, was Chance.*

*With that the Prince, he sighing, said, O Fortune most unkind,*

*I would she were as powerless as blind. [262:L13v]*

As he was speaking, in come the young Generall, which when he saw, Loves passion shook his manly strength, and made his visage pale; but she being of an affable and sweet disposition, wishing all content of minde to every person, although she had little her self.

*Noble Sir, said she, It was not for want of respect I have not visited you, but my engagements have so busily employed me, that till the Cessation of Arms, I have not had so much time as to examine your welfare; but I know, my father hath not omitted any service he could help you in; neither do I believe, you being Commander, can be so ignorant but to know Camps can afford nothing but a rude entertainment, having therein no necessary accommodations, and since my wishes cannot make it better, you will be pleased to accept of it, as it is.*

*Worthy Sir, answered the Prince, I am only a Prisoner to your favours, but am free by your Noble entertainments.*

So after some discourse, telling him of the Agreement which was like to be left, him, or rather carried him with her; for his soul went after her, although his person stayed behind: but to follow the Ambassadors, who were got to the King, and told him the demands of the Amitenian Army was to have their Queen before they would treat any farther. The King being very much troubled thereat, for to keep her he durst not, knowing his own weakness, and their strength; and to let her go, he could not; for his passion of Love would not give him leave; neither would he call a Councell, knowing they would be for the departure of the Queen for their own securities; then did he wish for his friend and servant,<sup>168</sup> the Prince; but at last being resolved, went to the Queen his mistriss; and taking the Crown from off his head, laid it at her feet.

*Madam, said he, Here I deliver you my Crown, and with it my Kingdom; and yield my self your Prisoner, dispose of it, and me as you please; for it never shall be said I make conditions with her I do adore; for since my soul is yours, there is nothing I can own that is not so; And since you must, and will go from this place, let me go with you to set your Triumphes out, and lead me as your slave.*

---

<sup>168</sup>The errata list adds ‘, the Prince’ after ‘sent’, but there are no editorial marks indicating the change. It is inserted here for clarity.

*Sir, answered she, I have not been so ill treated; nor am I so ungratefull to go away, and leave no thanks behind me: wherefore I will stay untill there is such a Peace made, as you may receive as much profit, and as little losses thereby as I. Wherefore in order therunto, I desire that the General of my Forces, and some of my Councill may come hither, and so confer both with my self and you.*

The King gave order that the gates of the Cities might be set open, but the Queen sent a messenger to the Army, that none of the forces should enter the City, but keep themselves where they [263:L14r] were without: only the Generall and the Councill, and some of the chiefest Commanders, to come unto her; but when they were ready to waite upon the Queen, the old man fell very sick, and sent to his son the Young Generall, to come unto him to take his leave of him before he dyed, who went with a sorrowfull heart, and sad countenance; and when he came close to his bed, the old man spake; Son, said he, my lease of life is expired, and death, the Landlord of my body, knocks at my old & ruinated Cottage, sending out my soul to seek another habitation; which soul intends to travell through the Airy Skies unto the mansion of the Gods, where it shall pray for your success and happy days on earth; O Father, said *Travelia*, Must you go, and leave me here behind.

*Why will the Gods so cruelly oppress,  
An innocent youth to leave it in distress;*

You were my good Angell to guard me from those evils that Fortune sets about me; you were my guide, which did direct my simple youth, to just and honest ways; what will become of me when you are gone? Or who will restore me from those that seeks my ruine? said the old man, The Gods, the Gods, my Son, they will reward your Vertue; farewell, farewell, then turned his head and died.

After he had lamented and mourned over his liveless corps, he sent to the Queen, to give him leave to interre his fathers Ashes; the King hearing thereof sent to the Generall, inviting him to bring his fathers body into the City, and there to be interr'd in his chief Temple, which honour he accepted, whereupon all the Army brought the hearse unto the

gates, and then returned unto their Trenches; but the chief Commanders did bear it to the grave; the young Generall when he came into the Temple, who was clad all in mourning, only his face was seen, which appeared like the Sun when it breaks through a dark and spungy cloud: their beams did shine on those watry drops that fell upon her cheeks, as banks where Roses and Lilies grew, there standing on a mounted pillar. spake her fathers funerall speech<sup>169</sup>

*I Come not, said she, here to flatter or bely the dead; but to speak the truth, as far as my knowledge is informed thereby; he was aged in years, not old, for those are only old whose memories and understanding are grown defective by the length of time: he was wise by experience, not led with self-opinion,<sup>170</sup> he was learned in the Art of Navigation, and not ignorant of Land-service or Command, although few that dwells on Seas, and professes that art, knowes little more of Land than the Ports where they take harbor to shelter from furious stormes, or to take fresh victuals in; or to deboist<sup>171</sup> with Wine & Women; but he was most temperate, not only in moderating his passion, but appetites with Reason, Honour and Religion; in his behavior he was affable and free, not formall, nor constrain'd by vain & self conceit, his disposition gentle, sweet, and kinde; he in his nature compas- [264:L14v] sionated<sup>172</sup> all that were in distress; he was industrious to all good effects, and had a nimble and ingenious wit, and such a superfluity of courage, as did not only banish fear in himself, but begot spirit in others; he was bred in the Schooles of honour, where he had learnt vertuous principles and heroick actions; he had all the ingredients that goeth to the making of an honest and gallant man; and he was not only morally honest, but most pious and devout, he offered not sacrifice to the Gods for worldly prosperity, but out of pure love, and adoration to the Gods; he was a pattern for all others to take example from; his soul was as the breath of Gods; and his animal<sup>173</sup> the best*

<sup>169</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten note inserts 'spake her fathers funerall speech', leaving the period after 'pillar'. The errata list notes the change, but places a comma after 'pillar' and changes the spelling of 'funerall' to 'Funeral' and capitalizes 'fathers.' A printed note in the left margin relates the following: 'The ancient custome was for the nearest friend to speak their funerall speech', p. 264.

<sup>170</sup>*self-opinion*] inflated sense of one's self-worth (*OED* n. 2).

<sup>171</sup>*deboist*] NP 1671 (*Wing* N856) adds 'be', so the complete phrase is 'to be deboist', p. 498. Used in this way, the word is an adjective meaning 'debauched' (*OED* adj. 1).

<sup>172</sup>*compassionated*] treated with compassion (*OED* v. 1).

<sup>173</sup>*animal*] animal spirit.



*of natures extraction, but nature makes nothing to last in one forme long, for what she creates, she dissolves again.*

With that her tears fell so fast from her eyes, as stopt her mouth for a time; but at last she sighing said,

*Although my tears are useless to him, since it is not in their power to alter the decrees of Fate, nor can persuade the Gods, to give perpetuall life here in this world, yet<sup>174</sup> by naturall affections, they are forced through my eyes;*

Then bowing down her head over the Corps, which underneath was placed, said;

*These as satisfaction may assuage my grief to think my newborn Teares<sup>175</sup>, the issues of my love, shall be buried and be intombed with his cold ashes, which is the onely way to mingle souls, when death had<sup>176</sup> parted bodyes; but if that Fate had the power to twist my thread of life with his, then death struck me too, & so eased my grief; But since not so, his memory shall lye Intombed in my heart untill I dye.*

After he had spoke his funerall speech, he descended from the pillar, and helping to lay the Corps upon the funerall pile, and with a flaming Torch, did set the fuell on fire, where after gathering up the ashes, put them in the Urne, then placed it in a Tombe; after he had thus executed those ceremonyes belonging to the dead, he changed his mourning Robes, and clothed himself fit for the Court or Campe again, then he and the Councell, and the chief Commanders went unto the Palace of the King, whereafter some discourse, was brought to the Queen, who joyed more to see her *Travelia* than the Victories they won, and after she had condoled with<sup>177</sup> him for the loss of his father, she congratulated with him for the good success he had in the Warrs, and withall told him she must set at liberty

---

<sup>174</sup>NP 1656 (Wing N855): The errata list inserts 'by' after 'yet', but the change is not marked in the text. It is added here for clarity.

<sup>175</sup>NP 1656 (Wing N855): The 'T' of 'Teares' appears to have originally been an 'F'. The letter was manually altered. The list of errata corrects the word to 'tears'.

<sup>176</sup>NP 1656 (Wing N855): A handwritten correction blots out the original word and inserts 'had', p. 265. The change is noted on the errata list.

<sup>177</sup>condoled with] grieved with (OED v. 2).

his prisoner the Prince, for she had given him back unto the King, whereupon he presently gave order for the Prince to repaire to the Court, and after she heard the relations of their severall actions, and accidents; and had pleased her self with the varietie of other discourses, she told them she would sit in Councell, to consider what was to be done, as concerning the Peace, and so dismiss them for that time, onely she stayed<sup>178</sup> *Travelia*, loving his company so well, she could not [265:Mm1r] so easily part. But the King perceiving her affections, as being never pleased but when *Travelia* was with her, he grew so jealous, that had not Honour forbid him, having past his word unto her they should all there be safe, otherwise he should not have let him lived to have been his Rival.

But in the mean time, the Messenger had caused the Prince to repair to the Court; whereat he was much troubled how to behave himself; for, said he in his thoughts, if I should make my self known unto my Mistris, she will straight convey away her self either by death, or stealth; and if I go disguised, although I may make the reason known unto the King, yet the Court will talk, and think it is for some ill design against the State, so bring an aspersion upon my Loyalty.

Thus musing a long time with himself, at last he thought it best for to take counsel of the King; and being come to him, the King with great joy embraced him, saying, O my Friend, thy company is a Kingdome to me. He humbly kissing his hand, and said, he thought Fortune was so much his Enemy, as that she had shut him out of his Royal Favour: but Sir, said he, it was none of my fault I did not win; for the Gods, as *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and the rest, are such Lovers of the fair effeminate Mortals, that they will never be against them; for wheresoever they are, Victory is there also.

---

<sup>178</sup>*stayed*] detained (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> III 20 a).

The King thinking he meant it by the Queen, told him how unkinde she used him, and how he perceived she loved the young General even to a dotage, and withall asking his counsels therein what he should do; but he smiling, yet sighing, said,

O Sir, said he, there is no cause to fear, for those you do suspect is a Woman, yet I believe the Queen knows it not. Then he told him all the story of his Love, and all the several accidents thereupon, and ask'd his advice what he should do.

The King, who was overjoyed at his relations, discovering she was a Woman, as his joy gave to many several advices, that the number confused the counsel, and confounded the Choyce.

But whil'st they were thus talking, came a Messenger to the Prince, which brought him Letters from his own Countrey by Merchants that came into that Countrey, that his Wife was dead; for although they knew not where he was, yet they sent Letters into several Countreyes, in hope some might light into his hands: which when he heard, his doubts were turned into hopes. With that, the King and he embraced with joy, making no question now but *Cupid* was turned their Friend, and that he would shoot two golden Arrows into their Mistrisses hearts from the Forts of their affections.

The time being come when the King and Queen, and either Counsellors should meet about the Peace, they being all set ready to treat, the King intreated the Queen she would give him leave that the Prince might be one of his Council, which, said he, without your own consent he shall not come, since he hath been your Prisoner. [266: *Mm1v*]

She told the King, he was not bound to her, since she had given him a Release, and your Councillors are to be chosen by your self, and not by me.

After her answer, he sent for him; which when he came, being not disguised, but as he was himself; and *Travelia* looking upon his face as he was coming in amongst the Society, seeing the Man she most did fear, she fell into a swound; at which accident the Queen being extreemly afflicted, thinking it was done by some design wrought from the

jealousie of the King, broke up the Juncto<sup>179</sup> for that time, taking all the care she could for his recovery. But *Travelia* being recovered out of her swoond, yet was she sick in Minde, though not in Body, and kept her Bed, as being very ill.

Whereupon the Queens suspicion was more increased, and feared some Poyson had been given him; and with that conceit could not endure to see the King.

The King being much troubled that the Queen was more strict to him than she was used to be,<sup>180</sup> and perceived that it was *Travelia* that was the cause, complained unto the Prince, and angerly merrily said,<sup>181</sup> Dispose of your Mistris some way, for I am jealous, said he, although she is a Woman.

Sir, said the Prince, I have as much reason to be jealous of the Queen as you have of my Mistris, setting her Masculine Habit aside.

At last they did agree to discover her to the Queen. Whereupon the Prince went to the Queen, and desired by a Messenger to grant him half an hours conference.

She desired to be excused.

He sent her word, it was something concerning her<sup>182</sup> own Affairs: whereat she gave admittance. When the Prince came to her, he said,

Madam, I should not press thus rudely on your thoughts, but that I think I am part of the cause that makes them melancholy.

Sir, said she, you take upon you to know much, for it is hard to know the minde or thoughts of our selves, much less anothers.

Madam, said he, I will be so presumptuous to guess at them, if you will give me leave.

---

<sup>179</sup>*Juncto*] a body of men who have gathered, usually for political purposes. An interesting choice of words in that '[i]n English History the term has been chiefly applied to the Cabinet Council of Charles I, to the Independent and Presbyterian factions of the same period, to the Rump Parliament under Cromwell, and to the combination of prominent Whigs in the reigns of William III and Anne' (*OED* n. 1 a).

<sup>180</sup>*than . . . used to be*] than she was accustomed to being (than was her habit).

<sup>181</sup>*angerly merrily said*] pretending to be angry, said merrily. *NP* 1671 (*Wing* N856) clarifies the meaning by altering the phrase to 'and (with seeming anger) said merrily', pp. 503-504.

<sup>182</sup>*NP* 1656 (*Wing* N855): 'his' is manually altered to 'her'. The change is noted on the errata list.

Take it, said she.

Then Madam, said he, I must tell you, you are in love; and those you love, although there is a society of all excellencies, yet cannot return such love as you desire; for you have placed your Affection upon a Woman, who hath concealed her Sex, in taking the Habit of a Man, and might more confirm your mistake by the actions of a Souldier. I know not, said the Prince, how kinde you have found her, but I have found her cruel. Then telling the story from the first time he saw her untill that present.

When the Queen had heard his relations, her colour came and went, moved by her mix'd passions, Anger and Love; angry that she was deceived, yet still did love, as wishing she had been a Man. [267:Mm2r]

Then the Prince began to move unto her the suit of the King; but she was so impatient and troubled in her minde, being crost in her Love, that she would hear nothing concerning Love more at that time; which he perceiving, took his leave for the present: but as soon as he was gone,

*Tears from her Eyes flow'd out, as if they meant  
To make her there a Watry Monument;  
And her oppressed Heart such sighs sent forth,  
Like gusts of wind that blow from South or North.  
After this furious Storm, a Calm did rise,  
Her Spirits like a still smooth Water lyes.  
Then laying down her gentle head to rest,  
Thus to the God of Love her prayers addrest.  
Thou powerfull God of Love, that shoots from high,  
One leadden Arrow in my breast let fly,  
To quench that scorching heat thou mad'st to burn,  
Unless a Woman to a Man can turn.  
With that the God of Love did pity take,  
Quench'd out the first, and did a new Fire make;  
Yet was it weak, as being made but new,*

*But being kindled, it much hotter grew.  
At last, the Flame got hold upon the King,  
Which did much Joy unto each Kingdome bring,*

After a sweet and refreshing sleep, she rose, and went to *Travelia's* Chamber, and told her how she was discovered; then chiding her gently for not making her self known unto her; for, said she, you have caused me many unquiet rests.

But *Travelia* begged her pardon, telling her, it was the cause of her misfortunes that concealed her, and not out of any evil design she had to deceive her; then desired her assistance and help to secure her.

Whil'st they were thus talking, the King and the Prince came to see the sick Person, to whom the Queen with a smiling countenance said, she was a courting her hard-hearted Lover.

The King answered, that he hoped she would take pity on him, by what she had felt her self.

The Queen told him, that she was likelier to love him now, than if she had never been a Lover before; for, said she, there is something pleasing in Lovers Thoughts, be their Fortunes never so adverse; and I believe, said she, the Prince will say as much.

Madam, said he, it is a pleasing pain, as being mix'd with hopes and fears; but if our hopes do cease, all pleasure is gone, and nothing doth remain but pains of Hell.

Then, said the Queen, your Mistris were in a sad condition, if she loved you, as you seem to love her, you being a Married Man.

No, said the Prince, I am now a Widower; but I doubt, said he, that doth not advantage me in my Mistris affection. [268:Mm2v]

But when *Travelia* heard he was a Widower, her heart did beat like to a feaverish pulse, being moved with several passions, fearing it was not so, hoping it was so, joying if it were so, grieving that she ought not to wish it so.

But the Queen asked the Prince, how he came to know of it. Whereupon he told her.

Said she, I have promised your Mistris to protect her against your outragious assaults; but since your Suit is just, and your Treaty civil, I will yield her to you, upon that condition you carry her not out of my Kingdome; for since I cannot marry her, and so make her my Husband, I will keep her if I can, and so make her my Friend.

With that, *Travelia* rises up in her Bed, and bowed her self with a pleased countenance, giving the Queen thanks.

Said the Prince, you have given me as much as the Gods could give, which is, Felicity.

Madam, said the King, you have given me nothing.

The Queen, with blushes, answered, that if her Council would agree, she would give him her self.

The King for joy kneeled down, and kiss'd her Hand; Now I am like to Gods, they can but have their wish.

Thus passing that day in pleasing discourses, the next day they caused their Councils to meet, where they concluded the marriage of the King and Queen; and that the Queen should live with their King in the Kingdome of Amours, and that her first Son should be heir to the Crown, and her second should be Heir to the Kingdome of Amity; but in case there were no Sons, or but one, then Daughters should inherit.

In the mean time, the Prince, and his Princess that was to be, should be Vice-roy, or rather she should rule; who was so beloved of the People, as if she had not onely been a Native born, but as if she had been born from the Royal Stock. But they thought it fit she should make her self known unto the Army by word of mouth, that she was a Woman, otherwise they might think she was made away by a violent death; and that the report of

being a Woman, was onely a trick to deceive them; and from thence arise such a Mutiny, as might bring a ruine to both Kingdomes.

When all was agreed, they prepared for the Marriages.

In the mean time, *Travelia* goeth to the Army, attended by the Prince, where the King and Queen came soon after, that the Souldiers might see they were there, as Witnesses of what she told them. And being all in a Circle round about her, she being upon a place raised for that purpose, thus spake.

Noble Friends, and Valiant Souldiers,

*I* Am come here at this present to declare I am a Woman, although I am habited like a Man, and perchance you may think it immodesty; but they that will judge charitably, will enquire the reason before they give their censure; for upright Judges [269:Mm3r] never give Sentence before the Party proves Guilty: Wherefore I believe you will not condemn me, because Necessity did enforce me to conceal my Sex, to protect my Honour; for as the love of Soul and Body is inseparable, so should the love of Chastity, and the effeminate Sex; and who can love, and not share in danger? And since no danger ought to be avoyded, nor life considered, in respect of their Honours; and to guard that safe from Enemies, no Habit is to be denied; for it is not the outward Garments that can corrupt the honest Minde, for Modesty may cloath the Soul of a naked Body, and a Sword becomes a Woman when it is used against the Enemies of her Honour; for though her strength be weak, yet she ought to shew her will; and to dye in the defence of Honour, is to live with a Noble Fame; therefore neither Camp, nor Court, nor City, nor Country, nor Danger, nor Habit, nor any worldly felicity, must separate the love of Chastity, and our Sex; for as Love is the sweetest, so it is the strongest of all Passions; and true Love proceeds from Virtue, not from Vice; wherefore it is to be followed by Life, to be maintained till death; and if I have served my Queen honestly, condemn not my Modesty.

Then bowing her head down low, first to the King and Queen, then to the Army.



Whereupon the Army gave a shout, and cryed out, Heaven bless you, of what Sex soever you be.

After she had spoke this Speech, she went into her Tent, and drest her self in her effeminate Robes, and came out again, standing in the same place, thus spake.

Noble Friends,

***T**Hus with my Masculine Cloaths I have laid by my Masculine Spirit; yet not so by, but I shall take it up again, if it be to serve the Queen and Kingdome, to whom I owe my Life for many Obligations.*

*First, to my Queen, who bought me as a Slave, yet used me as a Friend; and loved me with that affection, as if Nature had linked us in one line, which Heaven reward her with Glory and Renown. Besides, her Love did bestow upon me great Honour, made me Protector of her Kingdome in her absence; and you her Subjects out of Loyalty obeyed all my Commands, although I am young and unexperienced. And 'tis not onely what your Loyalty inforces, but I have found your Affections of Love to be such, as shewed they come freely from your Souls, expressing it self in grieving for my Sickness, taking care for my health, joying in my company, mourning for my absence, glorying in my fame; and so much as you would lessen your own, to give it to me: what shall I do to shew my Gratitude? alas, my Life is too poor a Sacrifice; had I the Mansion of the Gods, I would resign it for your Felicity; but these are onely words, not acts, to shew you my thanks: Yet here I do offer all that the Gods or Nature gave me, Life, Health, or Beauty, Peace, Pleasure, or Plen- [270:Mm3v] ty; and these shall stand upon the Altar of a thankful Heart, ready to sacrifice to your Service.*

Whereupon all the Army cryed out, an Angel, an Angel, the Gods had sent unto them.

Then was there a Declaration read to the Army of the Agreement of Peace: And when it was read that the Prince should be Vice-roy in the Kingdome of Amity, all the Souldiers, as if they had but one Voyce, cryed out, *Travelia* shall be Vice-regency; which was granted to pacifie them. Whereupon there were great Acclamations of Joy.

But the Prince told his Mistris, she should also govern him.

She answered, that he should govern her, and she would govern the Kingdome.

Then went the King and Queen, the Prince and *Travelia*, the Nobles and the chief Commanders, to celebrate their Nuptials; where on the Wedding-day, the Queen was adorned with a Crown of Diamonds, and hung about with rich Jewels; yet her Beauty did dim their Luster: but *Travelia* was onely drest in a white silk Garment, which hung loosely about her: yet then<sup>183</sup>

*Her Face did seem like to a Glory bright,  
Where Gods and Goddesses did take delight;  
And in her Eyes, new Worlds, you there might see  
Love, flying Cupids there as Angels be;  
And on her Lips Venus enthroned is,  
Inviting duller Lovers there to kisses;  
Winged Mercury upon her Tongue did sit,  
Strewing out Flowers of Rhetorick and of Wit;  
Pallas did circle in each Temple round,  
Which with her Wisdome, as a Laurel crown'd;  
And in her Cheeks sweet Flowers for Love's Poesies,  
There Fates spun Threads of Lillies and of Roses;  
And every loving Smile, as if each were  
A Palace for the Graces to dwell there;  
And chast Diana on her Snow-white Breast  
There lean'd her Head, with pure Thoughts to rest;  
When view'd her Neck, great Jove turn'd all to wonder,*

---

<sup>183</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten note states, 'These verses are my Lord Marquis', p. 271. The note does not appear in the errata list.

*In Loves soft Showers melting without Thunder;  
 The lesser Gods on her white Hands did lye,  
 Thinking each Vein to be their Azure Skye;  
 Her charming circling Arms made Mars to cease  
 All his fierce Battails, for a Love's soft Peace;  
 And on our World's Globe sate triumphing high,  
 Heav'd there by Atlas up into the Skye;  
 And sweet-breath'd Zephyrus did blow her Name  
 Into the glorious Trumpet of good Fame.*

After they were married, to set out their Triumphs, they had Masques, Plays, Balls, Pageants, Shews, Processions, and the [271:Mm4r] like; and when they had kept the Festivals some dayes in the City, the Prince and Princess desired that they might go and revel with the Army for some dayes, that was without the City. The Queen being well pleased therewith, thither they went, where they had Tiltings, Running at the Ring, Fencing, Wrestling, Vaulting, Jumping, running Races of Horse and Foot, baiting of Beasts, and many the like Warlike Pastimes; and such Hospitality, that every Common Souldier was feasted; and after they were well satisfied with Sports and Good Chear, the Prince and Princess returned to the Court again; and after they had remained there some time, the King and Queen sent them with the Army into the Kingdome of Amity; and the Souldiers returned, not onely with all the Spoyls they got in the War, but the King did present all the chief Commanders with Presents; and the two Kingdomes lived in Peace and Tranquillity during the life of the King and Queen, and for all I can hear, do so to this day. [272:Mm4v]

*The ninth Book.**The first Part.**The Tale of a Traveller.*

**A** Gentleman and his wife being marryed some years, having none but daughters, at last was borne unto them a son, of whom they were very fond, as striving to give him the best breeding they could; his education in the first place, was to learn the Horne-Book,<sup>184</sup> from that his Primmer, and so the Bible, by his Mothers Chambermayd, or the like; but after he came to ten years old, or thereabouts, he was sent to a free Schoole, where the noise of each Schollers reading aloud, did drown the sense of what they read, burying the knowledge and understanding, in the confusion of many words, and severall Languages; yet was whipt for not learning by their Tutors; for their ill teaching them, which broke and weakned their memories, with the over-heavy burthens; striving to thrust in more Learning than could be digested, or kept in the braine: this dulled their senses, and opprest their understanding; for being afraid of whipping they got their Lessons by wrote,<sup>185</sup> understanding not the sense therein; but this youth being ingenious by nature, learnt more by his own capacity, than by his Tutors dull rules; where after some time, he was sent to the University, there continuing from the years of 14. to the years of 18 at last considering with himself, that he was buryed to the world, and the delights therein; conversing more with the dead than with the living, in reading old Authors; and that little company he had, was only at prayers, and meat; wherein the time of the one was taken up in devotion, the other in eating, or rather fasting; for their prayers were so long, and their [273: Nn1r] Commons<sup>186</sup> so short, that it seemed rather an humiliation & fasting, than an eating and a thanksgiving; but their conversation, was a greater penance than their spare

---

<sup>184</sup>*Horne-Book*] According to Jones, '[T]he hornbook [was] a device shaped like a bat, made of horn and inscribed with the letters of the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer' (*A Glorious Fame*, p. 10).

<sup>185</sup>*wrote*] rote.

<sup>186</sup>*commons*] the 'sharing of a common table' – eating together (*OED* n.19)

diet; for their disputations which are fed by contradictions, did more wrack the brain, than the other did gripe<sup>187</sup> the belly, the one with filling the head with vain opinions, and false imaginations, for want of the light of Truth, as the other with winde and rude humors, for want of a sufficient nourishment; whereupon these considerations he left the University and fitted himself to travell into forraign Countryes, to see the varieties and curiosities therein, and to learn the Customes and Lawes thereof, going into all places and Companies of note, and recourse;<sup>188</sup> but when he had travelled some few years, he began to summe up his Journeys, that he might know what advantagious experiences he had gained by the observation thereof, whereupon he recounted the severall formes and fashions in Architecture, both in Churches and Palaces, Cities, Towns, Villages, and the like, as their longitudes and latitudes, their height and thickness, their formes, as round, square, triangular, and the like. Their materialls as stones, and what sorts of stone, or wood, brick, tiles, slat or the like: what pillars and pilliasters<sup>189</sup> of all fashions, cutts and carvings; the doores and frontispieces, which are for grace and ornament, as bel-views, or for conveniency, to avoid the sharp winds; as shunning the Northern, or Southern points; and so for windows placing them obliquely from the Sun, to avoid the extremity of his heat: Then likewise garnishing, as gilding, fretting,<sup>190</sup> and their paintings, where the proportion of their figures were made according to the distance of the eyes, then recounting what piles had been built on the least compass of the ground that none was lost, but every foot employed, making no vacant corners, or useless places; then their situation and accommodations for water and fuell and healthsome ayre; And what Cities had navigable

---

<sup>187</sup>*gripe*] 'produce pain in the bowels as if by constriction or contraction' (*OED* v.1 8 a and b).

<sup>188</sup>In *Life*, Margaret describes William's father as having a similar experience. He and his step-brother travelled 'into foreign Countries, to observe the Fashions, Laws, and Customs of other Nations, contracted such an intire Friendship which lasted to their death: neither did they out live each other long, for My Lord's Father, Sir Charles Cavendish, lived but one year after Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury' (p. 3).

<sup>189</sup>*Pilliasters*] 'A column or pillar projecting from a wall or on either side of a doorway, usually with a base and capital' (*OED* n. 1).

<sup>190</sup>*fretting*] ornamental patterns produced by intersecting straight lines (*OED* n.1 3 a and b).

Rivers, or conveniency of Ports and Havens for traffick and commerce, what fortifications or Forts for its defence.

After he had recounted this to himself, what those sights had advantaged him, said he, if I were able, I would pick out all the curiosities of these severall buildings, by imitation, and create me a Palace; but upon reflecting thoughts, he said, building was very chargeable: for a meane house, saith he, the building thereof will wast an indifferent good Estate. So as I may build a house after mine own humour, but I shall be so poor as not be able to live in it when it is finished; No, said he, I will live in those houses my Ancestors left me, who built by degrees according as they were able; every generation adding something; and leave great, curious and rare buildings, to great Princes, and Monarks, who builds with their subjects purses; or to the Clergie, who builds with charity, raising great Colledges and Churches, out of weak Conscience, or to unjust Magistrates, who creates Palaces from bribes; Then what good hath these Observations done me said he, [274:Nn1v] unless I meant to be a Survayer, and then would not study any other things, because I meant to make it my living, and so learn the curiosity of it for my trade, but since I cannot build for my humor, fancy, or fame, I will not trouble my self for the pleasure of others.

Then he recounted to himself the several Cours of Judicature,<sup>191</sup> and how Causes were determined, but I observed one thing, said he, that Riches and Power decides all Causes, and those that hath neither shall loose their suites.

Then he recounted what places of societies he had frequented, and what he had gained by their conversations, as at ordinaries, where all strangers and travellers meet; and what their discourses were, which was most commonly of newes, which many times were false: as what designes one Prince hath against another, and their Peace and Agreements, their Warrs, their Victories, and Overthrows, their Disadvantages & Advantages of their

---

<sup>191</sup>*Cours of Judicature*] Courts of law or justice (*OED* n. 1)

Pollicies, Governements and Tyrannies, their Favorites, their Luxuries and Vanities; but seldome praised for Wisdom or Justice; And what advantages, said he, do I gaine by this? their losses hurt not me, I gaine nothing by their Victory; their Luxury drawes nothing out of my purses; nor their Clemency, nor their Bounty extends not so far as my miseries, or necessities; God send me health, said he, and fortune give me good luck, and let forraign Kingdomes do what they will, for I cannot settle them, when they are in disorder; for mutinous factions will not hear me; nor Tyrant Princes will not take my counsell, then why should I fill my head with their actions, or busie my thoughts with their quarrells or agreements; besides the reports are most commonly or at least half of them lyes.

Then he recounted<sup>192</sup> his recreations and pastimes; as playing at cards and dice, mistrisses and the like: said he, by this, I do not only loose and waste time, idly setting still, only exercising my self in shuffling and throwing, but I loose my money: for if I win once, I loose twice for it; and the box eates up all the gaines, but it doth so torment my minde, that it is never at rest; For when I have won, I long to be at play again to win more with the hopes I shall grow rich hereby, and fill my head with such vaine imaginations, building such Castles in the aire, doing such wonders with my imaginary wealth as *Cesar* and *Alexander* never did the like, and if I loose, I am never quiet untill I am at play again; out of hopes to get what I have lost; and as sullen all the while as a hare that is got in restraint, my countenance so dejected and sad, as if I had newly buried my Father, and my humour so cross, as<sup>193</sup> I contradicted all discourse, let it be never so rationall, and so cholerick as I am ready to beat all I meet; thus I disturbe my sleep, torment my thoughts, vex my minde, impaire my health, in setting up late, and all to no purpose.

---

<sup>192</sup>The 'u' in recounted is inserted by hand and the list of errata notes the change, p. 275.

<sup>193</sup>An 'if' is blotted out, but the change is not noted in the errata list, p. 275.

If not at play, then I go to a bawdy house, and there for a short pleasure, I get a lasting disease, for the Pox is seldom [275:Nn2r] got out of the bones, and when it is cured at the best, it leaves pains and aches to their dying day.

Well, said he,<sup>194</sup> by these courses I finde I am absolutely a looser, and therefore I leave them to Whores, Bawds, Cheats, and Pick-pockets.

And as for those Exercises and quallities, said he, which we call Vertuous; I could never get for travelling about to see sights and rarities, as they are accounted; so as Vaulting, Riding, Fencing, which should maintain Honour, and defend my life, is lost in the search of novelties, which whirls a man about as dust in a whirlwinde; and his thoughts are so scattered about, as his reason and consideration, can settle in no judicious place.

Well, said he, I will leave these vices, and turn Courtier, and see what preferment I can get therein. Whereupon he made himself fine clothes, taking many Pages, Lackays, and Groomes, giving phantasticall Liveries, and thus being accoutred for a great Prince his Court, he addressed himself there to hushering<sup>195</sup> the Ladyes, kissing their hands, admiring their beautyes, cringing and congying, creeping, and crouching to the favorites, waiting and attending in the Privy-Chamber, for the presence of the King and Queen, and if he could at any time get a word from the King or Queen, although it were but to call such a one, or to speak to have a back door ready opened to go into the garden, or to take Coach privately; he thought himself raised from a Molehill to a Mountain, but after he found his money was spent, and no preferment was like to come, he considered with himself what advantages he had got, or rather lost.

Here, said he, I wast my time in hopes of preferment when preferment comes by favour not by merit, and many times those that deserves least, hath the greatest honors cast upon them; here I spend my Estate to grace the Court, and my self to flatter Authority

---

<sup>194</sup>An 's' is blotted out to change the pronoun to 'he', p. 276. The change is noted on the errata list.

<sup>195</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'ushering', p. 521.



to maintain knavery, siding in factions, to raile against honest men, to bely my Conscience, and to what purpose (is this) for when I am a bankerout,<sup>196</sup> I shall be despised and scorned, or their anvill to knock jests upon.

No, said he, I will spend my Estate where I shall have something for my money, and be flattered by them that shall live upon my bounty or vainglory.

Besides, said he, this is an idle and cowardly life; I will go to the Warrs and there get me Honour and Reputation; so he fitted himself thereunto, with Armes, Horses, Tents, Wagons, and the like; and after he had been received by the Generall, very kindly and with great Civillity, he marched with the rest of the Cavallery, after he past some two Summers in Marching, Besiedging, Fighting, Wintering, Quartering, and purloying; he began to consider the course of life he lived in.

Here, said he, I adventure my life, running through great dangers, endure great miseries by extreme colds and heats, and extreme hunger, and thirst, breaking my naturall rest, lying upon the cold and hard ground, killing those that never did me harme, [276: Nn2v] and offering my self to be killed, of those that never did me good; and this I do to get an honourable fame, when ten thousand to one I am cast into the Grave of Oblivion, amongst the common Souldiers (for alas) fame hath not so many Pen-Clarks<sup>197</sup> to record every severall Action done by every particular person in a great and numerous Army.

Besides, all the honour of a Victory redounds to the Generall; and the losses reflect upon the common Souldier and under-Commanders; besides, Fortune gives the triumph, and not merit.

And what have I gained by all my travells, and the experience therein? Nay, what have I not lost? Have I not spent a great sum of money, indangered my life, both by Sea,

---

<sup>196</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'Bankrupt', p. 522.

<sup>197</sup>*Pen-Clarks*] secretaries (*OED* n.). NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction changes the 'u' to an 'e' and crosses out the 'y', p. 277.

and Land, wasted my youth, wearied my limbs, exhausted my spirits with tedious journeys, my senses almost choaked with dust, or drowned with wet, lying in lousie Innes, eating stinking meat, and all the inconvenience that can be, goeth along with travellers; and when they returne to their own Countrey they are no wiser than when they went out; but oft times become more compleat and absolute fools, bringing vaine fashions, phantasticall garbes, lying reports, infectious diseases, rotten bodyes. Atheisticall opinions, seared Conscience, and spotted souls.

Well, said he, I will now to my native Soil again, leaving the flattering and dissembling Courts, the deboist Cities, the Cruell Warrs, and never take up Arms more, but when my King and Countrey calls me thereto; nor will I travell more but when my King and Countrey sends me forth, but I will lead a Countrey life, study husbandry, follow my plows, sell my cattell and corn, butter and cheese at markets and faires, kisse the Countrey Wenches, and carry my Neighbours Wife to a tavern when market is done, live thriftily and grow rich: then taking his leave of the Generall he returned to his own Countrey, where after he had visited his friends, who was joyed to see him, and had welcomed him home, he put himself into one of his Farm houses; stocking his grounds, taking men-servants, and maid-servants to follow his business, and he himself would oversee and direct, clothing himself in a frize Jerkin, and a payre of frize breeches, a frize pair of mittins and a frize mountier-cap,<sup>198</sup> to keep out sharp cold in Winter mornings, when the breath freezes between the teeth; industrious to call up his servants, before day light, and was the last a bed when their work was done: And in Summer-time he would be up, with the Lark, to mow down his hay, to reap down his harvest, and to see his Carts loaded, riding from cart to cart; and at noone would set down on his sheafs of corne or hay-cocks,<sup>199</sup> eating bread and cheese, and young oynions with his regiment of Work-men,

---

<sup>198</sup>*mountier-cap*] From Spanish *montero cap*, a fur-lined cap with a spherical crown and flaps to cover the ears and neck (*OED montero* n. 1).

<sup>199</sup>*hay-cocks*] a conical heap of hay in the field (*OED* n.)

tossing<sup>200</sup> the black leather-bottle, drinking the health of the Country Lasses, and Goodwives, that dwelt thereabout; and after his harvest was brought into his barnes; and his Sheep shearing-time done, make merry, as the custome of the Countrey was, with good cheer, although Countrey-fare, as Goose-pyes, Pudding pyes, Furnmity,<sup>201</sup> Cu- [277: *Nn3r*] stardes, Aples, and march-beere,<sup>202</sup> dancing to the horne-pipe, with the lusty Lasses, and merry good Wives, who were drest in all their bravery, in their stammell petticoates<sup>203</sup> and their grey Cloth-wascoates<sup>204</sup> or white-wascoates wrought with black worsted, and green aprons.

The men with cloth-breeches and leather doublets, with peuter buttons, these and the like recreations the Country people hath mixt with their hard labours; when their stomacks were full and their leggs weary with dancing, or rather with running and leaping; for their dances hath no nice<sup>205</sup> and difficult measure to tread, they disperse every one to the severall Houses, which are thatcht, and onely holes cut for windows, unless it be the rich Farmers, and they most commonly have a chief room which is glazed,<sup>206</sup> yet the poorer sort are seldom without bacon, cheese, and butter to entertain a friend at any time.

Then giving thanks to the Gentleman for their good cheere, and he shaking them every one by the hand, took their leave; the next day, every one followed their own labours, as they used to do, the Gentleman omitted no paines, care and industry in his affaires, but plyed<sup>207</sup> the marketts, selling his Corn, straw, hay, Cattle, cheese, butter, hony and the like.

And after he had followed this way of Husbandry two or three year, and casting up his accompts<sup>208</sup> found that he was rather behind hand than before hand in his estate,

---

<sup>200</sup>*tossing*] Drinking energetically; tilting the bottle, cup, etc. (*OED* v. III 10 b).

<sup>201</sup>*Furnmity*] 'a dish made of hulled wheat boiled in milk, and seasoned with cinnamon, sugar' (*OED* n.1)

<sup>202</sup>*march-beere*] strong beer made in the spring (*OED* *March* compounds C2).

<sup>203</sup>*stammell*] woollen under-garments worn by ascetics (*OED* n. 1).

<sup>204</sup>Waistcoats.

<sup>205</sup>*nice*] refined, cultured (*OED* adj. 3 d).

<sup>206</sup>*glazed*] fitted with windows (*OED* adj. 1).

<sup>207</sup>*plyed*] applied himself to; worked at (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> 2 b).

<sup>208</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'Accounts', p. 526.

and that his husbandry did not amount so high, as the rents he had from his tenants, when he did let them.

Lord, said he, I have taken all this pains, rising early, following my business hard all day, making my self a slave, to the muck of the earth, to become poorer than I was, its hard; when those that takes my Lands payes me great rents, and not onely lives themselves and their families thereon, but grows rich into the bargain, when I cannot make so much as my Rent on it, when I take as much paines, said he, and am industrious as they are: then being in a cholerick humor as they are most commonly that thrives not; and vexed at servants round his house for their carelessness and Idleness; and when his anger was over in a melancholy humor, he walkt out into his fields; and going by a neighbors cottage, where only lived an old man, and his old wife, she was standing at the door fanning<sup>209</sup> some corn in a little basket;

By your leave good wife, said he, you are fanning your gleanings.<sup>210</sup>

God bless you my good master, said she, and all that belongs to you truly, said she, I am sifting a little corne from the husks, to boyle for my good mans supper and mine, who will come home weary and hungry from his days labour; we are old, master, said she, and labour goeth hard with us now; but in our younger dayes, said she, it was like a recreation, when our bodyes were young and strong, and our spirits lively; but now our bodyes are weak, and our spirits faint; It is a toyle and an affliction to us, but we must work whil'st we live, for we have nothing but [278: *Nn3v*] our labors to feed us, and clothe us; God help us, said she.

Well, said he, I will be charitable, and see if that will make me thrive, and told her I would allow her a weekly stipend;

---

<sup>209</sup>*fanning*] winnowing; exposing to a current of air (*OED* v. 1 a).

<sup>210</sup>*gleanings*] what is left after the reapers have been through a corn field (*OED* n. from the v. *glean* 1).

Why the blessing of God, said she, rain down plenty on your life, and eternall joyes in heaven, after you are dead;

But I wonder, said he, you could not get so much by your labour in your younger days, to serve to maintain you when you are old.

O master, said she, some have too little to thrive on, and some have too much; for those that have nothing but from hand to mouth can never lay up; because they eat up what they get, and there can be no store, without some savings; And they that have more than they can mannage themselves, are destroyed by those that help them; for many mouthes eats them up, and many hands works them out: besides, they are ever cozened and cheated in every office: for their Reapers steals their sheaves of corne; for whil'st the masters watch one end of the field there are sheaves flung over the hedge at the other end, and their sons, daughters, servants or friends, or partners, that helps to share, convey it away; or if not in the field, as it goeth home in Cart; for whilst the master goeth home with one Cart, the other that goeth before or cometh behind, is purloined, when he is in the barn, they rob him in the field, when he in the field they rob him in the Barne, besides, their Threshors carryes home corne in their bottles and baggs, or hides it in some out-corner, untill they go home, then they are cozened in their garners;<sup>211</sup> for though they do keep the keys themselves, yet when it is fann'd, sifted and turned, they must watch as a Cat doth a Mouse, or els they will lose; and if they grinde their corn, the Miller steals his share, and when they go to sow the seed in the ploughed up ground, if the master doth not follow the plough and harrow, and watch the hand that flings in the corn, they will throw handfulls in heapes together up when he is gone home; and for their kine<sup>212</sup> and sheepe their maids will sell their milk in the fields, and when their masters and mistrisses are gone to bed, although they saw their servant go before them, they will rise in the middle of the night

---

<sup>211</sup>*garners*] storehouses; granaries (*OED* n. a).

<sup>212</sup>*kine*] cows.

when they are asleep, and skimms their bowls of the first Creame; and in their Meadows and Pastures, their Neighbours will put their Cattle to feed on their grasse in the night, and take them out before the day; besides, the servants they send to markets, will drink out the gaines, and then complain to their masters, that provisions came so thick, and buyers so few, as they were forced to sell at under rates, and that plenty destroyed the market, so that *Robin* and *Dick*, *Jone* and *Gill*, makes merry on what their master loses; and so the like in all other commodities; the Sheepheard steales the twin Lamms, the Swinheard the tenth Pig, the Netheard<sup>213</sup> will mix strange steeres amongst his masters to grass. knowing his master cannot have so much time as to count his own every day, and when the barnes and the ploughs, and the Carts and the like want mending, and repairing, his Baylies<sup>214</sup> cutts down [279: *Nn4r*] two Trees, or more, when less than one will serve the turn; and the Carpenter makes more and greater Chips than he needs to do, or carries pieces of Wood home among his Tools; likewise, his Carters steal his Oats, and makes his Horses fast, and flings down more Trusses<sup>215</sup> of Hay from the Loft than they need to use; the Butcher steals the Tallow out of the Oxes, the Sheeps, and Swines belly, whil'st they rip them up, unless they be watcht: wherefore he that husbands much had need have *Argus* eyes,<sup>216</sup> to watch in every corner, and to spye into every action; and *Briareus* hands,<sup>217</sup> to help at every turn; and more than one pair of legs, to walk to every place, or else he shall never thrive.

But he that hath no more Ground than he can ride about every day, nor no more Servants than what his two Eyes can observe, nor no more Labourers than what he can diligently follow, nor no more more Cattel than what he can easily count, nor no more mouths than business; this Man shall thrive so, as to be able to pay his Landlord his quarter

---

<sup>213</sup>*Netheard*] *Neatberd*; one who herds cows; cowherd (*OED* n.)

<sup>214</sup>*Baylies*] *Bailees*; Persons entrusted with property (*OED* n.)

<sup>215</sup>*Trusses*] Bundles (*OED* n. 1 b).

<sup>216</sup>*Argus* eyes] Argus is a 'mythological person fabled to have had a hundred eyes. Hence, a very vigilant person, a watcher or guardian' (*OED*).

<sup>217</sup>*Briareus* hands] Briareus is the 'proper name of the hundred-handed giant of Greek mythology' (*OED*).

or his half years rent, to maintain his Family, and have Money in his Purse to lay out upon a good Bargain: when many a good worshipfull Gentleman is fain to borrow, and finde more wants in his Abundance, than the other in his hired Farm; and they are happiest Masters (said she) that have not many nor high desires, and can be content with a little, whose wants are not above their means.

Said the Gentleman, I have travelled far, and have seen and heard much, yet I have learnt more experience from you, than I have done in all my tedious and expensive Travels. Wherefore, said he, I finde we may go far about to seek for that which is at home; and for your learned discourse, said he, here is a Crown to make your Husband welcome when he comes home.

Heaven send you a good Wife, said she, and may you live together as old as *Methuselah*, and as loving as *Isaac* and *Rebeccah*.<sup>218</sup>

So home he went, and by the way he considered what the old Woman had told him. Said he, I find her words true, for I have taken more business upon me than I can manage; wherefore I will sell off my Stock, and let my Lands again, onely keep so much as shall serve me for provision for my private expence; and I will get me a Wife, who shall not be so handsome as to be proud of her Beauty, seeking wayes to shew it to the World; and whil'st she strives to shew her self, out of a desire to have all Eyes gaze at her, and to incaptivate all Hearts, she may chance to be catch'd in Lov's Net her self with some flattering Youth, or ignorant Coxcomb, who are onely crafty to lay Lime-twigs<sup>219</sup> to catch simple Women.

---

<sup>218</sup>The biblical Methuselah lived to the age of 969 years (Genesis 5:27). Isaac and Rebecca court for some time, and then 'she became his wife, and he loved her: and Isaac was comforted after his mothers death' (Genesis 24:67).

<sup>219</sup>*Lime-twigs* twigs smeared with birdlime, a sticky substance used to ensnare birds (*OED* n. 1). The term is used figuratively here, with the implication being that vain, conceited youths are able to ensnare only simple women with their flattery.

Neither will I have one with a great portion, for she will so presume upon what she brought, and be so extravagant in her Expences and Vanities; which Vanities are the *Hydra's* heads, where if one be struck off, two will rise in the room, by which she will not be contented to spend her own, but my Estate also.

Nor will I have one that is poor, for then her beggarly kindred [280:Nn4v] will lye upon my Estate like so many Catterpillars, and never leave us untill they have destroyed the Fruit, Tree, and all.

But I will have one that is Right Worshipfull, born Honourably, bred Chast, and of a good Reputation, a competent Portion, young, and indifferently handsome, and one that is cleanly, thrifty, and patient, with a sober behaviour, and a modest countenance, and so much wit as to understand my discourse, and so much discourse as to answer pertinently to my questions, without self-conceit, and so much ingenuity as to learn the rules of my will; then I will live to my self, seeking all moderate delights for my senses, and not be as a property to serve others, cramming a company of idle People, as they do Capons, with the fat of my Estate, and I their Host to provide their Meat and Drink, and a Servant to place their Dishes before them, and their Drudge to make my house clean after they are gone, and have nothing for my labour, but their satyirical reports, to say I am vain-glorious and prodigal; and when my kind heart and courteous civility hath made me Bankrupt, they will laugh at my person, condemn my actions, scorn my poverty, shun my miseries, and would blot me out of their remembrance; for Ingratitude, or any other vice or wickedness, seldome hath, or hates recurring thoughts. Neither will I spend my time in deciding my Neighbours foolish quarrels, for time is pretious, being short, though it measures the full life of Man; and I shall have in recompence onely the honourable name of *Justice of Peace in Quorum*, which is nothing but a sound, no real and substantial thing: neither would I have the trouble for all the Poultry in the Country; wherefore I will have nothing to do in Court,



City, or Country, but obey the Laws, though not to execute them as a subordinate Magistrate; I will submit to Authority, but not sit in Authority.

At last, with these contemplations and discourses to himself, he arrived to his own House; so after supper, with his musing thoughts, went to bed.

The next day sent to an intimate Friend to come and dine with him; and after dinner he told him his intent of discharging himself of the trouble and loss of Husbandry; withall, he told him a design he had to marry, and desired him to seek him out a good Wife, relating what manner of Woman he would have her.

Said his Friend, I will do my best to search out such a one as may sympathize with your humour. But I do wonder, said he, you should think of Marriage now, for you should have wedded a Wife when you were in the prime and strength of your age, as about the years of four or five and twenty, and not stay untill you are eight or nine and forty, when weakness and sickness is ready to seize on you.

He answered and said, that young Men, wanting the experiences of time, choosed by phancy, and not with judgement; besides, they knew not how to prize Chastity, nor honour the virtue of their Wives, having to experience of the falshood and incon-  
[281:001r] stancy which dwells in that Sex, or rather that was created, as being the essence of their natural dispositions, so that Chastity is to be accounted as supernatural; and if my Wife had been inclined to Honesty, yet the vanities and debaucheries of my phantastical youth might have misled her youth, and have corrupted her pure minde, and innocent life, by my ill examples.

Besides, if I had married whil'st I was young, it is likely I should have been weary of my Wife before she had been old, and my Children might have been weary of me before I had been old: but now I am old enough to govern a young Wife by my sober examples, and my solid instructions, and gentle perswasions, and to prize her Chastity so, as trust her without a jealous Spye, and to honour her Virtue, to love her Person, to maintain her

Honour to provide for her and her Family, to choose her Delights, to direct her Life; thus I may be happy in my Age, by not marrying when I was young.

Well, said his Friend, I will travel all the Country over to choose you a fit Wife.

Pray, said he, let me give you some certain rules along with you.

As first, I would not have her a meer Country Gentlewoman; for she seldome seeing any other men but her Father's Steward, Butler, or Carters, with their Frieze Jerkins, and Leather Breeches, if she should come to see a flanting young Gallant bedaub'd with Gold and Silver Lace, or say it were Copper, she will be so ravished in admiration, that she will yield upon the meanest condition he can make; nay a Gentleman-usher with a pair of Silk Stockins will beset her hard. Wherefore let me have one that dwels in the Country, that hath seen the City, that hath seen the Court, Plays and Masques; but not so well acquainted with them as to know the tempting Vanities thereof, or the tempting Vices therein.

Then, I would have her such a one whose Parents have bred her rather to a Superfluity, than in pinching Necessity; for Necessity teaches Youth to dissemble and shark; and when they come to command Plenty, they have no stay of their Prodigality and Luxury; but just like those that are almost starved for want of Meat and Drink, throw so much into the Stomack, that many times causeth a sudden death, or els a dangerous sickness. But those whose breedings have known no want, their minds know no mean nor base desires, for plenty opens the door to generosity, and raises the minde to high and noble speculations, which produceth honourable actions, despising unnecessary vanities, and loves magnanimity, and hates crouching flattery, or base dissembling actions, that plenty seldome knows, having no use thereof.

Another thing, you must observe her humour, and have a care she be not of a peevish disposition, for they are pleased at no time, but fall out with every thing, even with themselves; and not onely make their own unhappiness, but all those that live near them;

they will cross all discourse, be it never so rational; [282:001v] oppose all actions, be they never so just; delight in no place to live in, be they never so convenient; but all their life is made up with crosses, and their minde is insnarled with unnecessary troubles.

Truly, said his Friend, your rules are so strict I am to measure a Wife by, as all my industry will never fit you.

So his Friend left him to court his contemplations, whil'st he went to search for a fruition. After a short time, he sent him word in a Letter, as thus;

Sir,

*I* Have found a young Lady, who has the reputation of being Virtuous, born from an antient Stock, an honoured Race, carefully bred, and well qualified; her Portion is small but<sup>220</sup> her Friends are not poor, she had enough Beauty to delight a temperate minde; she seems to be of a chearfull disposition, and makes me believe she can love an Antient Man, if, sayes she, his merit equals his years: but, said she, I will be wooed before I am wed; wherefore, if you will marry, you must visit the Lady; and as you will both like, you may agree: howsoever I durst not strike up the bargain before you see her, for fear you should dislike my market, being the first commodity of this kinde, and of this nature, I ever cheapned.<sup>221</sup> So Good Fortune direct you.

After he had received this Letter, he put himself into a wooing Equipage; and so compleat he was in Apparel and Attendance,<sup>222</sup> that the same eyes that had seen him when he followed his Husbandry, and should view him now, would forswear they had ever seen him before: Such alterations fine Cloaths and many Followers make.

The young Lady, who expects his Company, makes her self fine to entertain him; the whil'st her Friends trim up the House, direct their servants how to wait, provide good Chear to bid him welcome.

---

<sup>220</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction inserts 'but', p. 283. The change is not noted in the errata list.

<sup>221</sup>*cheapned*] haggled over (*OED* v. 2).

<sup>222</sup>*Attendance*] effort.

At last, a Servant comes running in before, to give notice the Noble Gentleman was come; which as soon as the young Lady heard, the report gave her the palpitation of the heart, which caused a trembling over the whole body, and fear and bashfulness made her colour to rise and fall: but hemming up those spirits that fear has depress'd, setting her countenance to the best advantage to her face, she stood with as much resolution as her weak confidence would give her leave, to receive his addresses; which he no sooner saw, but loved; liking her by report before he came. After he had saluted her, he thus spake.

*Lady, I come not to wooe you as a wanton Lover, for neither my years nor your modesty will allow it; neither do I come a Suitor to your Beauty, but your Virtue; and I wish I were such a one as might merit your affection: but since I cannot promise you to be such as I [283:Oo2r] wish to be, you will do me a meritorious action; and take me for Charity, since I love you devoutly.*

*Sir, answered she, I wish I were worth a valuable affection, such as I prize yours to be; yet I am not acquainted with your merit by experience, but by report; and though the ears are the doors that let in the truest affections, yet I will not bar my eyes, but they shall stand open, as free, though not the onely passage to my heart: And I wish reason may rule the objects of my affections that are gathered together; for it is not safe to love a Man for one good quality; for as many several causes produce but to one effect, so many several good qualities produce to an entire affection.*

When they had discoursed themselves after this manner out of breath; the Gentleman was directed to his Chamber, where he laid by his riding Cloak, shifted his Boots, brusht his Hat, kemb'd<sup>223</sup> his Hair, and set himself in order.

An old Servant which was busy about him, one that had been with him in all his Travels, and his Favourite.

What think you *Jack*, said he, of a young Mistris to your old Master?

In troth, answered he, I think my Master thinks well of a young Mistris?

---

<sup>223</sup>kemb'd] combed.

Saith the Master, the young Lady hath a modest countenance, which is a sign she will make a good Wife.

So is a Bush, said the Man, hung out of a Tavern, a sign of good Wine, but it often deceives the Customers. But in troth, said he, I am like one that's dry with seeing another drink thirstily; for I have a mind to a Wife, now I perceive your Worship resolves to marry.

Why *Jack*, said he, you may wooe the Chamber-maid.

Answered he; but Sir, the question is, whether the Chamber-maid is as discreet as her Mistris, to marry a Man in years, for I am as old as your Worship; besides, if she be not young, I shall not like her, for I would imitate your Worship in every thing; but the best of it is, if she be old, she will not like me; for an old Woman desires to marry a young Man; for when their teeth are fallen out of their head with age, yet they will snicker upon a beardless Boy.

Thus whil'st the Master was trimming himself up, his Man and he discoursed.

In the mean while, the young Lady was gone into her Chamber; and calling her Maid to bring her the Glass, and to view if the curls of her Hair were in order.

Lord, said she, *Joan*,<sup>224</sup> how red my face is! I seem as if I were drunk, my cheeks burn like fire; you told me the other day, I was in the Green Sickness,<sup>225</sup> you cannot think so now.

Answered she, By my troth, Mistris, the Gentlemans discourse hath painted your cheeks; pray Mistris, saith she, doth he talk finely? [284:Oo2v]

He talks rationally, answered her Mistris.

Is he a handsome Man, said she?

Said the Mistris, he has a manly garb, and a wise countenance, and then he cannot be ill favoured.

---

<sup>224</sup>*Joan*] 'a generic name for a female rustic' (*OED* n. 1).

<sup>225</sup>*Green Sickness*] 'a disease characterized by greenish discoloration of the skin' (*OED* n. 1).

I pray Mistris, said she, how doth he seem to like you?

Truly *Joan*, said she, I cannot tell, he did not frown, he seemed well pleased, yet I believe I behaved my self simply, for I was extreamly out of countenance; and shamefastness restrains the words, and disorders the behaviour, and many times makes one fall into such ridiculous errours, not to be plunged out of.

O Mistris, said she, Youth can commit no errours to be condemned, for all their follies are cast on their few years, and their simplicity are Graces in the eyes of their Lovers.

In the mean time they were discoursing, her Servant had found out the way to her Chamber: which when she saw him, she flung away her Glass.

He told her, she did ill to lay aside that which did present her, the best Object, her self.

She answered, his Civility might prove Bribes to Self-conceit, and perswade her Eyes to be impartial Judges: but, said she, if I can make my Minde fair, I care not how my Face appears.

But after a short time growing more acquainted, they left their complemental wooing, and discours'd more seriously; as concerning the course of life they did intend to settle in.

Said he, I have heard by the Writing of wise *Salomon*, that the onely happiness in life is to eat, and drink, and sleep in peace, and all things else are wearisomness, and vexation of spirit.<sup>226</sup> And truly, said he, that little experience I have, though I have travelled a great way, and into many places, for it proves it to me: but finding a good Wife must be added to compleat the happiness, I resolved to marry: but the danger is, if the Wife proves not according to the Mans desire, then his life is closed up in misery; yet I cannot believe my fate so ill, since I saw you.

---

<sup>226</sup>Solomon repeats this sentiment several times. See Ecclesiastes 2:1; 2:3; 2:24; 3:13; 5:18; and 9:7.

Said she, I can onely say this for my self, I shall be a very honest Woman; but for all other good qualities, which are the Ingredients to make up a good Wife, I cannot promise; but what errours my ignorant simplicity may be apt to commit, it may be rectified by your wise admonitions.

Then he told her, the quicker they did dispatch their Marriage, the sooner they should be happy; but, said he, I find your Friends desire a publick Wedding, as great store of Company, Musick, and good Chear.

I must confess, Company and Musick fits the years of Youth, but they are not seemly Companions for the gravity of Age; and to see a Man in years dancing, is as if his head and his heels were mis-matcht, the one is too light for the other; and it is seldome known a wise Brain propt with dancing legs; and if I put my self where such pastimes are exercised, I must run the hazard of being rude, in denying those that offer to take me out, or ren- [285:003r] der my self ridiculous; which I would not willingly do, especially before you.

Besides, it is most comely, noble, and majesticall for Youth to follow the strict and severe rules of Age, than for Age to follow the light measure, phantastical garbs, and vain rules of Youth.

Sir, said she, as I choose Age for the best to leade my life withall, so I shall choose Aged Counsellors to direct all my actions; and though I am young, I do not approve of the ways of Youth, neither do I finde any solid mirth or lasting contentment in their primest<sup>227</sup> recreations or pastimes.

Said he, you speak according to my own Soul, and I hope Nature did create us for one another, and Destiny will link our affections so fast, that neither change of Time nor Fortunes can alter; and that our Loves may live in the Grave, when our Bodies be dead.

---

<sup>227</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'Primest' is deleted, p. 543.

So in two or three dayes all Contracts were confirmed, and the Match was concluded with the approbation of all Friends of either side; married they were, and in a short time after he carried her to his House, there made her Mistris of his Estate; and whil'st he governed his outward Affairs, she governed the Family at home, where they lived plentifully, pleasantly, and peaceably, not extravagantly, vain-gloriously, and luxuriously; they lived neat and cleanly, they loved passionately, thrived moderately, and happy they lived, and piously died. [286:Oo3v]

*The tenth Book.*

*This Book called the she Anchoret, I present to Naturall Philosophers, Physicians: Morall Philosophers, Theologicall Students, Preachers, or Judges, Tradesmen, Masters of Families, Married-men, and their Wives, Nurses, Widowers, and Widows, Virgins, Lovers, Poets, and Aged Persons, and Souldiers.*<sup>228</sup>

*The she Anchoret.*

**T**Here was a Widower, which had but one child; and she a daughter, which daughter he bred with pious devotions, Morall instructions, and wise advertisements,<sup>229</sup> but he falling sick to death, called his Daughter unto him, and thus spake,

*F*arewell my dearest child, for dye I must,  
 My soul must fly, my body turn to dust,  
 My only care is, that I leave thee young,  
 To wander in the world mankinde among,  
 Few of them so charitable, or so kinde,  
 Nor bear they in their breast a noble minde,  
 To help the fatherlesse, or pittie youth,  
 Protect the Innocent, maintain the truth;  
 But all their time's spent with laborious toile,  
 For to pervert, to ruine and to spoile,

[287:Oo4r]

<sup>228</sup>This preface is deleted from NP 1671 (*Wing* N856).

<sup>229</sup>*Advertisements*] advice (*OED* n. 1 b).



*Flatter thy beauty, and thy youth betray,  
 To give thy heart, and Virgin flower away;  
 They will profess love, vow to be thy friend,  
 Marriage will promise, yet they will pretend,  
 Their friends will angry be, or say,  
 Their lands ingaged, and first their debts must pay,  
 Or els that they during some time of life,  
 Have made a vow, as not, to take a wife,<sup>230</sup>  
 And twenty such excuses, they will finde,  
 For to deceive the simple Femall kinde,  
 And if you marry, troubles you will finde,  
 Pains, griefs and cares to vex a quiet minde,  
 But here I charge you lying in deaths armes,  
 That you do stop your ears against their Charmes;  
 Live Chast and holy, serve the Gods above,  
 They will protect thee for thy zealous love.*

Said she.

*I will obey what ever you command,  
 Although you dye said she,<sup>231</sup> your will shall fixed stand.*

Father. *Next I do charge thee not to grieve nor mourn,  
 Since no redresse,<sup>232</sup> will from the grave return.*

Daugh. *O do not so, said she,  
 But give grief leave to flow out of my eyes,  
 For if it be suppress the body dyes:  
 Whilst now you live, great wrong would think you have  
 If I should set and laugh upon your grave,  
 Or with neglect should I your grave passe by,  
 And nere take no notice, where your ashes lye;*

<sup>230</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856) clarifies: 'Have made a Vow, Not yet to take a Wife', p. 545.

<sup>231</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten long 's' is inserted to alter 'he' to 'she', p. 288.

<sup>232</sup>*redresse*] appeal (OED n. 3).

Said he.

Father. *You cannot hinder destinyes decree;*

Said she.

*O no, but nature, Nature still will be,  
Nature created love within the mind,  
The object dead, the passion still is kind,  
Had I as many lives, as nature make,  
I'd lay them on death's altar, for your sake,  
That single one I have, O heavens me hear,  
Exchange it for my fathers life so dear,  
But when her father found that death drew on,  
He bid her lay her hand his eyes upon,*

Father. *Close up my eyes, said he, and then receive,*

*Upon thy lips, my last breath let me breath;  
When he was dead sb' amaz'd long time sate still,  
At last bethought her of her fathers will;  
Then up she rose, his body did intombe,  
And how she spent her life rehearse will soon.*

[288:Oo4v]

*The description of her life in prose.*

**A**Nd after she had interred her fathers corps; although she had maney,<sup>233</sup> rich and honourable and importunate<sup>234</sup> suters; yet she resolved to live like a kinde of an Anchorets life, living incloistred by her self alone; vowing chastity, and a single life, but gave leave for any to speak to her through a grate; and when she went first into her solitary habitation, she thus spake.

**V***ertues are severall pathes which leads to Heaven,  
And they which tread these paths have graces given:*

<sup>233</sup>NP 1656 (Wing N855): The word here was originally 'money', but the 'o' is altered to an 'a' in a neat hand that mimics print. The word becomes 'maney'. The errata notes it as 'many'.

<sup>234</sup>*importunate*] persistent (OED adj. A 1).

*Repentant tears allayes<sup>235</sup> the dust of pride,  
 And pious sighs doth blow vain thoughts aside,  
 Sorrow and grief, which in the heart doth lye,  
 Doth cloud the minde, as thunder doth the skie,  
 But when in thundring growns<sup>236</sup> it breaketh out  
 The minde grows cleer, the Sun of joy peeps out,  
 This pious life, I now resolve to lead,  
 Will in my soul both joy and comfort breed.*

But she had not been long inclosed, but she grew as famous, as *Diogenes* in his tub, all sorts of people resorted<sup>237</sup> to her, to hear her speak, and not only to hear her speak, but to get knowledge, and to learn wisdom, for she argued rationally; instructed judiciously, admonished prudently, and perswaded piously, applying and directing her discourse according to the severall studies, professions, grandeurs, ages, humors of her auditory.<sup>238</sup>

*The first that came to her were Naturall Philosophers,  
 who asked her opinion of Mans Soul, of which she discoursed in this manner.*

Said she, man hath three different natures or faculties; a sensitive body, an animal spirit,<sup>239</sup> and a Soul, this soul is a kinde of a Deity in it self, to direct and guide those things that are inferior to it, to perceive and descry those things that are far above it; and to create by invention: and though it hath not an absolute Power over it self, Yet, it is an harmonious & absolute thing, in it self. And though the sensitive body hath a relation to it, yet no other ways than *Jove's* mansion hath unto *Jove*, for the body is only the residing place,<sup>240</sup> and the

<sup>235</sup>*allayes*] causes to settle, especially dust (*OED* v.1 6).

<sup>236</sup>*NP* 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'groans', p. 547.

<sup>237</sup>*resorted*] turned to for advice (*OED* v.1 I 1 a).

<sup>238</sup>*auditory*] audience (*OED* n. 1).

<sup>239</sup>Margaret defines animal spirits as the 'motions of the mind', which create 'imagination, and conceptions', and the vital spirits as the 'motions of the body'. She characterises the animal spirits as masculine and the vital spirits as feminine, adhering to the tradition of associating masculinity with rationality and femininity with the body (see 'Diseases caused by conceit, or cured', *PPO*, 1655, p. 142). She also adopts her own vocabulary for these concepts, explaining that what others call animal and vital spirits she calls rational and sensitive (see 'Madnes is not always about the head', *PPO*, 1655, p. 138).

<sup>240</sup>Margaret varies her terms, often using 'soul' and 'rational matter' interchangeably. However, not quite willing to commit to a fully materialist philosophy, she ascribes to the soul god-like characteristics, suggesting it has an existence outside of the body.

Animall Spirits are as the Angells of the soul, which are messengers and intelligencers, but all Animall creatures have not this soul, but onely man; for beasts have none, nor every man, for most men are beasts, and have onely a sensitive body, and animall spirits, as beasts have; but none knowes when this soul is out or in the body, but the Gods; and not only other bodies, and spirits cannot know, but the same residing body, and attending spirit be ignorant thereof, for this soul is as invisible to the body: and the animall spirits as the Gods to men, for though this kind of soul knows, and hath intelligence, by the senses, and by the animal spirits, yet the senses nor animall spi- [289:Pp1r] rits, have none from the soul, for as Gods knows men; but men knows not Gods,<sup>241</sup> so this soul knows the senses and animall spirits, but the senses nor animall spirits knows not this soul.

Then they asked her whether the souls were immortall?

She answered, that the only life was immortall from whence the souls are derived.

Then they asked her, what Deities she thought there were?

She answered, she thought but one, which was the father of all creatures, and nature the mother; he being the life, and nature the only matter, which life and matter produceth motion,<sup>242</sup> and figure, various successions, creations, and dissolutions.

Then they asked her, what she thought time was?

She said, Time was only the variation, and alteration of nature, for time is only in respect to creations, alterations and dissolutions.

Then they asked her what eternall was?

She answered, an endless succession.

Then they asked her what infinite was?

---

<sup>241</sup>Margaret avows the unknowability of God and consistently maintains a fideistic stance. See Sarasohn, 'Fideism, Negative Theology, and Christianity', *God and Nature*, pp. 93-106; Sarasohn, *Natural Philosophy*, pp. 35-36, 54, 88, and 140. On Cavendish's view of the relationship between man and God, see Sarasohn, *Natural Philosophy*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>242</sup>*motion*] change or becoming; moving from one state to another (*OED* n. 1 5 d). Margaret lists the six principal motions as 'Contractions, Atractions, Retentions, Dilations, digestions, and expulsions'. See 'Of the six principal motions', *PPO*, pp. 33-34.

She said, a numberless succession; but said she, eternall is in respect to infinite, infinite to eternall.

Then they asked her whether she thought there were fixt decrees, or all were governed by chance?

She answered, that doubtless there were fixt decrees, as Light, Darkness, Growth, Decay, as Youth, Age, Pain, Pleasure, Life, Death, and so in every thing els, for all my reason can perceive.

For, said she, as nature creates by dissolution, and dissolves by Creation;<sup>243</sup> so the Diatticall<sup>244</sup> Life, sayes she, decrees rules, and rules by decrees.

Then they asked her what was Chance, and Fortune?

Chances, said she, are visible effects from hidden causes; and fortune a sufficient cause to produce such an effect, for a conjunction of many sufficient causes to produce such an effect, since that effect could not be produced, did there want any one of those causes, by reason all of them together were but sufficient to produce, but that one effect, & many times, this one effect<sup>245</sup> produces many effects upon severall subjects, and that one effect is like the Sun streams out into severall rays, darting upon severall subjects; and as the Sun scorches and burnes some things, and warmes and comforts others, so

---

<sup>243</sup>According to Cavendish, matter is infinite and therefore eternal, which means no new matter is created. As a result, 'any new object must be made from matter that already exists, and when the motions constituting a body are dissipated, the matter of which it is composed goes to form new entities. Destruction therefore precedes creation, and every new thing is made from something old' (James, 'Innovations', p. 241).

<sup>244</sup>The Diatticall Life here refers to God. According to Lisa Sarasohn, 'The adjective "diattical" recalls Cavendish's fideistic poem at the end of *Philosophical Fancies* and *Opinions*' (*Natural Philosophy*, p. 81). Incorporating her theory of infinite matter into the hymn-like poem, Cavendish begins: 'Great God, from thee all infinities do flow; / And by thy power from thence effects do grow' (*PPO*, 1655, p. 173; *Philosophical Fancies*, 1653, pp. 93-94). See also the 1655 edition of *PPO* (*Wing* N863) and the 1663 edition (*Wing* N864), both of which contain the prose piece that references a deity who 'is as the center of infinite moving matter' (*PPO*, 1655, p. 172; *Philosophical Fancies*, 1653, p. 93). The earlier edition titles the prose piece 'The diattical Centers' (pp. 172-173) and the later 'The Deittical Centre' (pp. 452-453). In the second edition, the word is a close approximation of 'deistical'.

<sup>245</sup>*NP* 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten note inserts the ampersand and the phrase 'this one effect', p. 290. The errata makes a slightly different alteration: 'one effect, and that one effect many times produceth many effects'.

this effect advances some, and casts down others, cures some and kills others, and when the causes varies, and the effects alters, it is called change of Fortune.

Then they asked her, whether she thought Faith could naturally produce any effect?

She answered, that in her opinion that it might, for, said she, why may not faith which is an undoubted belief; joynd to such a subject, produce, or beget an effect as well as a seed sown, or set in the earth, produceth a flower, a tree, or the like, or as one creature begets another, especially, if the faith and subject, whereon it is placed hath a sympathy, but by reason, said she, faith is not so customary a way of producing, as other ways are, [290:Pg1v] causeth many doubts, which doubts are like cold Northern winds, or sharp biting frosts which nips and kills the buds of faith, which seldom or never lets the effects come to perfection.<sup>246</sup>

Then they asked what the Sun was?

She answered, a body of Fire:

Then they asked her, what Light was?

She answered, Light was inflamed Ayre.<sup>247</sup>

---

<sup>246</sup>Cavendish may have Matthew 17:20 in mind here. In this verse, Christ admonishes the disciples, telling them that if they had enough faith, they would find nothing impossible, including moving mountains. In *WO*, Margaret suggests nature fashioned mankind in such a way that this degree of faith is impossible for him, ultimately an advantage to nature given that mankind could have willed of her what he would: 'There may be such Sympathy in Nature, that if we could believe, undoubtedly our own Belief might bring any thing to pass: For why may not Faith beget naturally what it requires, as well as one Creature beget another? But Nature is Wise, for she hath mixed Mans Mind with so many Passions and Affections, as his Belief cannot be so clear, but that there lye alwaies Dregs and Doubts in the bottom of his Mind; which if Nature had not ordered so, Man might have transformed her Works to his Humour' ('Of Natural Faith', p. 175).

<sup>247</sup>In *PPO*, Margaret explains that not everything with a burning nature is characterized by a hot, glowing fire: 'Though all that is of a burning nature, or faculty may be called fire, yet all that hath a burning nature, or faculty is not of that sort of fire, which is a bright, shining, hot, glowing fire, as for example, vitrals, brimstone, oyl, or spirits, or that we call cordials, or hot-waters, or any of the like nature' ('Of Different Burning', 1655, p. 70). What created differences in like-natured substances was not matter, but motion: 'Light is made by such a kinde of motion as heat, being an equal extenuating motion, but the difference is, that the motions that make heat, is a spreading motion, but light is made by a spinning motion, equally drawing out long paralel lines, with an extraordinary swiftnesse, evennesse, smalnesse, and straightnesse' (*PPO*, 1655, 'Of Light', p. 77).

They said, that if light was inflamed Aire, it would burn all things up, and so consume the world?

She answered, that in thin bodies fire had but little power to burn, for the thinness of the matter weakens the power of the strength, which causeth flame, said she, to be of no great heat; for the hot flames doth rather singe than burn, and the thinner the substance is that is set on fire, the purer the flame is; and the purer the flame is, the less heat it gives; as the flame of *Aquavita*<sup>248</sup> that may be eaten with sops;<sup>249</sup>

Then they asked her, what Aire was?

She answered that Aire was the smoake produced from heat and moisture. For Aire, said she, is a thinne Oyle, which is set on fire by the fiery Sun, or like the fiery substance, and fiery motions, which flame is light.

Then they asked her what Darkeness was?

She answered, Darkness was the absence of light.

And then they asked why it was dark immediately, when the passage of light was stopped, and that if it were inflamed Aire, it would burning, give light, as long as that inflamed aire lasted?

She answered, that when the fiery rais that issued from the Sun were cut off, the flame went out; for said she, it is not the air, that feeds the flame, but the fire that is in the flame, and when that fire is spent or taken away, the flame dyes: this is the reason, said she, that as soon as the rayes of the fire is cut off, or shut out, or taken away, it is dark, and when they are eclipsed, the light is dull and dimme; but as I said before, light is only aire, set on flame by the fiery Sun and the bluest sky is the thinnest flame, being the purest aire, and just as we should carry a candle away, we carry the light also, which is the flame, so

---

<sup>248</sup>*Aquavita*] strong distilled spirits (brandy or whiskey). ‘Water of life’, also known as ‘burning water’ and ‘hot water’. Valued for its warming and supposed medicinal qualities. See Rod Phillips, *Alcohol: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), pp. 112-118.

<sup>249</sup>*Sops*] bread dipped in a liquid (wine, water, etc.) (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> a).

doth the Sun: and as we bring a candle or the like into a roome we being<sup>250</sup> in the light, so doth the Sun: where the fire is, there is the greatest light; and when a screen is set before it, the light is Eclipsed; and when they kindle fire as a candle or the like, is carried quite from the place, it leaves as great a darkness, as if it were put out; just so doth the Sun which is the worlds candle, when it goeth down draweth away the light, which is the flame; and as it riseth it bringeth in the fire that causeth the flame, and when it is high Noone there is the brightest light, as casting no shadows, if nought Eclipses it; and when Clouds gets before it, is Eclipsed, as with a screen; and when it is quite removed to another part of the world, it doth as if it went into another room, or chamder,<sup>251</sup> leaving no light behind it: for twilight is caused from the rais of the Sun, for though the body of the Sun is gone from off such a part of the [291:Pp2r] earth, yet the rayes, which are the spreading part of fire, are not quite drawn away as soon as the Sun; for as those rayes usher the Sun rising, so they follow the Sun setting; and though these rayes of fire, which are the beams of the Sun, inflame the Air, but not so bright as the body of the Sun doth, and where the Sun is gone so far as the beams cannot reach, that part of it becomes dark. And it is not the gross Clouds, as some think it, makes twilight, for we see a cloudy day makes the twilight seem shorter, though it be not; and it is by reason they eclipse the inflamed Air, for Clouds are rather Vapour than Air; and though Vapour and Air have some relation, the like hath Vapour and Water; and Vapour when it is gathered into the Clouds, doth rather eclipse than prolong light.

They said, that if the Light was Flame, the vapoury Clouds might quench it out.

She answered, that although Vapour could eclipse the Light, it could not put out the light of the Sun; 'tis true, said she, it may and doth often allay the fiery heat in the rayes, for some dayes will be cooler than other dayes, although the Sun be higher; and some will

---

<sup>250</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'bring', p. 552.

<sup>251</sup>*chamder*] chamber.



be cooler than others, although in the same degree of the Sun, by reason of low marish<sup>252</sup> Grounds, or near great Rivers, from whence Vapours arise: but though the Vapour may abate the heat in the rayes, as the inflamed Air, and eclipse the light either by Mists<sup>253</sup> Fogs, or when they are gathered into Clouds, yet they can neither put out the light, nor quench out the heat of the Sun, which is the Fountain of both, no more than a drop of water can quench a house on fire: And the Sun is a World of bright shining Fire, from which other Worlds receive both light and heat. 'Tis true, if there could be such a quantity of Water as could equal the Suns power thereon, it might quench the Sun, unless the Sun is an eternal Fire. But as for Vapour, were there a greater quantity than what rises from the Earth, it could not change the natural property of the Sun; besides, Vapour is of a middle nature, as betwixt Water and Air; for by the rarification<sup>254</sup> it is not so gross nor so wet as Water, nor rarified so much as to be thin and dry as Air.

Then they asked her, what she thought of those that were of the opinion, that it was uninhabitable under the Line<sup>255</sup> through an extream heat.

She said, she thought they were like those that were blind of one eye, which saw perfectly on the one side, but not on the other; for their reason discovered there was a great Heat, but it did not discover the refreshing Winds, and moystning Dews which are constantly in that place, which Winds and Dews quench the fiery Heat, which makes it so temperate, for Heat and Cold makes an equal temper, when they are equal in degrees; and by reason there is twelve hours night, and twelve day, there is as much Cold as Heat, for the Dews and the Winds joyn'd with the night, makes it temperate: but if it were not for the equal hours, and those Dews and Winds, it would be as they thought it was, [292:Pp2v]

---

<sup>252</sup>*Marish*] Marshy (*OED* adj. B 1 a).

<sup>253</sup>*NP 1656 (Wing N855)*: A handwritten correction blots out 'or' and replaces it with 'by', and the 'or' after 'Mists' is blotted out, p. 292. The errata list notes the insertion of 'by'.

<sup>254</sup>*rarification*] the process of becoming less dense, a thinning (*OED* n. 1 a).

<sup>255</sup>*under the Line*] at the equator (*OED* n.<sup>2</sup> 10 b). Cavendish may be referring to Aristotle, who believed the Torrid Zone was uninhabitable. See Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, Trans. by H. D. P. Lee. Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1952), p. 181.

insufferably hot: but they wanted information, as concerning the Dews and the Wind, and they did not thoroughly consider when they miss'd the night.

Then they asked her the reason of the light of Glow-worms tails.

She answered, that is was probablest that the purest, thinnest and oilest extracted parts of the body were in the tail, and that which the radical<sup>256</sup> Fire inflamed, which Flame was Light; and, said she, the Worm having no solid bones, tough sinews, firm flesh, gross blood, or thick skin in that part to obstruct or eclipse the light, it visibly shines in the night when the Sun is gone, whose greatest light drowns all other lesser lights; and the reason it shines some times, and not others, may be some outward cause that eclipses it from our sight, as a little Cloud will do the Sun, where a much smaller Vapour or the like cause will serve to obscure the light of the Glow-worms tail; and certainly, said she, if we could see through the bodies of Animals, and likewise through their skull, as easy as the Glow-worms tail, we should see, said she, a much brighter flame in the heart and the brain, which flame is the light of Knowledge; and the several Objects that the Senses bring in, are there visibly perceived: these Lights sickness eclipses, and death puts out.

Then they asked her, what the Moon was.

She answered, a body of water; and the several changes, said she, is the ebbing and flowing thereof, which makes it fuller sometimes in one part of the Circle than in the other; and when it is high tide, we say it is full Moon; and when it is low tide, it is in the wane;<sup>257</sup> and as it increases or decreases, we say it is in the first, second, or third quarter.

Then they asked her, what made it give light.

---

<sup>256</sup>*radical*] Fundamental, inherent (*OED* adj. A 1 a).

<sup>257</sup>Cavendish's conjecture that the moon was a body of water is in concert with her preference for 'rational and judicious observations before deluding glasses and experiments'. Before the publication of NP, English 'scientists' had begun observing the moon through telescopes, mapping its terrain. Thomas Harriot, English astronomer and mathematician, drew the first sketch of the moon on 26 July 1609 based on what he saw through his telescope (see Allan Chapman, 'A New Perceived Reality: Thomas Harriot's Moon Maps', *A&G*, 50 (February 2009), p. 1.27). Margaret, however, doubting the trustworthiness of telescopes, argued that 'the inequalities of that we see in the Moon by Perspective-glasses, [could] be the Reflexion of the Earth on that Watry Body, the Moon' ('Of the Moon', *WO*, pp. 172).

She said, the Sun's reflexion thereon; for if you do observe, said she, like as the water shines with the reflexions or beams of the Sun, so doth the Moon, as we say, a watrish light; and, said she, it is more or less light; as that side next to the Sun is swelled fuller, or ebb'd lower.

Then they asked her of the rest of the Planets.

She said, she believed that *Venus* star was a body of water, as the Moon was; but for the other Planets, said she, I take them to be earthly bodies, but not such as our Globe is, but much finer; as great a difference, said she, as between Porcelline and Clay, which makes them shine so bright, the substance being so pure; it is as it were transparent.

Then they asked what the fix'd Stars were.

She answered, Suns.

Then they asked her, what was the reason that the breath was hot and cold all at one time, as it were; for when a man breathed upon his hand, it would feel hot; and when we blow upon the hand, it would feel cold.

She said, there was a reason for that, for, said she, a dilation causeth heat, and a contraction causeth cold; and, said she, if one [293:Pg3r] breaths on the hand, they open their mouth and lips wide, by which the breath dilates like a steem, or a vapour, which was hot; and when one blows upon the hand, then the mouth and lips are drawn into a narrow compass, and that contracts the breath into a cold wind. These several motions make one and the same thing, from one and the same manner or passages, to work two several effects; and surely those winds that are coldest, from whence soever they issue out, their passage is narrow; and those winds that feel warm, as many times winds will do, the passage was wider; and that they were rather a breathing vapour, than a perfect winde. And there

is nothing shews that wind is made by contraction, so much, as to blow upon the hand, which shews that wind is contracted air.<sup>258</sup>

Then they asked her, what was the reason wind could blow out flame, and in a flame it could kindle and put out fire.

She said, that wind did strive to dissipate all things it did encounter; and where it hath not so much power to dissipate, it onely dilates; and when fire is set to any combustibile matter, as wood, or the like, the wind having not a forcible power to dissipate it into dust or ashes, it beats the heat of the fire into it; and fire having a nature to catch hold, and to dilate, and so to feed itself upon all things, or at least upon most, when the matter is too hard for the fiery points<sup>259</sup> to enter, or at least to enter suddenly; the wind like a hammer strikes them in, and so lends the fire force; and helping the fire to extend, by its dissipating power dilates the heat into the smoke or vapour of the matter, and so into a flame: but when it puts out fire or flame, it is when it hath so much force as to dissipate the matter the fire works on; and if the winde destroyes or disperses the matter, it must needs put out the fire, having nothing to work on; for fire dyes when it hath no fuel to work or feed on. This is the reason a man with his breath can blow out the flame of a candle, and with his breath blow the flame in again, if the snuff of the candle be full, and throughly fired, or else he cannot; but if it be full, and throughly fired, he may blow so hard as to dissipate the flame, yet not so hard as to dissipate the fiery snuff, or wieck of

---

<sup>258</sup>The wind, she explains in *PPO* (1655), has a double motion. It ‘spreads, and yet blows straight-out at one and the same time’ (‘Of Double Motions at One and the Same Time, on the Same Matter’, p. 35).

<sup>259</sup>Cavendish began her foray into natural philosophy as an atomist, and her description here of fire recalls this earlier philosophical position. In *PF*, she gives her account of atoms in a poem titled ‘The Foure Principall *Figur’d Atomes* Make the Foure *Elements*. As *Square*, *Round*, *Long*, and *Sharpe*’: ‘The Square Flat Atomes, As Dull Earth Appeare, / The Atomes Round do make the Water cleere. / The Long streight Atomes like to Arrowes fly, / Mount next the points, and make the Aiery Skie; / The Sharpest Atomes do into Fire turne, / Which by their peircing quality they burne’ (p. 6). By the time she had written *NP*, she had begun to ‘condemn the general opinions of atoms’, though she retained her ‘particular opinions of the figures, that the long atoms make air, the round water, the flat square earth; also that all the other figures are partly severed from those’ (‘A Condemning Treatise of Atomes’, *PPO* (1655), p. 13). On the evolution of Cavendish’s natural philosophy, see Eileen O’Neill, ed. ‘Introduction’, *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* by Margaret Cavendish (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. x – xxxvi.

the candle; so that the flame by the dissipating goeth out, being dilated to a dissipation; and when the flame is out, and the fire remaining, with a gentle wind he may dilate the fire into a flame again, and so many times, as long as the body of fire remains; but if they should blow so hard or strongly, as to dissipate the body of fire, he puts it both out, both fire and flame.

Then they asked her, what Snow, Hail, Ice and Frost was.

She answered, that Snow was curded water, like curded milk; for, saith she, cold doth curdle water as sower vinegar doth milk; and the curded parts will lye in clods, so water in flakes of Snow.

Hail, said she, is broken water, or rather crumbled water; for as a hand which nips a piece of bread, and crumbles it by rubbing it between their fingers; so doth some sort of cold motions break [294:Pg3v] and crumble water into a number of small parts, and as many crums of bread will stick together through the moist clamminess, lying in little lumps, so doth the broken parts of water which is haile-stones, and though the body is divided into numerous little parts, yet every part is more compact, as being closer contracted, with being crusht and nipt<sup>260</sup> together.

As for Frost, said she, that is canded,<sup>261</sup> or crusted vapour, which vapour is rarified water; for as some sorts of hot motion candies suger, so some sorts of cold motions candies vapour; Likewise, said she, as milk changes not the nature from being milk with curdling, nor bread with crumbling, nor sugar with candying, so water changes not the nature with contractions or dividings into Snow, Haile, Ice and Frost.

As for Ice, it is made by such a kinde or sort of cold motion, as hot motions makes glass; for as fire in a hot furnace calcines<sup>262</sup> some sorts of earth; as the purest sort to glass; so doth the strongest of such sorts of cold motions congeales Water into Ice, and as some

---

<sup>260</sup>*nipht*] compressed (OED v.1 I 1 d).

<sup>261</sup>*canded*] crystallised (OED *candied* adj. 2).

<sup>262</sup>*calcines*] burns to ash (OED v. 2 a).

hot motions strives to convert earth into water; as we may see, by making earth into glass, so some sort of cold motion, do turn water into earth, as by condensing into Ice, Haile, Snow and Frost, and as Snow, and Ice, is nothing but condensed water, so glasse is nothing but calcined or rarified earth, for that fine earth which makes glasse is so rarified by the hot fire in a Furnace which blowes and spreads it as thinne, and clarifies it, as cleer as water; only it makes it not liquid and fluid, yet whilst it is in the fire, it is in a degree of being fluid; for it is soft and clammy: thus fire makes earth so neer like water, as it is transparent, shining and smooth, as bringing it into the midway, but it wants the liquid wet and fluid motions which some will call parts, to make it perfect water; and I suppose that Crystals, Diamonds, and the like, are only the purest part of earth, turn'd by the heat in the earth, or in the Sun to a glassy substance, but stronger; as being wrought by a naturall heat, and not by an artificiall heat, or fire, but as glasse is a rarified earth, so Aire is a rarified water, and smoake, a rarified Oyle, and Oyle is a fluid sulphur; and flame is a fluid fire, and Quick-silver<sup>263</sup> is a fluid mettle.

Then they asked her whether there were naturall elements not subject to be Metamorphosed?<sup>264</sup>

She answered, yes.

They asked how she would prove it?

She said, she would prove there was a naturall fire by the Sun which never changes his heat, or lessens his light, nor alters his naturall properties of attracting, contracting and the like, and to prove a metamorphosed fire is lightning Meteors, fevors and the like,<sup>265</sup>

---

<sup>263</sup>*Quick-silver*] Mercury (OED n. 1).

<sup>264</sup>In contrast to writers such as Sir Thomas Elyot, Margaret situates the elements within sensory reach of humans. Elyot professes a less materialistic position on the 'original' elements, writing, 'This is to be remembred, that none of the sayd elements be commonly seene or felt of mortall men, as they are in their originall being: but they which by our senses bee perceiued, bee corrupted with mutuall mixture, and be rather earthly, waterie, airie, and fierie, than absolutely earth, water, aire, and fire' (*The castell of health, corrected, and in some places augmented by the first author thereof, Sir Thomas Elyot Knight* (London: 1595), p. 2. STC 7656).

<sup>265</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): Commas clarify: 'and to prove a metamorphosed Fire, is Lightning, Meteors, Fevours, and the like', p. 562.

and to prove a naturall water is the Sea, and to prove a Metamorphosed water is vapour, and to prove a naturall Aire is the serene,<sup>266</sup> and to prove a Metamorphosed aire is wind, and said she, the difference of naturall Elements and those that are called Metamorphosed, is that the naturall elements cannot lose their properties, as those that are metamorphosed doth, by changing from [295:Pg4r] one thing to another: For say the naturall Elements be mixed, yet they quit not their naturall, verticall<sup>267</sup> properties; as for example, mix Wine or *Aquavitae*, or the like, and water; and though they are mixt, yet they lose not their naturall properties, as the water to coole, and wine to heat: for put a drop of wine to a pint of water or an Ocean, and it will be so much more hotter, as the quantity of a drop can heate; and so for a drop of water to so much wine, and it is so much colder, as the quantity of a drop can coole, for though they mix, yet they lose not their properties; neither doth their mixture take from their pure nature.

Then they asked her if a naturall, as Metamorphosed Element might not corrupt a pure Element?

She said no, being not subject to change no more, said she, than a grosse and malignant vapour can corrupt the Sun, but, said she, naturall elements can and doth oftentimes purify corruption, if they be not obstructed, for though they cannot be changed, they may be obstructed, as we see dark clouds will obstruct the naturall light of the Sun, and many times the naturall heat, yet they can neither quench out the one, nor put out the other, the like continuance for the naturall elements; but perchance you will say that you talke of an element, and I speak of a Planet, I say that for example, but though the Sun is a Planet yet it is an Elementary fire; And though earth may be called a Planet, yet it is an Elementary earth; and for all we can know the Moon may be an Elementary water, but howsoever they may be a naturall fire, which is an unalterable fire, which you may call the

---

<sup>266</sup> *Serene*] the sky, when it is clear and calm (*OED* n.<sup>2</sup> B b).

<sup>267</sup> *Verticall*] pure, original.

Elementary fire as the Sun, and so the rest of the Elements, for any thing that Reason can prove against it.

Then they asked her, if nature did work always exactly?

She answered no, for nature doth seldome work so exactly as often to make to perfection; and as for the bodyes of all Animalls, especially mankind, either in the body or minde, much lesse to make them both exactly answerable,<sup>268</sup> or answerably exact.

As for their bodyes, for the most part, they are neither in proportion nor lineaments<sup>269</sup> answerable to each other; for some have well shapt hands, leggs and feet, and ill shapt bodyes; others well shapt bodyes, and ill featured faces, and ill shapt leggs & feet; Also some have one feature in the face excellent, and all the rest ill favour'd.

The like is the mind, for some have good capacities and understandings to some things, and to others, are as dull, as senseless blocks; And some are witty upon some subjects, and are meer fools to others, so some will be good natured to some things, and bad or cruell to others, without cause; Likewise nature seldom makes a body and mind answerable; for sometimes an ill favoured body hath a noble soul, and rationally understanding;<sup>270</sup> others most beautifull bodyes and base souls, and depraved understandings, which shews as if nature took so much paines and care in making the one, as she became weary before she began the other, and sometimes she seems lazie in the beginning of her work; and some- [269(296):Pp4v] times as if she were idle, in the midd'st

---

<sup>268</sup>*answerable*] equivalent (*OED* adj. A I 2).

<sup>269</sup>*lineaments*] parts of the body (*OED* n. 2 a).

<sup>270</sup>Sir Charles Cavendish, Margaret's brother-in-law, was such a person. The Earl of Clarendon describes Charles as a small man 'with such deformity in his little person, and an aspect in his countenance, that was apter to raise contempt than application'. But in this body 'there was a mind and a soul lodged, that was very lovely and beautiful; cultivated and polished by all the knowledge and wisdom that arts and sciences could supply it with' (*The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, written by himself*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1827), p. 292). Sir Charles, a mathematician and natural philosopher, was a member of the Newcastle Circle, which included Hobbes, Sir Kenelm Digby, William Petty, and Margaret herself. The circle closely interacted with Pierre Mersenne and Pierre Gassendi (Kargon, p. 68). Margaret wrote fondly of Sir Charles (see *NP 1656 (Wing N855)*, p. 358), conversations with whom must have benefitted her both intellectually and emotionally. She dedicated her first book to him (see *PF*, sigs. A2r – A2v) and mentioned him in one of the poems (pp. 213-214). She also paid tribute to him in an epistle to *WO* (sig. A3r).



of her work, and sometimes as if she were quite tired at the finishing of her work; as when she makes ill favoured and weak bodyes, imperfect senses, and ill or foolish minds, then she is lazie at the beginning; and when she makes some parts exact and some defective, then she is idle, working by halves, and when she makes all exact, but some little defect, then she is tired out before she hath quite made an end; but, said she, the most prabable reason that I can give, that nature for the most part works so imperfectly is, she hath so much work to do, as we may say, she hath not so much leisure to be exact: for the infinite matter takes up the infinit time, so as she cannot stay about the curiosity of her works, so as we may say, that what was or is wrought extraordinary is rather done by chance than intended by nature, for it were a kind of a miracle,<sup>271</sup> if any thing should be so exact, as some what might not be mended, either in proprietie, qualitie, quantity, formality,<sup>272</sup> simetry, or the like.

Then they asked her if a man could have an Idea of *Jove*?

She said, she thought not, for said she, if it were an image, printed or fixt to the Essence or Soul of man, all mankinde would have one and the same Idea, which we find they have not; for some have thought him a corporeal substance; others an incorporall thing, which shews his Idea was not created with man, neither can we have an Idea from the works of *Jove*, because we neither know the matter he works on, nor the motions he works with, nor to what end he works for.

Besides, the various figures are not to be drawn, nor his subtile ways to be traced, nor to be guest at; we may have various thoughts, said she, amongst the various works of *Jove*, but never draw his Idea there from or thereby.

Then they asked her her<sup>273</sup> what was an Idea?

---

<sup>271</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A word is blotted out after 'miracle', p. 297 (page number error: the page previous to this one is numbered p. 269).

<sup>272</sup>*formality*] the essential nature of a thing (*OED* n. 1 a).

<sup>273</sup>*her her*] possible printer's error.

exactly upon a Mouse in the dark, and at the very first time, did she not see in the dark She said, a shadow, for as all shadow were Eclipsed lights; so all Idea's were Eclipsed thoughts; for thoughts are the light of knowledge, and knowledge is the Sun of the Animall world, which receives alimment<sup>274</sup> from outward objects.

Then they asked her, why Iron doth not move to Iron, being more like than Iron to move to a Load-stone being lesse like? <sup>275</sup>

Because, said she, there is a simpathy in Contrarities, and not always like unto like.

For we see those that are cold seeks heat, and what is hot seeks cold; so what is cold is nourished by heat, and what is hot is refreshed by cold, the same simpathy hath Iron to the Loadstone, and the Loadstone to Iron.

Then they asked her why in nature there are certain principles of different kindes?

Because, said she, there is but one principall matter, from whence all principles are derived, and the variety is onely made by motion not matter, but the principall keeps in the matter which is not subject to change from such principles.

Then they asked her opinion of the world? [297:Qq1r]

She said, the world is like a Clock that is woun'd up to such a time as ten twenty or a hundred thousand years, and the Planets as its wheels goeth their naturall course, turning round.

*The severall and various opinions, whether a Cat seeth in the night, or no?*

Some say, <sup>276</sup> Cats do not see in the night, but onely do hunt Mice by the smell, as dogs do Deere, but I dare say, if dogs were stark blind, they would hardly kill any Deere, or any thing else; and how is it possible that a Cat by the smell should lay her foot so? We

---

<sup>274</sup>*alimment*] sustenance or necessities (OED n. 1 a).

<sup>275</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856) attempts to clarify: 'Then they asked her, Why Iron doth not move to Iron, being more like; than Iron to a Load-stone, being less like', p 567.

<sup>276</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A typewritten note in the left margin reads: 'This opinion my Lord Marquis of Newcastle writ', p. 298.

will wave unnecessary disputes, and fall to the truth, without the vexation of our Readers more.

First, then we are to take it into consideration what things besides fire shines, or give light in the darkest night; as for example, rotten wood shines in the night, and the more, if it be a little greenish and mouldy, so do fish bones that are a little greenish.<sup>277</sup>

But that which shines the most of all in the night, is a glowworm, and especially the taile of it; which is a kind of a Sea-water green; Thus far then we have gone in what shines most in the night, that is not fire;

Now let us take into consideration, the eyes of all Cats, the Cats, being of what colour soever, for my curiosity in this point made me observe it with care, I find that all Cats eyes are thus;

That which we call the black of the eye, which indeed is a round hole in most Animalls covered with a double glasse, which they call the crystalline humour,<sup>278</sup> convex to draw all the lines to a point and the glasse double; for a single one would make every thing in appearance to us, to goe upon their heads, and a double glasse setts them all on their feet again; because the lines cut in the hole of the eye crosse, because the line that comes from the head cuts at the bottome of the hole, and the lines that come from the feet, cut at the top of the hole, and make all the species in a dark Chamber coming in at a little hole, upon a white sheet of paper, all the species to go on their heads; but put another glasse over your former glasse, and then all the species are set right upon their legs againe, because the lines are cut againe crosse in the hole which sets them up right, though the species are

---

<sup>277</sup>According to Lisa Sarasohn, William Cavendish expressed many Baconian arguments in his writings, both public and private (see Sarasohn, 'Thomas Hobbes and the Duke of Newcastle. A Study in the Mutuality of Patronage before the Establishment of the Royal Society', *Isis*, 90 (1999), pp. 724, 726). In his book of experiments Sir Francis Bacon discusses the luminescence of rotting wood, writing 'of all Things that give light here below, [wood that shines in the dark] is the most Durable. . . . Onely *Scales of Fishes* (Putrified) seeme to be of the same Nature with *Shining Wood*' (see *Sylva Sylvarum or A Natural History in Ten Centuries* (London: 1627). *STC* 1168, p. 93). William here seems to have Bacon's discussion in mind.

<sup>278</sup>*Crystalline humour*] A lens (*OED* adj. *crystalline* Special uses).

weakened by their double journey, and this is the reason that the crystalline humor is double, about all other Animalls but Cats, about the black of the eye is white.

Now you must understand that the eyes of all Cats, are just as I have told you of other Animals, saving the round black in use, and other creatures; in Cats it is a slit downward which she can contract, or dilate, at her pleasure, and that slit being extended [298:Qq1v] to its uttermost, is a mighty Circle. Then you must conceive again, that the white that is about our eyes, is a Sea-water-green about all Cats eyes; so that in the day a Cat doth stretch and extend her narrow slits of eyes, being dilated to a mighty Circle, hiding her Sea-water-green almost all over, that is about them. Now in the night she contracts her eyes to a very narrow long slit, which very much enlarges the Sea-water-green all about them, which Sea-water-green gives the light; and thus she lights her Torches or Flamboes<sup>279</sup> in the night, and carries them along with her to see by, as one doth a Candle in their hand, and puts out her Candles in the day, as having no use of them.<sup>280</sup>

That this is probable to be true, remember the several greens that I told you of before that did shine and give light in the night; besides, I have heard by a great many several credible Witnesses, that have seen the eyes of Cats shine just like Candles in the dark night; and so often and commonly seen, that it suffers no dispute: but if you will put a Cat in some dark place, and she is not pleased to light her Torches, because she would not have you finde her again, do not rashly condemn the opinion for that, for I do assure you very many people confirm it as no strange thing, or miraculous, and that never dreamt of Philosophy. If you do not like these reasons, give better, or else pardon the meanness of the subject, since the times give me leave to study the nature of all things, even from the Mouse to the Elephant.

---

<sup>279</sup>Flamboes] a torch 'made of several thick wicks dipped in wax' (OED 1 a).

<sup>280</sup>In this opinion, William differs from Francis Bacon, who supposes that air 'has some Secret Degree of Light: For otherwise Cats, and Owles, could not see in the Night' (*Sylva Sylvarum*, p. 231).

*The second sort that were to visit her, were Physicians.*

And after a short time, they asked her what made a good Physician.

She answered, practice and observation.

Then they asked her, what made the difference between pain and sickness.

She said, pain was caused by cross perturbed motions; and sickness by distempered matter, and the overflow of humours.<sup>281</sup>

Then they asked her whether the mind could be pained, or sick.

She answered, no; but, said she, the minde is like the fire, it can put the body to pain, but can feel none it self; likewise, the motion is like fire, for the more matter it hath to work on, the quicker it moved; and when the minde is as it were empty, it grows dull, and the head is filled with nothing but smokie vapours.

Then they asked her what difference there is between the soul and the minde.

She answered, as much difference as there is betwixt flame, and the grosser part of fire; for, said she, the soul is onely the pure part of the minde.

Then they asked her the difference, if any was, betwixt the soul, and the mind, and the thoughts. [299:Qq2r]

She answered, as the minde was the fire, the soul the flame, so the thoughts were as the smoke that issues from the several subjects that the mind works on; and as smoke, so the several thoughts many times vanish away, and are no more remembred; and sometimes they gather together as Clouds do; and as one Cloud lyes above another, so the

---

<sup>281</sup>Margaret's knowledge of Galen's humoral and medical theory may have been, in part, the result of her and William's many interactions with physicians. In an epistle in which he defends his wife against charges that her works were not her own, William argues that many of the technical terms she uses were widely known. Scholarship does bear out this claim (see Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550–1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)). Newcastle also confesses, however, that he and Margaret often consulted physicians, through whom they gained familiarity with medical terms (see *PPO*, 'An Epistle to Justifie the Lady New Castle, and Truth Against Falshood, Laying Those False, and Malicious Aspersiones of Her, That She Was Not Authour of Her Books', sigs. A2r – A2v).

thoughts many times lye in rows one above another, as from the first, to the second and third Region.

Then they asked her, what was the best Medicine to prolong life.

She answered, temperance, and good diet.

Then they asked her, what diet.<sup>282</sup>

As for diet, said she, to healthfull bodies, meats must be well and wisely matched, but to diseased bodies such diets must be prescribed as are proper to cure each several disease. As for the mixing and matching meats, said she, must be after this description<sup>283</sup> following. As for all flesh meats, they are apt to breed salt rhumes,<sup>284</sup> and being rost, breeds cholerick humours, which salt rhumes and cholerick humours causeth many times hectick feavers, inflaming the arterial blood and vital spirits, and drinking out the radical moisture;<sup>285</sup> and salt rhumes penetrating into the vital parts, causeth excoriation<sup>286</sup> and ulcerations.

As for white meats, as milk-meats,<sup>287</sup> and the like, are apt to breed sharp humours;<sup>288</sup> also, the gross parts cause many times obstruction of the noble parts;<sup>289</sup> and the sharpness is apt to corrode, especially the uritaries, guts, and stomach, producing bloody waters from

---

<sup>282</sup>Cavendish's discussion of diet is influenced by two concepts: the effect of the balance or imbalance of humours (fluids) on the body and the way the body concocted or digested food. Early modern medical and health practices were shaped by the Greek theory concerning the humours. Galen drew from the work of Hippocrates who wrote that 'the human body has in itself blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile; these make up the nature of the body, and through these pain is felt or health enjoyed. The most perfect health is enjoyed when these humours are in correct proportion with each other' (Grant, ed., *Galen on Food and Diet*, p. 25). The humours were based on the four elements: air, fire, water, and earth, and the elements had connection to the seasons of the year. According to Galen, '[B]lood, air and spring are moist and hot . . . ; yellow bile, summer and fire are hot and dry, whilst black bile and earth and autumn are dry and cold; phlegm, water and winter are cold and moist' (ibid., p. 14). Digestion was viewed as a form of cooking (the 'stomach [burned] with an intense heat', thus the language of vapours and smoke. The food a person ingested could give rise to more or less heat, cold, moisture, or dryness, affecting the balance of the humours (ibid., p. 7).

<sup>283</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856) 'description', p. 572.

<sup>284</sup>*salt rhumes*] irritating mucous discharge (*OED* n. 1).

<sup>285</sup>*radical moisture*] 'the humour or moisture once thought to be present in all living organisms as a necessary condition of their vitality' (*OED* n. 1 a).

<sup>286</sup>*excoriation*] sores caused by corrosion (*OED* n. 3).

<sup>287</sup>*milk-meats*] foods made from milk (*OED* n.).

<sup>288</sup>*sharp humours*] corrosive, irritating fluids.

<sup>289</sup>*Noble parts*] parts of the body essential to life; vital organs (*OED noble* n.<sup>1</sup> I 7 c).

the one, and collicks in the other. Also sharp humours cause cankers, fistulaes, and the like, eating through several parts of the body, making several holes, passages, or wounds to pass through; and obstructions cause ill digestions, ill digestions cause corruptions, corruptions cause several diseases, as feavers, small pox, impostumes,<sup>290</sup> boyls, scabs, and leprosius, if the corruption is salt or sower.

As for Fish, and also all sorts of Pulse,<sup>291</sup> breeds slime, and slime in hot bodies causeth the Stone,<sup>292</sup> and Gout in cold bodies, and all sorts of white swellings, as the Kings-evil, wens,<sup>293</sup> and the like; also the brains, feet, or any sinnewy part of any meat doth the like, as also sweet meats.

As for all sorts of Fruits, Roots, Herbs, breeds thin, crude humours, which causes wind, wind causes collicks, cramps, and convulsions, by griping and twisting the guts, nerves, and veins; likewise, all swimming and dizzy diseases in the head; likewise, head akes, caused by a vapour arising from the crude and raw humours; also in hot bodies causeth the *Sciatica*, the heat over rarifying the sharp humours caused by Fruit, makes it so subtil and searching, that it doth not onely extend to the outmost parts of the body, as betwixt the skin and flesh, but gets into the small thread-veins.

As for all Confectionaries, they are in some bodies very obstructive, and in all bodies they breed both sharp and hot rhumes; [300:Qq2v] and I have heard, said she, that Sugar makes the most sharp and egre vitral,<sup>294</sup> that is, as for the matching of several meats.

---

<sup>290</sup>*impostumes*] abscesses (*OED* n. 1).

<sup>291</sup>*Pulse*] A general name for peas, beans, lentils, etc. (Best, p. 307). Galen describes 'pulse' as 'cereals from which bread cannot be made, such as broad beans, peas, chickpeas, lentils, lupins, rice . . . ' (*Galen on Food and Diet*, ed. by Mark Grant (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 96).

<sup>292</sup>Nicholas Culpeper similarly explains the 'stone': 'The cause of the Stone either in the Kidneys or Bladder, is the heat of either part; which hardneth the gross slimy substance into a Stone' (*Culpeper's School of Physick* (London: 1659), *Wing* C7544, p. 236).

<sup>293</sup>*Kings-evil*] scrofula. An infectious disease characterized by swelling of the lymphatic glands. Supposedly cured by the king's touch. (*OED* n.). *Wens*] A lump or knot on the body (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 1 a).

<sup>294</sup>*Egre vitral*] NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'acid Vitriol', p. 574. Metal sulphates; acidic substance (*OED* n. 1 a).

Thus Fish-meats do well agree with roots, herbs, and fruits, if they be stewed, roasted, boyled, baked or the like, otherwise the rawness hinders the concoction<sup>295</sup> of the meat: but if they be drest, as aforesaid, they temper the saltness, and quench out the heat therein, which the over-nourishing strength doth produce.

Also, fish to be mix'd with flesh-meat, although all Physicians are against it: but certainly the natural freshness and coldness of fish doth temper<sup>296</sup> and allay the natural heat and saltness that is in flesh-meat, mixing it into a good chilous temperating<sup>297</sup> into a juicy gravy, which increases radical moystures, which nourish radical heat; also, it supples<sup>298</sup> the arteries, fills the veins, plumps the flesh, smooths the skin, when strong drinks mix'd with strong meats over-heats the body, inflames the spirits, evaporates out the radical moystures, burns out the radical heat, scorches the arteries, drinks up the blood, sears the veins, shrinks up the nerves, dries the flesh, and shrivels the skin.

Also, white-meats and pulse agree best, as being of one and the same degree as it were of heat; for all strong meats curdle all sorts of milk, which causes obstructions and corruptions; also, it turns it so sower, being of a nature so to do; which makes such sharpness in the blood and body, as causes Tiertians, Quartains, Quotidians,<sup>299</sup> and the like diseases.

Likewise, pulse, and all sorts of milk-meat, being of a spungie substance, digests as it were together; when meats that are solid, when they are mix'd with meats that are more porous and spungie, they hinder each other.

---

<sup>295</sup>*concoction*] digestion (*OED* n. 1 a).

<sup>296</sup>*temper*] moisten (*OED temper* v. 11 a).

<sup>297</sup>*Chilous*] Chyle, the milky liquid found in the small intestine during digestion (*OED* n. 1). Margaret suggests that eating fish with other meats promotes digestion.

<sup>298</sup>*Supples*] softens (*OED* v. 1 a).

<sup>299</sup>*Tiertians*] short for tertian fever; characterized by a sudden worsening of symptoms on alternate days (*OED* adj. A 1). *Quartains*] Fevers that recur every fourth day (*OED* n. A 1). *Quotidians*] Fevers characterized by a sudden worsening of symptoms every day (*OED* adj. A 1).



Likewise, small drink<sup>300</sup> is best with white meat; but when pulse is eaten without milk, it may agree better with stronger liquor.

Likewise, roots and milk meats agree, as being both easily dissolv'd from the first forms into chilous.

Nor do fruits and pulse disagree; for the sharpness of the fruits doth divide the clamming of the pulse, and the sliminess of the pulse doth temper the sharpness of the fruits: but fruits and milk-meats are enemies; which when they meet, they do inveterate one another.

So that fruits, and pulse, and milk, and roots, do best together, roots having no sharpness therein. But there is of all sorts of flesh, fish, milk, roots, and herbs, some being hotter than others, and grosser,<sup>301</sup> as the most watrish fruits are the hottest, as having most spirits in their acute<sup>302</sup> juices.

Likewise, all roots or herbs that bite as it were the tongue, or are bitter to the tast, are hot, although Druggists, Herbalists, and Physicians, are many times of the other opinion: but certainly all that is sharp, salt, or bitter, proceeds from a hot nature, and most commonly produces hot effects, having a fiery figure and motion: but because they finde many things that are sharp or bitter to qualifie<sup>303</sup> feavers, or the like hot diseases, they think it is the natural temper of the drugs, herbs, roots, fruits, or the like; but [301:Qq3r] a hot cause may produce a cold effect; as for example, obstructions cause heat in the body, which sharp things do divide and dissolve those gross tough humours, and opens obstructions.

Likewise, those that are salt and bitter do purifie and cleanse the corruption in the body; and when the cause of the disease is taken or removed away, the body becomes equally temper'd; for as the disease doth wast, the body doth cool. Thus it is the sharpness,

---

<sup>300</sup>*small drink*] a weak drink or thin ale (*OED drink* n. 3 b).

<sup>301</sup>*grosser*] 'full of pulp, large and succulent' (*OED* adj. A I 2 c).

<sup>302</sup>*acute*] strong or potent.

<sup>303</sup>*to qualifie*] to reduce (*OED* v. II 9 a).

saltness, and bitterness that cures the disease, and not a cold nature in the Simples;<sup>304</sup> for when the disease, as I said, is gone, the body is well temper'd, and cooled.

Then they asked her, which was the best way to make the best temperament for health.

She said, that way that was best towards mediocrity, as neither to eat too gross meats, nor too watrish,<sup>305</sup> nor to drink too strong drinks, nor such as was very small, that is, not too hot drink, nor too cold drink, either vertyually or actually.

As for gross meats, they fill the body with too much melancholy humours, and the head with malignant vapours.

Very fine and tender meat makes the stomack weak, by reason the substance is not sufficiently solid; for as very gross meat over-powers the stomack by the laborious labouring thereon, so very fine and tender meat makes it lazy, by which weak for want of exercise.

As for drinks, those that are very small,<sup>306</sup> as being very watrish, it quenches the natural heat; and for such drinks that are very strong, burns it out: but, said she, meats and drinks must be wisely match'd; and not onely meats and drinks, but the nourishment, and the nourished; for although in general, hot constitutions should use cooling drinks and meats for their diets, and cold hot diets, and moyst dry diets, and dry moyst diets. But if the body be any ways diseased or distempered, they must order such a body according to the cause of their disease, and not to the effects; as for example; to all hydropical bodies must not be applyed drying medicines nor diets; for if the dropsie proceeds from a dry cause, dry diets or medicines are as bad as poyson; for though the effect be watrish in such

---

<sup>304</sup>*in the Simples*] simply; by itself (*OED* adv. phr. IV 16).

<sup>305</sup>*too gross meats, nor too watrish*] meat that is too dense or bulky and meat that is too thin and light: *gross meats*] 'The flesh of large animals' (*OED* *gross* adj. A I 1 d). *watrish*] 'native to or inhabiting water' (*OED* adj. 7). Margaret says her 'diet is for the most part sparing, as a little boyld chickin, or the like' ('A true Relation', p. 385). She may have viewed chicken as not being as dense as the flesh of large animals or as thin as fish. Chicken was a 'mediocrity'.

<sup>306</sup>*Small*] 'of low alcoholic strength'; diluted, weak (*OED* adj. III 14 a).

diseases, yet the cause was dry; so for heat or cold; and this example may serve for all other diseases: wherefore Physicians must search out and know the original cause, before they can cure the disease; for those that prescribe according to the effect, may cure by chance, but kill with ignorance.

Then they asked her, if the spirits<sup>307</sup> were alwayes dis-affected with the distemper of the body, or the body with the distemper of the spirits.

She answered, not alwayes; for sometimes the spirits will be dis-affected,<sup>308</sup> and the body in health; other times the body sick, and the spirits lively and well temper'd. But, said she, this is to be observed, that the body may be cold, and the spirits inflamed; and the body heated, and the spirits quenched or stupified, for the spirits are the thinnest and subtillest substances of the Crea- [302:Qq3v] ture. Now this thinnest and subtillest substance in the Creature may be inflamed, when the solidest is benumm'd with cold; for a cold melancholy body may have inflamed and distracted spirits.

Likewise, a cold diseased body, as such diseases are, the cause is cold,<sup>309</sup> may have hecktick spirits. Thus both the animal and vital spirits may be hot, and the more solid parts or humours of the body cold. Also, the spirits may be quenched,<sup>310</sup> and the body burning hot, as the stomack, liver, or other parts may be parched with heat, when both the animal and vital spirits have not a sufficient heat to give them lively motions. And it is to be observed, said she, that the animal spirits, and vital spirits, as they are the thinnest and subtillest part of a Creature, so they are nourished by the thinnest parts or substances in

---

<sup>307</sup>In the context of diet and health, Cavendish conception of the spirits aligns with that of other early modern thinkers. The spirits, like the humours, were transported by the blood. Patrick Crutwell notes that the three kinds of spirit, as defined by Andrew Boorde, were the 'naturall, anymal, and vytall; the natural spyrite resteth in the head, the animall spirite doth rest in the lyver, and the vital spirite resteth in the hert of man' (as cited in Crutwell, p. 80). Natural philosophers and physicians may have disagreed about which organs were responsible for which spirit, but there was agreement about the organs' importance in creating the spirits, which played various roles in the nutrition and animation of the body.

<sup>308</sup>*dis-affected* sick or disordered (*OED* adj. II 3).

<sup>309</sup>Perhaps to clarify or to eliminate a redundancy, the line 'as such diseases are, the cause is cold' is deleted from NP 1671 (*Wing* N856), p. 578.

<sup>310</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): Clarifies the phrase: 'the heat of the spirits may be quenched', p. 579.

food, which dilates<sup>311</sup> to the spirits, for though the spirits can and do work upon the solidest parts of the body, or nourishment, yet they onely receive benefit by the thinnest. Likewise, the great annoyance, for it is the vapour<sup>312</sup> of meats and drinks that feeds the spirits, and not the substance. Likewise, vapour will choak, smother, burn, or quench them out; but the vapour from liquors works more suddenly upon the spirits, either to good effect, or bad, than vapour from a solid substance, by reason all liquors have a dilating nature, which spreads it self amongst the spirits with more facility. Also, the vapour of liquid bodies is more facile<sup>313</sup> than the vapour of solid bodies; and, said she, some burn their stomacks with drugs, and quench their thirst with julips; others burn the spirits with cordials, and flat or dead the stomack with meats vertually cold. For it is to be observed, that there is a general error amongst mankind for rules concerning health, some practising with believing cooling drinks temper hot meats, and cooling meats hot drinks;<sup>314</sup> in which they are deceived; for though they may mix, and so temper, yet for the most part it is onely as water and meal makes dough, or as earth and water makes mud, or as sugar and water makes sirrup, but not tempers that vertual heat or cold that works upon substantial parts, or the spiritual; for that which works upon the spirits hath a suddener operation than that which works upon the solid parts of the body, and that from the solider parts a slower operation: so that the stomack may be parched, and the spirits quenched; and the spirits burnt, and the stomack weak by a heavy or dull coldness. But those bodies that are in health, which have not such defects as to fear the sudden operation; for as defects are easily inveterated, so health is not suddenly annoyed: wherefore they may temper their meat and drink by cooling and heating, yet not to a high degree; for all extreams are nought.<sup>315</sup>

---

<sup>311</sup>*dilates*] spreads or diffuses (*OED* v.2 2 a).

<sup>312</sup>The stomach cooks the food, so vapours are created.

<sup>313</sup>*Facile*] free flowing (*OED* adj. A 4 a).

<sup>314</sup>*NP* 1656 (*Wing* N855): A printed marginal note to the right reads: 'I mean, vertually hot or cold', p. 303.

<sup>315</sup>*nough*] harmful (*OED* adj. D I 3).

Then they asked her, what was the reason that all Creatures look fuller and fatter in summer time than in winter.

She answered, the reason was, because the blood extended to the extreame parts, which swells out the flesh, and puffs out the skin; and in the winter the blood falls back, as the sap of plants [303:Qq4r] did to the roots, which caused the flesh and skin to look wither'd and dry, as branches and leaves do, sear'd, faded, wither'd, and dry.

The like reason is when men have pimples, scabs, swellings, pox, and the like, which is the fruit of corrupted blood.

Then they asked her opinion of mineral waters, what virtues and vices they have being drunk.

She answered, that all mineral waters were of a kinde of a brine, but not so much a salt brine as a sharp brine,<sup>316</sup> if I may call that which is sharp, brine, said she: but whether it hath the effects upon the body, as brine hath upon dead flesh, as to preserve or keep it from putrifaction, I cannot say, but certainly it drinks up the natural moisture in healthfull bodies, more often than it purifies the corrupted humours in diseased bodies. But howsoever the mineral waters have much salt in them; as for the effects, they are hot and dry, and have a corroding quality; their corroding quality is caused by the sharpness, and their heat by their corroding, and their dryness by their insipid nature;<sup>317</sup> and though they are actually cold, they are vertyually hot, their vertues are onely on cold and moist bodies, or diseases, as those that have obstructions caused by raw cold flegm, or swellings caused by cold clammy humours, or ulcers caused by cold corrupted humours, or rhumes or dropsies caused by too many cold moist humours, or the like diseases, caused by cold humours; and in my opinion, said she, they would be excellently good for all outward ulcers, or old soars, or wounds, being washed and bathed therewith, by reason they have a

---

<sup>316</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A printed marginal note to the left states: 'Sharp and salt, their effects are oft times alike, as a sharp pickle will preserve from putrifaction, as well as brine', p. 304.

<sup>317</sup>*insipid nature*] lifeless.

cleansing drying faculty, not onely inwardly taken, but outwardly applied. Also, they may temper the inflammations that most commonly attend all ulcers, soars, or wounds, not onely by cleansing and drying up the putrifactions, but being actually cold, especially outwardly applied; for though they are vertyually hot, being inwardly taken, and digested into the blood, or as I may say, the mineral rubbed or wrought into the body, yet they are actually cold, that is, cold to touch. But to return to the interiour maladies; all those diseases that are produced from hot, dry and sharp causes, are as bad as poysons.

As for such obstructions that proceed from hard baked dry humours, or dropsies caused by hot dry livers, spleens, or other parts; also, consumptions that proceed from sharp salt rhumes, or hot dry lungs, livers, spleens, or the like parts; also all swellings caused by hot, dry or sharp humours, or interiour ulcers, caused by hot, dry or sharp humours, or appoplexies caused by hard crusted flegm, or dry black melancholy, or burnt dry thick blood, which stops the natural passages of the spirits; or epilepsies, or convulsions, caused by sharp humours, which shrivel and knit up the nerves, or veins, or joints of the body, or hot winds, which work and foam, and, as I may say, yeast<sup>318</sup> the natural humours is the body, distempering the body therewith. Likewise, it is an enemy to all melancholy bodies, being full of sharp [304:Qq4v] humours, like *Aqua fortis*,<sup>319</sup> which is bred in the body: likewise a sharp green humor, which is a poisonous verdigrease,<sup>320</sup> bred in the body, which humor is the cause most commonly of the disease called Epilepsis or falling sickness, and oft-times is the cause of Convulsions, but this humor is a certain cause of the stomach Collick, or to say the Collick in the stomach and sides; Also they are enemies to the Gout, by reason that the Gout proceeds from a hot baked dry salt or sharp humor, it is a

---

<sup>318</sup>yees] ferment (OED v.)

<sup>319</sup>*Aqua fortis*] nitric Acid, 'a powerful solvent and corrosive' (OED n.).

<sup>320</sup>verdigrease] a poisonous green rust that forms on copper and brass (OED *verdigris* n. a). The word as used here connotes a corruption in the body.

bittamous,<sup>321</sup> or sulphurous humour, or a limey chalkie humor that causeth the gout, indeed it is a calcined humor, which makes it incurable.

As for the stone, they may work to good effects, although that my reason cannot perceive, but that the mineralls may contract and confirm<sup>322</sup> humours into stone as well as dissolve stone: for though their accutenesse is penetrating, and so may dissolve, yet their drinesse is Contracting, Uniting Combinding,<sup>323</sup> and they are not only dry by the insipidnesse of their nature, but by their sharpnesse; for all sharpnesse is drying more or lesse, for though<sup>324</sup> sharpness is actually dissolving by corroding, yet sharpnesse is virtually drying by heating, for corroding is the cause of heat; for whatsoever is rubb'd, or grated hard or swift growes hot, even stones, or any mettle, which is the hardest matter we know; but looser matter, as wood will set on fire: wherefore if wood, stone and mettle will become actually hot, by rubbing or grating actually thereon, well may soft flesh, especially the inward parts that are most tender; And as it is the nature of sharpnesse to corrode, and the nature of corroding or rubbing to heate; so it is the nature of heate, to drink up moisture, and make all things dry; and as sharp things may clense ulcers, by eating the filth therein, or may be good to take off superfluous flesh, as we say, proud flesh in soars, or may dissolve some hard humors moderatly taken or applyed; so they may make Ulcers, Soares, and Wounds, and contract and confirm humors, if immoderately or unnecessarily, or wrongfully applyed.

But as I said, the minerall waters may as well cause the stone in the kidney or blader, as dissolve stone, and may also ulcerate as soon as cleanse; but the minerall waters do rather make a passage, and send forth gravell, by the quantity that is drunk, and passes

---

<sup>321</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A word is blotted out and a handwritten note inserts 'bittamous', p. 305. The errata list notes the change but has the spelling at 'bittanous'; *bittamous*] characterized by heat; fiery (*OED bituminous* adj. 3, cf. *sulphurous*).

<sup>322</sup>*confirm*] solidify (*OED* v. 11).

<sup>323</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): A comma after 'Uniting' helps clarify the sense of this statement, p. 584.

<sup>324</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A typewritten note in right margin reads: 'I mean as have nouris' (the final letter of the last word is missing), p. 305.

through the Uritories, which like a streame or source, doth wash and carry all loose matter before it: and not so much by the vertue of dissolving.

But to conclude of minerall waters, said she, I cannot perceive, but they may breed more diseases than they cure, and those bodies, they are most proper for, must be purged and empty before they take them, least the weight and quantity of the water should carry obstructions to parts open, and free, by carrying too suddenly and forcibly, or pressing or thrusting too hard.

Then they asked her about the nature of purging Druggs.

She said, all purging druggs were full of spirits, which was the cause they were so active, and quick in operation; for, said she, whatsoever hath most spirits is activest,<sup>325</sup> which shewes, saith she, [305:Rr1r] that birds have more spirits, which is innated matter, than any other sort of Animall kind, for they are always hopping and flying about, also chirping, whistling and singing, which shews them not only to be more active, as having more vitall, or sensitive spirits, but also more rationall, as animall spirits.

But to returne to druggs, said she, they seem to have more of the sensitive spirits, which are vulgarly called vitall spirits, which work upon the grossest substance, than the rationall Spirits, which are vulgarly called Animall spirits do, with which spirits cordialls seems to be full of, as working upon the finer parts; for Cordialls do cheere and do revive the soul or minde, making the thoughts more cheerfull and pleasing, which alacrity doth help to abate and quallify the disorders in the body.

Then they asked her, what was the best study, for such as would practise Physick.

She said Naturall Philosophy: for, said she, those can never be good Physitians that are not good naturall philosophers, and they would study Naturall Philosophy more than they do, there would be more frequent cures; for if they do not study nature that makes

---

<sup>325</sup>*activesst*] most active; liveliest (*OED* adj. A I 4 a).



the body, they shall never know remedies to cure the body; for those that do not understand the works of nature, cannot mend a fault therein or prevent a danger to come; but they must study Natures Creations, Dissolutions, Simpathies, Antipathies in matter, motion and figure, but, said she, it is a difficult study, and requires a subtile moving brain to find out the severall motions, although but the plainest vulgar and grossest motions in nature, much more the subtile intricate motions.

And had *Aristotle*, said she, studied the motions<sup>326</sup> in nature, or naturall motions, as he did the parts of nature, or natural parts, he would have been a far more learned man than he was, but his study was easie: for it is no great matter to conceive, what the senses present, but to present to the senses what the brain conceives, making the senses the servants or scouts to seek and search by industry and experiments to find the truth of a rationall opinion; but, said she, many Physitians in these latter times, there studyes are mixt; as partly one science, and partly another, which makes them learned in neither.

As if a Physician should study Theologie, he will neither be a subtile Divine, or an eloquent Preacher, nor a knowing Physician, likewise those that study Naturall Philosophy and also Theology, one study confounds the other. For Naturall Philosophy proves a God, yet it proves no particular Religion.<sup>327</sup>

Then they asked what was that which was called the sensitive and rationall spirits?

She said, they were the highest extracts of Nature, which are the Quintessence and Essence of Nature, which are the innated parts of Nature, which in the knowledge and life are Nature, which are the actions of, and Soul in nature.<sup>328</sup>

---

<sup>326</sup>In *Observations*, Cavendish

<sup>327</sup>For a discussion of Margaret's attempt to distinguish natural philosophy from theology, see Stephen Clucas, "'A double Perception in All Creatures'" Margaret Cavendish's *Philosophical Letters* and Seventeenth-Century Natural Philosophy', *God and Nature*, pp. 121-139.

<sup>328</sup>Eileen O'Neill explains that Cavendish's rational and sensitive matter resembles the Stoics' *pneuma*, the 'fiery breath or spirit, which they called "God"' (Introduction, *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* by Margaret Cavendish (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. xxii). Cavendish, however, would probably object to the suggestion that God is in any way material. She would not make 'Material and Immaterial, Spiritual and Corporeal, all one' (Cavendish, *PL*, p. 326).

Then they asked her whether those spirits had severall figures, or small bodyes, and whether they were from all Eternity. [306:Rr1v]

She answered, their degrees and innated motions, their Figurings, Acutenesse and Subtilties were from all Eternity.<sup>329</sup>

As for the rationall and innated parts, said she, Changes and Rechanges into any figures or formes,<sup>330</sup> having no particular figure or formes inherent; but the form of that degree of matter it is of, but as it can put its self into parts, so it can unite its self, and as it can divide and unite its self, so it can dilate and contract its self, and all by a self-motion, as moving innately. The sensitive innated part moves, said she, after another, manner as *Aqua fortis*,<sup>331</sup> or the like, on mettall,<sup>332</sup> for it moves not figuring it self, but as it figures other parts of matter that hath no innatenesse inherent therein; but only as a dull lumpe, lyes to be moved by the moving part, which is the innated part.

Thus this different way of moving was from Eternity, as their degree was from Eternity; for the rationall innated matter is a degree, above the sensitive innated matter. And though they move not always after one manner, yet they move always after one Nature; Many, said they, could not conceive what those spirits were: some imagining them little creatures.

No, said she, they are not creatures but Creators, which creating brains, may easily understand; and those that cannot conceive have a scarcity thereof. But, said she because the Philosophy is new, therefore they do obstruct it with idle questions, ignorant objections, but, said she, the Philosophy is good, in despite of their ignorance. But, said

---

<sup>329</sup>See *PPO*, 1655, 'Of Matter and Motion', p. 1.

<sup>330</sup>*NP* 1656 (*Wing* N855): A typewritten note in the right margin states: 'As quick-silver from an unite body can into numbers of parts, as from parts to an united body again', p. 307.

<sup>331</sup>*Aqua fortis*] nitric acid (*OED* n. 10).

<sup>332</sup>*NP* 1656 (*Wing* N855): A typewritten note in left margin states: 'As mettle by fire or water by cold or heat', p. 307.

she, I desire to know how the learned describes that which they name vitall and Animall spirits, whether they think them little Creatures or no, to which they made no answer.

Then they asked her what caused sleep in Animall figures.

She said, the tirednesse, or wearinesse of the sensitive innated matter, which are called the sensitive spirits, as of that part of the innated, which works more to the use than the consistence,<sup>333</sup> which wearinesse caused them to retire from the outward parts of Animall figures; for though the sensitive spirits doth not desist from moving in any part, as to the consistence, or dissolution of the figure, yet all the sensitive spirits doth not work one and the same way, or after the same manner, nor the same part of innated matter; or sensitive spirits works not always one and the same way; or after the same manner, nor in the same parts, but as some of that innated matter or spirits work in severall parts of a figure on the dull part of matter to the consistence, or dissolution of the figure, so others: and sometimes one & the same degree works to the use, convenience, or necessitie of the figure; and those that works to the use of the figure in the severall senses, although they doe not desist from moving, as being against the nature, being a perpetuall motion, yet they often desist from labouring (as I may say) for it is a greater labour to take patterns as they do from outward objects or subjects,<sup>334</sup> than to work by roat, or as I may say, as they please, which they do to, or in sleep; but it is not always their labour as being over-powred with work, but sometimes their [307:Rr2r] want of work; as many will sleep through idlenes, having no outward objects presented to them for them to print or paint; other times it is their appetite to freedome and liberty from those outward labours or employments: for though they may and are oftentimes as active when they work to, or in sleep, yet it is easier, being voluntary: for the spirits work more easier, at least more freely,

---

<sup>333</sup>*consistence*] 'Material coherence and permanence of form; solidity or firmness sufficient to retain its form' (OED n. 4 a).

<sup>334</sup>On Cavendish's theory of patterning, see Stephen Clucas, "'A double Perception in All Creatures': Margaret Cavendish's Philosophical Letters and Seventeenth-Century Natural Philosophy", *God and Nature*, pp. 127-128.

when they are not taskt, than when they are like Apprentices, or Journey-men, and will be many times more active, when they take, or have liberty to play or to follow their own appetites, than when they work, as I said, by constraint, by and for necessity; but many times the sensitive spirits retires, when they work not to sleep, as being perswaded or dissuaded then from either by the Rationall innated matter which is called the Rationall spirits in the figure, or by the Rationall Spirits in another figure to desist from the outward<sup>\*335</sup> labour, because it would contemplate & not be disturbed with the sensitive labours,<sup>336</sup> and to retire and shut up the shop windows and doores of the sensitive houses; for the eyes, ears, nostrills, mouth, or the pores of the skin, are but the working houses, or rooms of the sensitive spirits, and to prove it:<sup>337</sup>

Doth not our minds, which is the rationall part, perswade the body, which is the sensitive part, that is wherein works the sensitive matter, or spirits, to lye, to rest, or to withdraw from outward employments, because it would not be disturbed with the labour of the sensitive spirits? for the rationall, which is the minde, said she, is not only the Surveyors<sup>338</sup> to view and take notice of all the works and workings of the sensitive, but are oftentimes in many things the directors, advisers, and sometimes Rulers and Opposers, as when the minde forces the body to danger or trouble, but this rationall part, which is the Rationall Spirits are for the most part busily employed in figuring themselves by the

---

<sup>335</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): The asterisk directs the reader to a typewritten note to the left: '\*As one will perswade another to rest', p. 308.

<sup>336</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten note inserts 'because it would contemplate & not be disturbed with the sensitive labours', p. 308. The change is noted on the errata list.

<sup>337</sup>In a later work, Margaret expands on her house analogy to explain the functions of rational, sensitive, and dull matter. She writes, '[I]n the Exstruction of a house there is first required an Architect or Surveigher, who orders and designs the building, and puts the Labourers to work; next the Labourers or Workmen themselves, and lastly the Materials of which the House is built: so the Rational part, . . . in the framing of Natural Effects, is . . . the Surveigher or Architect; the Sensitive, the labouring or working part, and the Inanimate, the materials' (*Observations*, sig. h2r). She makes use of the house analogy in other treatises. See *PL*, p. 71, p. 531; *Grounds of Natural Philosophy*, p. 20, p. 109, and *Observations*, p. 176, p. 206. Margaret's use of analogies may have been why her style was characterized as elaborate and not in keeping with the Royal Society's mandate to simplify. For a discussion of Cavendish's composition style, see John Ryan Stark, 'Margaret Cavendish and Composition Style', *Rhetoric Review*, 17.2 (Spring, 1999), pp. 264-281.

<sup>338</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction blots out 'servants' and replaces it with 'Surveyors', p. 308. The errata lists shows the change.

sensitive prints, which is the knowledge they take of the works and workings, being more busy and exact, when the sensitive spirits work outward works.

I will not say they move always after the sensitive prints which is to view them,<sup>339</sup> for sometimes they move after their own inventions, for many times the minde views not what the body doth, and many times they move partly after their own invention, and partly after the sensitive prints, but when the sensitive spirits doe retire; or when the rationall spirits perswades them to retire; then the rationall spirits moves after their own appetites, or inventions which are Conceptions, Imaginations, Opinions, Phancies or the like, but, said she, it is to be taken notice, that as the rationall spirits for the most part move after the sensitive prints, which is to put their own matter into such figures, as the sensitive spirits prints upon the dull and inmoving parts of matter, so many times the sensitive spirits do print or ingrave those conceptions, imaginations, phancies, or the like, upon the dull part of matter, as patterns of the rationall figures: for as I said, the rationall spirits do cast, work or move their own part of matter into figures; and the sensitive spirits do figure and print upon other parts of matter, as that which is called the dull and inmo- [308:Rr2v] ving parts; but when the rationall matter perswades, or causes the sensitive matter to work and print, from their figurings, or that the sensitive spirits do it of their own free choice, they work for the most part irregular, I will not say always: for when the rationall spirits move to invention, the sensitive spirits work those inventions regular, if not at first, yet with a little practice; but when the rationall spirits move to any passion, especially violent passions,<sup>340</sup> the sensitive spirits are apt to work irregular also, discompose the animall figure, with the irregularities: for oft times not only the irregular motions of the rationall spirits, but the violence of their motions, although regular, doth disorder the sensitive

---

<sup>339</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A printed note in the right margin extends this idea: 'Which is to view them by half, or parts, or to have but an imperfect remembrance', p. 308.

<sup>340</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A printed note in the left margin reads: 'Either passions, or imaginations, or diseases, or misfortune, or accidents', p. 309.

spirits, causing them to work irregular, but violence is not always irregular or perturbed; also the regularity of the sensitive spirits will cause a disorder amongst the ratioll spirits, as we shall see the minde will distemper<sup>341</sup> the body, as the body will disorder the minde, but where the ratioll innated matter or spirits move so irregular, as to make unusefull imaginations, or imaginary fears, and other conceptions and passions, which are irregular, as much as violence causeth the sensitive spirits also to work, both irregular and violent, whereby they print strange figures in the animall senses, as we may prove by those that are affrighted, or have imaginary fear, which see strange and unusuall objects, which men call Devils, Hobgoblins, Spirits, and the like, and without question they do see such things as are strange & unusuall to them, for such strange & unusuall figures are printed by the irregularity of the sensitive spirits upon the optick nerve, and so for hearing, scent, touch and the like; for when men have such imaginary fears, they will say they saw strange things, and that they heard strange noises; and smelt strange scents; and that they were pinched and beaten black and blue;<sup>342</sup> and that they were carried out of their way, and cast into ditches, or the like; and it is not to be doubted but that they did see such sights, hear such sounds, smell such scents, and felt such paines; for many times the black and blue marks will be seen in the flesh; and the flesh will be sore; and how should it be otherwise, when the sensitive innated matter, or spirits by moving in such motions, work in each sense those objects, sounds, scents, touches and the like, and I see no reason, but the whole body may be carried violently from place to place by the strength of the sensitive spirits: for

---

<sup>341</sup>*distemper*] sicken by disturbing the balance of the humours (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 4 a).

<sup>342</sup>In one of his many accounts of supernatural phenomena, Henry More relates the story of a shoemaker who committed suicide and then returned as a spectre to antagonize members of his community, pinching, hitting, and attempting to suffocate them. The bruises on their bodies functioned as evidence of their abuse by the spectre (see Koen Vermeir, 'Imagination Between Physick and Philosophy: On the Central Role of the Imagination in the Work of Henry More', *Intellectual History Review* 18(1) 2008: p. 119). Margaret dismissed More's supernatural explanations of events such as this one and argued that More was mistaken in ascribing 'strange effects' to immaterial spirits. On her debate with Henry More as well as Joseph Glanvill, see Whitaker, pp. 317-318 and *PL*, pp. 227, 298. See also Jacqueline Broad, 'Margaret Cavendish and Joseph Glanvill: Science, Religion, and Witchcraft', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 38 (2007), pp. 497-500.

certainly the innated matter in every animall figure doth not commonly use its full strength, for the body will be more actually strong at some times than at other times, and upon some occasion, more than when they have no occasion to use strength; for though the severall degrees of innated matter cannot work beyond their strength of their each degree, yet they can work within their strength, and not always work to their full power, and as we may observe the power of strength is seldom used in animall figures; but certainly it is amongst the sensitive and rationall spirits in every animall creature, as it is with the Governors, or Citizens of every Kingdom, they know not their own power and strength, untill they be put to it, by wars or the like<sup>343</sup> for every par- [309:Rr3r] ticular part knoweth not the strength of the whole, untill they joyn as one part together. This is the reason man or any other creature is ignorant, not onely of each one, but of themselves; for how is it possible man should know himself, since Nature cannot know herself, being divided into several parts and degrees.<sup>344</sup> But to return to the strength of the united spirits of mankinde; which united spirits working irregularly, carry the body forcibly into unnecessary or dangerous places; for the violence and irregularity doth disorder the rational spirits, if they were not

---

<sup>343</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten note in the right margin reads 'by wars or the like', p. 309. The errata indicates the phrase should be placed after 'untill they be put to it'.

<sup>344</sup>Kourken Michaelian writes that '[t]he world, for Cavendish, is an infinite whole composed of self-moving matter in motion. Bodies are parts of this whole, to be individuated in terms of the configurations of matter of which they consist' ('Margaret Cavendish's Epistemology', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 17(1) 2009, p. 35). Susan James groups Margaret with the English vitalists who found mechanism unconvincing. For Cavendish nature comprised infinite self-moving, and, to some degree, thinking matter (Susan James, 'The Philosophical Innovations of Margaret Cavendish', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 7(2), 1999, p. 219-224). Cavendish's promotion of a thoroughly material world opened her to charges of atheism, but she defended her materialist position in *Observations*, writing: 'I perceive their supposition is built upon a false ground; for they are of opinion, That the Exploding of Immaterial substances, and the unbounded prerogative of Matter must needs infer Atheism: which whether it do not shew a weaker head then those have that believe no Immaterial substances in Nature, Rational men may judg: For by this it is evident, that they make Immaterial substances to be Gods, by reason they conclude, that he who believes no Immaterial substance in Nature is an Atheist: And thus by proving others Atheists, they commit Blasphemy themselves; for he that makes a God of a Creature, sins as much, if not more, then he who believes no God at all. And as for the unbounded prerogative of Matter, I see no reason, why men should exclaim against it; for why should Immaterial substances have more prerogative then Material?' (p. 43). Cavendish had reason to argue so vehemently. According to Sarasohn, Cavendish's contemporaries believed England was being overwhelmed by atheists, and as James Fitzmaurice points out, the 'danger of her appearing to be an atheist' may have driven her to speak out strongly against atheism (Sarasohn, *Natural Philosophy*, p. 86; James Fitzmaurice, 'Paganism, Christianity, and the Faculty of Fancy', *God and Nature*, p. 79).

disordered before, so much, that they cannot direct prudently, nor order methodically, nor advise subtilly, but are all as I may say in a hurly burly; for the rational spirits making imaginary fears, do as those that begin an uproar; so the rational spirits are not onely afraid of the tumult amongst the sensitive spirits, but are discomposed and hurried about themselves; and their society, which is their own matter, is dispersed abroad, that is, disunited and disordered in their regular motions, so as the rational innated matter, or spirits, although they were the first cause of the extravagant commotions amongst the sensitive spirits, yet they are discomposed therewith like a reflexion,<sup>345</sup> their own disorders return in double lines of strength from the sensitive body.

Then they asked her, why the Animal Figure did not alwayes in sleep dream; and that<sup>346</sup> the sensitive and rational spirits, or innated matter, did never desist from moving.

She said, that although the innated matter did never desist from moving, yet they did not alwayes figure or print, for they dissolve as well as create.

Besides, said she, they may work to the preservation or consistence of the figure, and of every particular sense, and yet not alwayes make use of the senses. Besides, said she, the rational matter doth not alwayes figure it self by the sensitive print; and for proof many times those that are in a serious discourse, studious contemplations, or violent passions, will take no notice of the sensitive motions; for in a violent passion many will receive a deadly wound, and never take notice of the touch; and many times those in serious discourse receive a pinch on their arm or finger, or any other part, and yet they at that time never take knowledge thereof; and yet when their violent passion or discourse is ended, then their rational knowledge takes notice that their finger, arms, or other parts ake, or their wounds smart, which shews the sense of touch was sometimes in their finger, or in that part wounded, before the rational knowledge took notice of it. So in a deep

---

<sup>345</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856) clarifies: 'like a Reflexion' is edited to read 'by reflexion', p. 595.

<sup>346</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856) clarifies: 'and that' is edited to read 'since', p. 595.



contemplation, when they view objects, hear sounds, smell scents, tast and touch, the rational knowledge takes no notice of it, because the rational spirits move not to the sensitive works; so that onely the eye sees, or the ear hears, or the nose smells, or the tongue tastes, or any particular part feels, but the rational takes no notice thereof; so that these are but particular knowledges in every particular sense, or part of the figure, and not a general knowledge: for the sensitive knowledge, which [310:Rr3v] are the sensitive spirits, are bound to parts; but the rational knowledge, which are the rational spirits, are free to all, as being free to it self, the other bound to the dull part of matter.

But to return to dreams; how shall we remember figurative dreams, when that memory is not made by the rational motions? for though the sensitive innated matter might print such figures, yet the rational innated matter hath not figured those prints, and then we say we did not dream.

Then they asked, why some Animal Creatures were almost dissolved for want of sleep.

She said, want of sleep was caused by distemper, which distemper was a disorder and irregularity amongst the innated matter, as sometimes from the sensitive spirits, and sometimes from the rational spirits, and sometimes both. The irregularity of the sensitive spirits was, when the body was pained, or sick, or overpower'd; the irregularity amongst the rational, was when the minde was troubled; these disorders hinder the sensitive spirits from shutting up shop orderly; or when they sleep by halves, or unsoundly, those irregularities cause their windows and doors, which are the senses, to open and shut unnecessarily and untimely, as I may say; and many times lack of sleep is caused, when the spirits are so tired, that they cannot use a sufficient force to shut up shop, at least not to lock or bar the windows and doors close.<sup>347</sup> And sometimes the sensitive spirits are so

---

<sup>347</sup>Margaret explains that the ears, nostrils, mouth, and pores of the skin are holes, or doors, through which the animal figure receives sensory information. The sensitive innated matter transports and presents the information to the rational innated matter. In the case of vision, the sensitive matter paints or prints a

earnest, and, as I may say, greedy in working, that they labour both night and day, either for curiosity, or increase, or pleasure: but most commonly the rational spirits joyn or go halves with the sensitive spirits, when they work for curiosity or pleasure, because they make a delight thereby.

Then they asked her, what was the reason that some sorts of cordials or drugs caused sleep.

She said, that that part of innated matter that was taken in cordials or drugs, did either help the innated matter in the animal body or figure, by adding strength to them to shut up their shops and windows, or else helped to rectifie their disorders and irregularities.

But, said she, as some drugs or cordials do sympathize to the irregular part of innated matter in the figure, so other drugs and cordials do work antipathetically to their regularity, and sympathetically<sup>348</sup> to their irregularities, and then the working to sleep is more hindered than helped.

Then they asked her, whether one kinde of motion could give a perfect form at one instant.

She said, no; unless, said she, the Creature formed be without the varieties of parts; for every different part requires a different motion to the creating of each part, and a distance of time to form each part in; for some parts require more work and labour than others.

Then they asked her, if all Creatures were created by degrees.

She said, all Creatures that were composed of various parts; [311:Rr4r] for as there are degrees of innated matter, which innated matter is the Creator of all figures; so there

---

picture that is then viewed by the rational matter. The output of the rational matter, unless discomposed, is knowledge and understanding (*PPO*, 1655, pp. 115-116).

<sup>348</sup>Cavendish defines sympathy as 'nothing else but natural Passions and Appetites, as Love, Desire, Fancy, Hunger, Thirst, &c. and its effects are Concord, Unity, Nourishment, and the like'. Antipathy is the opposite. It is 'Dislike, Hate, Fear, Anger, Revenge, Aversion, Jealousie, &c. and its effects are Discord, Division, and the like' (*PL*, p. 293; see also *PPO*, 'The Sympathy, and Antipathy of Spirits', p. 14). For a discussion of Cavendish's use of these concepts, see Susan James, 'Philosophical Innovations', p. 237-238. See also Sarasohn, *Natural Philosophy*, p. 56.

are degrees of and in Creation; for our senses, said she, shew us, that there is a season, a time, and a working in time by degrees; and if we allow there be degrees of increasing, as strengthening and enlarging, why should we think there are none in creating every particular figure, and different parts in one and the same Creature? for as we see seed must be first sown, and then remain in the earth for some time before those seeds sprout up and increase, so there is time and degrees in forming of the formed; for if there be degrees that we call time, why not in the working of each part of each figure in time? for in reason we cannot think, that the root, the blade, the stalk, the ears, the seed in the ears of corn, are produced from one motion, made by the seed sown, and the earth; and so each different part to be created at one instant into one perfect form or figure.

And as in Vegetables, so questionless in Animals, there are degrees in their creations; for it is against reason and sense to think an Animal is formed at one instant, although the figure at first created were no bigger than a hair, if the figure hath variety of parts, which require not only various motions, but degrees of motions, and distance of time to move in.

And thus as Vegetables require degrees and distance of time to create one figure, so the like in Animals, as not only space in time, and degrees of motions, and several mixtures of temperaments to inlarge and strengthen that figure, but degrees in creating every particular part in one and the same figure, and not formed at once; for common sense, said she, shews us, that there is nothing done but by degrees; and whosoever thinks otherwise, their thoughts move irregular, and against sense and reason; for Nature works by degrees, and in order, and orders her works by degrees.<sup>349</sup>

Then they asked her, whether a Creature might not be created by the effects of motion, without partaking of the substance of the Parents.

---

<sup>349</sup>Cf. 'Of Matter and Motion', *PPO*, p. 1.

She said, no; for, said she, the earth, and the seed sown, which be the parents that produce an off-spring, cannot produce any thing of its own nature, unless some part of the producers goeth to the creating of the produced; for it is not onely such a motion made between the producers, that creates the produced, but part of their innated matter, which are the sensitive and rational spirits, which goeth to the forming and creating of the produced; for that innated matter or spirits that goeth from the producers, meeting and intermixing together, creates or layes the foundation of the produced, on which other innated matter or spirits, brought by the way of nourishment, builds thereupon, so that the foundation of every Creature is of the Creator: but, said she, one and the same matter doth not move alwayes after one and the same manner; for it is not meerly such a motion that creates, but of such kinde of motions that creates; and the variousness of the [312:Rr4v] motions, or creators, although of one and the same matter, causeth a difference in the created, as in semblances, constitutions, humours, dispositions, quality, faculty, and the like. For though the producers be the same, and not onely the produced of the same kinde, but of the same natures, as coming from such producers; yet the produced are not alwayes alike, but some vary more than others; not onely their produced, but those produced from their producers.

But, said she, to shew that the produced partake of the producers of each party more or less, not onely in effects, but of substance, is that such a Creature or Creatures could not be created but by the same Creators, otherwise the same motions made by such a kinde of matter would produce the same Creature; which cannot be; for the same kinde or degree of innated matter which creates, hath the same kinde of motions in general: but every particular part is of it self; for that which is of one part, is not of another part, although it be of one and the same kinde, and hath one and the same property: but the rational spirits, said she, go the creation of the minde or soul, the sensitive to the body: But, said she, Opinion creates one way, and Nature another way; which Opinions, except

there be sense and reason in them, are the false conceptions in Nature. But the learned Students study so much the parts, that they never consider the parties that work therein.

But the Authoress of these Opinions of the rational and sensitive spirits, says she, brings sense and reason to dispute for the truth of these Opinions, which no other Opinions do; and they that will not believe sense and reason, will believe nothing, but express by their credulity that they have but a small quantity of that innated matter in their brains.

Whatsoever treats of innated matter, as the sensitive and rational spirits, is to be compared to my Philosophical Opinions.

Then they asked her, whether she thought there could be repetitions in Nature.

She said, yes; for, said she, if any thing in Nature cannot be dissolved, as to be annihilated, it may be repeated; for if the same matter and same motions are in being, the same figures may be repeated; and if there can be in creations, said she, a repetition; it is probable there are repetitions of one and the same Creature, onely the time, and changes of time, and in time, makes a difference and obscurity, in which obscurity the Creature ignorant of it self, and its former being, whereby one and the same Creature may come to envy his own renown, which was kept alive by records from age to age, as if *Homer* should be created again, and envy his own Works, or at least strove to out-work them; or that *Alexander* and *Caesar* should be created again, and should envy their own Actions, Victories, and Powers, or at least grieve and repine that they cannot do the like; for if they were created again, they might miss of the same occasions, opportunities or powers, birth or fortunes; for though the body and soul may be the same, [313:51r] so the appetites and the desires; yet the outward concurrence may not be the same that was in the former being; for though the concurrence as well as the Creature may be repeated, yet perchance not repeated in one and the same age or time: but if they should fall out to be repeated in one age or time, the same actions would fall out to be as *Caesar*, or *Alexander's*, to conquer the

World again as they did before, and there would be the same war betwixt the Grecians and Trojans, if the same occasions were. But *Homer* would not write the same Poems, if they were alive in record; for though it be an honour to conquer what was conquered, although after the same manner, yet it is no honour to Wit to write what was writ before upon the same subject, nor indeed upon any other subject; for both the Wit and the Subject must be new, at least the Wit, to gain as great and lasting renown.

Then they asked her, what Fire was.

She said, that Fire was not onely the quickest motion, but it is a perpetual quick motion, that hath no intermission, by which it hath a strange power over every thing; so that it hath a stronger power by the continuance than by the quickness.

*The third sort that visited her were Moral Philosophers.*

The Moral Philosophers asked her, if it were possible to alter or abate the passions.

No, said she, you may pacifie or imprison them, and force them to conceal themselves in the heart, not onely from outward appearance, but from the very understanding in the head, but never alter or change their natures, as to weaken their natural strength, or abate their natural vigour; for, passions, said she, are like the Sun, they may be eclipsed or clouded, but never can be alter'd; and as the Sun, saith she, draws forth vapour from the earth, so do the Imaginations draw forth passions from the heart, like as a bucket draws up water from the bottom of a well, so do outward objects draw up passions from the heart.

Then they asked, what was the difference betwixt the Passions and the Appetites.

She said, the appetites were the passions of the body, and the passions the appetite of the minde; and the minde is as apt to surfet of the one, as the body of the other.

Likewise, saith she, the minde is as seldome pleased, as the body is seldome at ease, being both restless, as never satisfied; for the height of sensitive pleasure is the beginning

of pain, and the height of passion is the beginning of desire, and desire hath no period, no pleasure, no center.

Then they asked her, what sort of Love was the perfectest.

She said, that Love that descended; for Love that descends is more solid than that which ascends, and draws more towards perfection, as being most contracted; for that which ascends, is aery, and disperses soon, like as smoke: but that which descends, [314:*Ss1v*] is like falling showers of rain, that joyn into a river or sea of Love, running with force to perfection. This is the reason Parents love their Children, better than Children can love their Parents; this is the reason Nature loves her Creatures, better than the Creatures can love Nature; this is the reason the Gods love Mankind better and more perfecter than Mankind loves the Gods. Thus the perfectest Love is from the Gods to Men; for the greater the descent is, the more force there is.

The like, said she, is Hate; for that Hate which descends is more inveterate and malignant than that which ascends; for we are easily perswaded to pardon the injuries or wrongs we receive from our Superiours, but seldome are pacified without a high revenge for the wrongs we have received from Inferiours; I mean, not onely the Inferiours of birth, or fortunes, but merit. This is the reason *Noah* could not forgive his son *Cham* for the disgrace which he received,<sup>350</sup> for no Hate is like to that of Dishonour; this is the reason Heaven hates Hell, more than Hell can hate Heaven.

Then they asked her, why the passions forced the body to weep, to sigh, to groan, to laugh, to sing, to complain, to rail, to curse, to commend, to extoll, to implore, to profess, to protest, to look pale, to look red, to shake, to tremble, to strike, to embrace.

She said, that the causes in the minde did work their effects upon the bodies, as the causes in *Jove* did work their effects upon nature. Or in a lower comparison, said she,

---

<sup>350</sup>See Genesis 9:20-24. Cham, one of Noah's sons, makes no attempt to avert his eyes when he sees Noah drunk and naked in his tent, a degrading situation for the patriarch. Noah subsequently curses Cham and his descendants.

the Minde is as the Sun, and the Body like the Earth, the Sun having several faculties, as the Minde several passions; it gives life and light, strength and growth, it comforteth and warms, it weakens, corrupts, withers and decayes, it burns and destroyes, it dilates and contracts, it doth digest and expell, it sucks, it draws, and confirms; so doth the Minde; it gives the light of knowledge, and the life of understanding, it comforteth and warmeth by invention, it strengthens by judicious advice, it increases by temperance; it weakens, withers, and decayes by unsatiabie intemperance; it dryes and parches it by grief, inflames it by anger, burns it by rage, confirms it by melancholy, destroyes it by desperate fury, as self-murther.

Likewise, as the Sun doth not onely contract and dilate itself, but contracts and dilates the severall Creatures on and in the earth, the same doth the Minde the severall parts of the body, it dilates the body into several actions, postures, and behaviours, to strike, to kick, to stretch out the body, to spread out the arms, to fling out the legs, to stare, to call or cry out, to hoop, to hollow;<sup>351</sup> and it will contract the body into a silent musing, close the lips, shut up the eyes, fold in the arms, bow or bend in the legs, and as it were winde up the body by fear, grief, anger, melancholy, joy, wonder, admiration, and the like; and as the Sun doth suck and draw from the earth, and dissolve and expell the Creatures therein, so do the passions the humours of the body; for as some [315:5f2r] Sun beams suck moisture from the severall springs that rise in the earth, so divers passions suck out moisture from the severall veines, that run in the body; or as such beams which pierce the earth, make the face thereof wither and pale, so will some sorts of passions; And as some other sorts of Sunny beams, for all work not the like effect, draw sulphurous vapour from the bowells of the earth, towards the middle Region, which flash out in lightning, so do the passions draw from the heart, a flushing colour to the face, which flushes in hot

---

<sup>351</sup>*hollow*] holler (OED v. 1 a).



blushes; And as the Sunbeams draw salt vapour from the Sea, then fall in powring showers; so do the passions draw salt vapour from the bowells which fall in trickling tears, for the passions are the beams of the minde; and hath as great an influence and power over the body, as the Sun-beams have upon the earth, and as the Suns bright rays cause the elements to appeare cleer and light, so doth the minds tranquillity cause the countenance to look cheerfull and fair.

Then they asked her of the Four Cardinall Vertues.

She said, that Prudence, and Temperance, were two Vertues, which belonged more to the wise than the Heroique men; for Prudence barrs Generosity and Magnaminty, and doth not only forewarn dangers, but restraines from dangerous actions. When Heroique honour is got in danger more than in safety, and courage is made known thereby. Likewise Temperance forbids magnificence, but Fortitude, and Justice belongs most to Heroique men.

Then they asked her if she thought beasts had a rationall soul.

She answered, that if there could be no sense without some reason, nor reason without the senses, beasts were as rationall as men, unles, said she, reason be a particular gift, either from nature, or the God of Nature to man, and not to other creatures, if so, said she, Nature or the God of Nature would prove partiall or finite; as for Nature in her self she seemes unconfined, and for the God of Nature, he can have no byas, he ruling every thing by the straight line of Justice; and what Justice, nay, injustice would it not be for mankind to be supreme over all other animall kinde? some animall kinde over any other kinde?<sup>352</sup>

---

<sup>352</sup>Remaining consistent in her philosophical conceit that material bodies comprised all three types of matter, rational, sensitive, and dull, Margaret argued that animals possess their own kind of knowledge, of which humans were ignorant. In 'Further Observations', she wrote, 'But Man, out of self-love, and conceited pride, because he thinks himself the chief of all Creatures, and that all the World is made for his sake; doth also imagine that all other Creatures are ignorant, dull, stupid, senseless and irrational, and he onely wise, knowing and understanding' (*Observations*, pp. 41-42). Her great sympathy for animals surfaces in such poems as 'The Hunting of the Hare' and 'The Hunting of the Stag' (*PF*, pp. 110-116).

Then they asked her why no creature was so shiftlesse<sup>353</sup> at his birth as man?

She answered there were other creatures, as shiftlesse as man, as for example, birds are as shiftlesse before their wings are fledged.

For as infants want strength in arms to feed themselves and leggs to go, so birds want strength of bill to feed themselves, and feathers in wings to fly.

Then they asked her, whether she thought there were a Heaven and a Hell.

She answered, that in nature there was a Hell and a Heaven, a God, and a Devill, good Angells and bad; salvation and damna- [316:5s2v] tion; for, said she, paine and trouble is a Hell, the one to torment the body, the other the mind.

Likewise, said she, health and pleasure is a Heaven,<sup>354</sup> which gives the body rest, and the minde Tranquillity; also, said she, the naturall God is Truth, the naturall Devill falshood, the one seeks to save, the other to deceive, the good Angells are Peace and plenty; the evill are Warrs, and Famine; Light is the beatificall vision, darknesse the diadem nature;<sup>355</sup> death is the damnation, Life the salvation; and Morall vertue is the naturall Religion, and Morall Philosophers are natures Priests; Which preach, and seeme to practise a good life.

Then they asked what government for a Commonwealth was best?

She answered, Monarchicall; For as one Sun is sufficient to give Light and heat to all the severall creatures in the world; so one Governor is sufficient to give Lawes and Rules to the severall members of a Commonwealth; besides, said she, no good government

---

<sup>353</sup>*Shiftlesse* 'Helpless for self-defence; void of cunning or artifice' (*OED* adj. 1).

<sup>354</sup>Cavendish's Epicurean tendencies are evident in a number of her works, including *The Convent of Pleasure*, a play in which a group of women retire to a convent. Lady Happy, the protagonist, asserting that men make slaves of women, explains that she and a group of noble women who 'are resolv'd to live a single life, and vow Virginity' will live 'incloister'd with all the delights and pleasures that are allowable and lawful'. Her cloister will emphasize freedom over restraint. 'Variety each Sense shall feed, / Thus will in Pleasure's Convent I / Live with delight, and with it die' (Shaver, Anne, ed., *The Convent of Pleasure and Other Plays* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. 220). See also Brandie R. Siegfried, 'Dining at the Table of Sense', Romack and Fitzmaurice, pp. 63-83.

<sup>355</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): The phrase 'darknesse the diadem nature' is edited to read 'Darkness the natural dungeon', p. 611.

can be without union, and union is<sup>356</sup> singularity not in plurality; for union is drawn to a point, when numbers make Division, Extraction, Subtraction, which oftentimes brings distraction, and distraction confusions.<sup>357</sup>

Then they asked her whether she was of that opinion, that those that had good understandings, had weak imaginations.

She said she was not of that opinion, for, said she, from the purenesse and cleernesse of the understanding proceeds the subtilty and the variety of the imaginations, and, said she, understanding is the foundation of Imagination, for as faith is built upon Reason, so is imagination upon understanding.

Then they asked her, if that the faculties of the minde or soul had their uses, or proceeded from the temper of the brain and heart?

She answered, that the uses and faculties of the minde proceeded from the motions of the vitall and animall spirits, which I call, said she the sensitive and rationally spirits, which is the life and soul; and from the Regular motions, and full quantity thereof proceeds a perfect memory, a cleer understanding, and a sound judgement: from the quick motions proceed a ready wit, and from the various and Regular Motions, proceeds probable imagitions,<sup>358</sup> or opinions, from the scarcity proceeds dulnesse and stupidity or insensibility, from the irregularity proceeds extravagancies or madnesse; and where the scarcity and irregularity meets, it produceth a stupid, dull madnesse.

---

<sup>356</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction appears to change 'in' to 'is', p. 317. In NP 1671 (*Wing* N856), this line reads, 'Union is in Singularity', p. 611.

<sup>357</sup>Cavendish views monarchy as the form of government most likely to promote peace and stability. On this topic see Boyle, 'Fame, Virtue, and Government', pp. 281-289. See also James, *Political Writings*, p. xxv.

<sup>358</sup>*imagitions*] imaginations.

The fourth sorts<sup>359</sup> that visited her, were Schollars, that studied Theologie, and they asked her, whether she was of opinion of mans Free-will.<sup>360</sup>

She answered, that she was not so proud, nor so presumptuous, as to think that man had Free-Will; for, said she, if *Jove* had given men Free-Will, he had given the use of one of his attributes to man, as free Power; which, said she, *Jove* cannot do, for that were to lessen himself for to let any creature have free [317:3s3r] power to do what he will, for Free-Will is an absolute power although of the narrowest limits, and to have an absolute power is to be a God, and to think man had it only, and no other creature, were to think *Jove* partiall, but, said she, mans ambition hath bred this and the like opinions;<sup>361</sup> but, said they, *Jove* might permit man, or suffer man to do somethings, she said, that was as ill, or a worse opinion, as to think *Jove* permits man to crosse his will, as to let him do that which he would not have him do, were to make *Jove* lesse than a God, as if his decrees were to be altered by man, and to follow his humor and will, or, said she, to think that *Jove* requires of man such things, as his nature suffers him not to do, and so as it were to force him to disobey him, or to think *Jove* suffers man to do evill, when he could prevent it, or to think *Jove* permits man to provoke his Justice or to damne man, when it is in *Joves* power to save him, were to think *Jove* unjust and cruell, or to think *Jove* made man, yet knew he would be

---

<sup>359</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten note inserts 'sorts', p. 317. The list of errata does not record this insertion.

<sup>360</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): The printer neither italicised nor separated this title from the text.

<sup>361</sup>See also *SL*, letter CLXX, p. 353, in which Margaret similarly discusses free will. For Cavendish, humans' having free-will would require that they have absolute knowledge: they would have to know all, see all, and understand all. If they were in possession of knowledge this complete, a knowledge that encompasses every kind of being and principle, they would have the power to exert their will on the world. Indeed, Cavendish later writes in *PL*, 'The Will of God is the fulfilling of the actions of Nature' (p. 462). Only God has this kind of power – an absolute power. Humans, unlike God, have a form and they are bound by the form in which nature has shaped them. They possess a kind of knowing, but that knowing is circumscribed by the figure in which infinite matter has fashioned them. This concept is in keeping with Cavendish's philosophy of variety. All creatures are formed by the same tripartite matter, but each creature possesses this matter in varying degrees, making it an individual with a particular way of perceiving and knowing. This philosophy, however, does not preclude the notion of choice, 'for Nature acts freely, and so may natural Creatures, and amongst the rest Man, in things which are purely natural' (*PL*, p. 222). Humans can make choices given that the rationale matter that is part of their natural makeup is free to think, reason, conceive, and imagine. Rational matter frees them from the compulsions of sensitive matter. Karen Detlefsen points out that Cavendish 'associates freedom . . . with rationality' ('Reason and Freedom: Margaret Cavendish on the Order and Disorder of Nature', University of Pennsylvania, doi 10.1515/AGPH.2007.008, p. 183). See also Sarasohn, *Natural Philosophy*, pp. 90-93.

damned; and might have saved him, in not making him, were to make a malignity in the nature of *Jove*, for to make and take delight to punish which cannot be, said she; For *Jove* is a God in goodnesse as well as a God in power, and a God in Justice as well as a God of Wisdom, for Justice and Knowledge is the basis of wisdom, but, said she, the opinions men have of *Jove* are according to their own natures; and not according to the nature of *Jove*, which makes such various Religions, and such Rigorous Judgment in every Religion, as to condemn all but their owne opinion, which opinions are so many and different, as scarce any two agrees, and every opinion judges all damned, but their own, and most opinions are, that the smallest fault is able to damne, but the most Vertuous life, and innocent thoughts not sufficient to save them.

Then they asked her, if she did believe in Predestination?

She said, she believed that *Jove* did order all things by his wisdom, and that his wisdom knew how to dispose<sup>362</sup> to the best, and that *Joves* will was the onely fixt decree, and that his power established all that his will decrees.<sup>363</sup>

Then they asked her, what she thought *Jove* required from man?

---

<sup>362</sup>*dispose*] to govern in an orderly way (*OED* v. I 2).

<sup>363</sup>Cavendish has more to say about this fraught topic in her later works. In *PL*, she devotes a letter to the topic. Laying out the various opinions on predestination and the problems therein, she concludes, 'I am neither for Predestination, nor for an absolute Free-will . . . ; for an absolute Free-will is not competent to any Creature: and though Nature be Infinite, . . . yet her Power and Will is not absolute, but limited; . . . for she cannot work beyond the power God has given her' (*PL*, p. 505). In *Observations*, her position on predestination to a greater degree reflects the position of the Church of England as laid out in the Thirty-Nine Articles of Faith (article 17), which defends the idea of the elect, but also points out that the promises of grace are universal to mankind (see Thomas Rogers, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, Professed and Protected in the Realme of England, and Dominions of the Same. Expressed in thirty nine articles* (London: 1629), pp. 69-82. Margaret explains, 'To adore God, after a particular manner, according to his special Will and Command, requires his Particular Grace, and Divine Instructions, . . . which none but the chosen Creatures of God do know, . . . nor none but the sacred Church ought to explain and interpret: . . . [M]any persons are much troubled concerning Free-will and Predestination, complaining, that the Christian Church is so divided about this Article, as they will never agree in one united belief concerning that point; which is the cause of the trouble of so many Consciences, nay, in some even to despair. But I do verily believe, that if man do but love God from his soul, and with all his power, and pray for his saving Graces, and offend not any Creature when offences can or may be avoided, and follow the onely Instructions of the sacred Church, not endeavouring to interpret the Word of God after his own fancy and vain imagination, but praying zealously, believing undoubtedly, and living virtuously and piously, he can hardly fall into despair, unless he be disposed and inclined towards it through the irregularities of Nature, so as he cannot avoid it. But I most humbly thank the Omnipotent God, that my Conscience is in peace and tranquility, beseeching him of his mercy to give to all men the like' (*Observations*, pp. 39-40)

She answered, she thought *Jove* required nothing from man, but what he required from nature as Love, Prayes, Admiration, Adoration, and Worship; as to love his Goodnesse, praise his Justice, admire his Wisdom, adore his Power, and to worship all his Attributes, and *Jove*, said she, requires not only this in man, but of all the creatures in nature; For, said she, it were a sinfull opinion to thinke none but man did love praise, admire, adore and worship *Jove*.

Then they asked her, if there were no evill?

She said there was, but said she, all evill lives in nature as all good in *Jove*,<sup>364</sup> for in nature said she, is discord, in *Jove* concord, by nature confusion, by *Jove* method; and though, said she, *Joves* goodness and power will not suffer nature to run into a confusion, [318:33v] yet nature, saith she, struggles and strives like an untoward jade<sup>365</sup> that would break lose to run wildly about, and the skittish tricks, said she, are the sinnes against *Jove*, but said she, all things in nature are guilty as much as man in one kinde or other.

Then they asked her what were the sinns in nature against *Jove*?

She said many, but the greatest sins the creatures in nature commit against *Jove*, are not to believe he is above nature; or to think it is the Nature of nature, and not the knowledge and power of *Jove* that governess so wisely, that orders so prudently, that produceth so orderly, that composes so harmoniously, and all with a Free-will, a pure goodnesse, and infinite bounty; Likewise as not to believe that *Jove* hath not an infinite generosity to forgive and pardon all the evils and defects in nature: also to dislike or murmure at the government of *Jove*, and the submission in Nature, is to repent, to be humble, to agree, to be content, and to think all that cannot be avoided is for the best; and as nature is apt, said she, to commit sins against *Jove*, so nature is apt to disorder, crosse

---

<sup>364</sup>Susan James points out that Manicheanism, the belief that an evil entity coexists with God, was a heresy. In *The Blazing World*, when the Empress asks a group of learned men whether a supernatural evil existed, they answer that they knew only of a supernatural good (Margaret Cavendish, *Political Writings*, ed. by Susan James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 63.

<sup>365</sup>*jade*] an unruly, ill-tempered horse of inferior quality (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 1 a).

and vex it self, as by excesse, mischief and cruelty, as to strive to destroy to no use, to obstruct to no purpose, to hinder the Creations, to displace Creations, to oppose a right, to defend falshood, to conceale Truth, to obstruct knowledge, to delude ignorance, to wrong Innocency, to hurt the helplesse, to destroy the hurtlesse;<sup>366</sup> Likewise to overcharge the appetite, to inveterate the passions, to deceive the affections, to abuse time, to be unnecessary busie, or lasie, or idle, and thus all the creatures of every kinde that are made in nature, do in one manner or other: but the goodnesse and power of *Jove*, said she, doth still hinder nature from running into confusions, and rectifies the disorders therein: for War lives in nature, said she, and Peace in *Jove*.

Then they asked her what naturall evils there were?

She said, nature was an infinite lump of evill, but the naturall evils to animalls, said she, were paine, sicknesse, sorrow, fear, famine, wars, darknesse and infamy.

Then they asked her, if there were no naturall good?

She said, none in Nature, for all that is good, said she, is caused by *Joves* wise ordering, by composing harmoniously: For, said she, Health, is an harmonious Composition; Pleasure & delight, is an harmonious composition; Rest, an harmonious Composition, Peace, an harmonious Unity; As for life, said she, it is an evill, were it not ordered wisely by *Jove*, and would be a perpetuall torment, did not *Jove* by his wisdom order Nature so, as to ease it with that we call death? which is only as a change of notes in Musicke, or harmonious measures; and the severall measures life danceth, are several Transmigrations, which *Jove* orders as it moves, and the notes are the severall creatures that are made, which *Joves* wisdom sets, and health is the chords that *Joves* wisdom tunes, and the severall pleasures are the severall lessons that *Joves* wisdom causeth nature to play; and Peace is the harmony that *Joves* wisdom makes; So that all that is thought good in na-

---

<sup>366</sup>*hurtlesse*] harmless.

[319:54r] ture, is but good, as it is ordered by *Jove*, *Jove* measures the matter, marks out the figures, appoints the motions what work to do; Likewise *Joves* goodness and wisdom qualifies and tempers by severall mixtures, and temperaments; the vitious<sup>367</sup> malignant evill of nature or naturall evill. Thus, said she, there would be a perpetuall War in Nature if *Joves* Wisdom, Power, and Goodnesse did not order Nature.

Then they asked her, if there were not punishments, and rewards ordained by *Jove*?

She answered yes, for, said she, *Jove* hath ordained vertue shall be a reward to it self,<sup>368</sup> and vice a punishment.

*The fift that visited her, were holy Fathers of the Church,  
who desired her to speak to whom she spake as following.*

You holy Fathers, said she, you will pardon me for what I shall speak, since it is your desire I should speak.

The Preachers for heaven, said she, ought not to preach factions, nor to shew their learning, nor to expresse their wit; but to teach their flock to pray rightly; for hard it is to know, whether we pray, or prate, since none can tell the purity of their own heart, or number the follyes thereof, or cleanse out the muddy passions that by nature is bred therein, or root out the vices, the world that's sown thereon; for if we do not leave out the World, the Flesh, and the Devill in our humble petitions and earnest desires, we offer to heaven, it may be said, we rather talke than pray; for it is not bended knees, or a sad countenance can make our prayers Authentick or Effectuall, nor words, nor groanes, nor sighs, nor tears that can pierce heaven, but a zealous flame raised from a holy fire kindled by a spark of grace in a devout heart, which fills the soul with admiration, and astonishment at *Joves* incomprehensible Deitie: for nothing can enter heaven, but puritie and truth; all the

---

<sup>367</sup>*vicious*] vicious.

<sup>368</sup>Perhaps a reference to the Wisdom of Solomon 4:1-2: 'Better it is to have no children, and to have vertue: for the memoriall thereof is immortal: because it is knowen with God and with men. When it is present, men take example at it, and when it is gone they desire it: it weareth a crown, and triumpheth for ever, having gotten the victorie, striving for undefiled rewards'.



grosse and drossie parts falls back with greater force upon our lives, and instead of blessings proves curses, to us, and the ignorant not conceiving the difference may be lost for want of instruction therein, being most commonly taught the varieties of opinions, the sayings and sentences of the Fathers of the Church, or exclaiming against naturall imperfections, or threatned for slight vanities; and many by giving warning against vices raises those that have been dead, and buried with former ages, and unaccustomed and utterly unknown to the present auditory, but one good prayer that is directly sent to heaven, buries a multitude of errors, and imperfections, and blotts out many a sin; I speak not this to tax any one here, For I believe you are all holy men, and reverend, and grave Fathers of the Church, who are blessed messengers and Eloquent Orators, for heaven, the true guides to souls, and the example of a good life.

Then they asked how they ought to pray, whereupon in a zealous passion, thus she said; [320:5s4v]

*O Gods! O Gods! Mankinde is much too blame,  
 He commits faults when he but names his name:  
 This name, saith she, that Deity hath none,  
 His works sufficient are to make him known,  
 His wondrous glory is so great, how dare  
 Man simlize, but to himself compare?  
 Or how durst men their tongues or lips to move  
 In argument, his mighty power to prove?  
 As if mens words his power could circle in,  
 Or trace his wayes, from whence he did begin  
 His mighty works to make, or to what end,  
 As proudly placing man to be his Friend:  
 Yet poor proud, ignorant man knows not the cause  
 Of any Creature made, much less his Laws;  
 Man's knowledge so obscure,<sup>369</sup> not so much light*

---

<sup>369</sup>*obscure*] unenlightened; benighted (OED adj. A 1 b).

*As to perceive the glimmering of his might;  
 Strive not this Deity to comprehend,  
 He no beginning had, nor can have end;  
 Nor can Mankind his will or pleasure know,  
 It strives to draw him to expression low;  
 Let words desist, but strive our souls to raise,  
 Let our astonishments be Glories praise;  
 Let trembling thoughts of fear, as prayers, be sent,  
 And not light words, which are by men invent;  
 Let tongues be silent, Adoration pray,  
 And Love and Justice leade us the right way.*

*The sixt sort that visited her were Judges, who asked her about Justice.*

I will divide Justice, said she, into three parts, as Humane, Moral, and Natural.

These three into six, *viz*:

As punishing, deciding, distributing, censuring, trafficking and suffering.

In punishing-Justice there is divine piety, and humane pity; and if a Judge leave out those two, it is no more Justice, but Cruelty; for temporal<sup>370</sup> Judges ought to have as great a care of the soul of the accused, as in executing Justice on the body. For if a Judge threatens terribly a timorous nature, or cruelly torture a tender body, the fear or pain may make them belye, forswear, or falsly accuse themselves, which endangers the soul, not onely by their oaths, lyes, and false accusations, but by self-murther, for those that falsly accuse themselves commit wilfull murther.

As for the punishing of the body, they ought not to be condemned before they can positively prove them Criminals; for probabilities, although they appear plain, yet are oftentimes deceitfull.

The second is individual Justice, or common Justice, as deciding of Causes, as the right and the truth; as put the case men [321:Tit1r] claim equal right to one piece of ground,

---

<sup>370</sup>*temporal*] earthly rather than heavenly (OED adj.<sup>1</sup> A 2).

which piece of ground but one can have right to; but the Judge not knowing how to distinguish the truth from the falshood, divides the ground, giving one half to the one, and the other half to the other, which is unjust; for he that hath right to all, hath as much injustice done unto him in that part that is given from him, as if he had lost all the whole; nay, one grain of dust wrongfully taken, or given away, makes the injustice the same; for it is not the weight of the Cause makes Justice more or less, but the truth of the Cause.

But Judges will say, it is not to be helped, by reason truth lyes many times so obscure, that neither industry, ingenuity, subtilty, long experience, nor solid judgements can finde it out: so they think, that by dividing they do cut off some branches of injustice, although the root will lye obscurely, do what they can: but I say, injustice hath no branches, but is all root.

The last act of Justice is in distributing, as to reward according to worth or merit, wherein there may be as much injustice to deal out beyond or above worth or merit, as to fall short of worth and merit; and though the actions are the visible objects of merit, yet merit is oftentimes buried for want of opportunity, and many times good fortune is mistaken and taken for merit. Now it is as great injustice to deal out rewards to fortune, as unfortunate for merit, not to be made known by some act; for though merit dwels in the actions, yet it was born in the soul, and bred in the thoughts.

The fourth is censuring Justice, it lives meerly in opinion; for who knows the heart of another, since no man can give a true or a right account of his own? And though misdemeanours ought to be punished in a Commonwealth, lest they should cause the ruine thereof, yet to judge the heart, and condemn it for false<sup>371</sup> by the actions, words, or countenance, were very unjust; for many evil actions are done through a good intention;

---

<sup>371</sup>*NP* 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction blots out 'faults' and inserts 'false', p. 322. The emendation is not noted on the errata list.

for the design might be honest, though the effect prove evil; nay, the design or intention may not onely be morally honest, but divinely pious, yet the effect prove wicked.

Likewise, many evil actions are produced by chance or misfortune; and it were an injustice to accuse the heart of dishonesty for Fortunes malice, and Chances carelesness.

Likewise, there are many evil actions produced from some infirmity of nature, or from the ignorance of practice, or want of experience, not from a dishonest nature; and though infirmities ought to be corrected by admonitions, and ignorance rectified by instruction, yet it were an injustice to condemn honesty for infirmities, faults, or ignorant errors.

Also, for words, although there is an old saying, *The mouth speaketh what the heart thinketh*, yet Antiquity cannot verifie it for a truth. But most commonly the tongue runs by rote, and custome, without the consent of the heart, or knowledge of the thoughts; for the tongue doth oft times like the legs, which most commonly walks without the guidance of the sight, or the di- [322:Triv] rections of the knowledge; for few measure each stride, or count or look at every several step they take, nor think they how they go, nor many times where they go; and the minde many times is so deep in contemplations, that the thoughts are so fix'd upon some particular object, or so busily employed on some invention, or so delightfully taken with some phantasm, that although the legs walk themselves weary, yet the minde and thoughts do not consider or think whether the body hath legs, or no.

Likewise, how many through extream fear run into that they should shun, not considering whether they go? And if the legs move so often without the minds knowledge, or hearts consent, well may the tongue, which is the agilest member of the body.

And to judge by the countenance, were more unjust; for a man may have a knavish face, and an honest heart; a spightfull eye, yet a generous nature; a frowning brow, yet a quiet spirit; a dull cloudy countenance, but a bright clear minde.

The fifth is a chaffering<sup>372</sup> or trafficking Justice. For though it is justice for a man to buy and to sell in a Common-wealth, where all is not in common, yet there may be great injustice in buying and selling.

As for example; a man hath a horse which he esteems, and hath a love, or as it were, an affection to, which horse he is forced to sell, either for want, or otherwise, for which he asks a price according to his affection, not according as he is really worth; now this man doth not cosen nor cheat, because he prizes him as he thinks he is worth, yet his is unjust through his partiality, not judging the horse uprightly, nor weighing the scales of Justice evenly between his affection and the horses worth.

The sixth, suffering.

As for buying, it comes into Self-justice; as for example; a man through perswasion buys a house, which house is no way convenient for him, or stands unhealthy, as in an ill Air, or unpleasantly, as in a dirty place, or in some place where many Travellers pass, which puts the dweller to great charges<sup>373</sup> through entertainments: now this man is unjust to himself, through his facil<sup>374</sup> nature, or courteous or kinde disposition, in buying such a house as will impair his health or estate, or necessitate<sup>375</sup> him through incommodiousness.<sup>376</sup>

Or for a man to keep a servant that is no way ingenious or usefull in his offices, the Master may be said to be a bountifull or charitable man to his servant, but unjust to himself, to be ill served when he may be better served.

Likewise, for to be bound or engaged for a man unto whom he is no wayes obliged, or hopes to be so, it is an injustice to himself; but to hazard, if he doth never suffer

---

<sup>372</sup>*chaffering*] trading, buying, selling (*OED chaffer* v. 1 a).

<sup>373</sup>*charges*] expenses.

<sup>374</sup>*facil*] compliant, yielding (*OED* adj. A 2 a).

<sup>375</sup>*necessitate*] 'to reduce (a person) to want or need' (*OED* v. 3 a).

<sup>376</sup>*incommodiousness*] the quality of incommodity, of lacking accommodation and suffering discomfort (*OED* n.).

imprisonment for the engagement, not being able to make a satisfaction for which he gives up his liberty, this injustice is caused by a foolish pity.

Also, although it is justice for a man to adventure, offer, or lay down his life for one that he hath had the proof, or knew he would [323:Ti2r] do the like for him; yet for a man to offer or give up his life for a man condemned, or otherwise, from which man he never received such favours as to observe or merit his life, or had proof of his friendship, although this person were never so worthy; I say it were a heroick act, and a huge generosity, but a great injustice to himself, unless he had self-ends, in thinking he should get a fame thereby; for though there is a humane justice as well as a gratefull justice, as for mankinde to help and assist each other, yet surely it is justice for a man to love himself best next to his Creator, Producer, Preserver, and Protector, as his God, his Parents, his Country, and his Friend, for whom and to whom he ought to offer up his Goods, Life, Liberty, and Fame, from whom he received them; for it is an injustice not to return, if need require, as much as he received.

Thus it is justice to prefer a mans own fortunes, life, and fame, before all others, but those before mentioned, and an injustice if he do otherwise.

Thus, Noble hearers, said she, you may observe and take notice, that although all dishonesty is injustice, yet all injustice is not dishonest, because the intent is not evil.

Likewise, although justice is honest, yet honesty is not alwayes just, by reason many times the knowledge is not perfect, or the understanding clear, or the truth visible, or the will free, or the power strong enough to do justice, or justly.

*The seventh sort that visited her were Barresters and Orators,  
to whom she thus spake.*

The Root of Oratory is Logick, the Branches are Rhetorick, and the Fruit is Magick, which charms the Senses, and enchants the Soul; wherefore it ought to be banished from

the bar of justice, lest it should incircle justice seat, excluding right and truth that comes to plead.

*For Oratory is chiefly imploy'd  
For to prefer the wrong, and falsbood hide.*

They asked her, whether an Orator or a Poet had most power over the passions.

She answered, an Orator had power to betray the passions, but could not make an absolute conquest of them.

As for Poetry, said she, it hath a double power; for all Poetry hath Oratory, but all Oratory hath not Poetry.

Wherefore, said she, Poetry hath an absolute power over the passions; for Poetry is like a powerfull Monarch, can raise, rally, and imbattle them at his command; and like a skilfull Musician, can set, tune, and play upon them as he pleases.

Poetry is natures landskip, and lifes prospect; it is a spring where noblest souls do bathe themselves;

*Their thoughts, like wanton boyes, dabble therein. [324:Tt2v]*

But those that are to make Orations, said she, either at the Bar, or in Pulpits, or upon Theaters, or in the Field, must first consider the *ground* and matter whereon and whereof they would speak, and to what end they would drive the speech to; for when they have laid the ground, and have well considered the subject of their discourse, words will follow easily and freely without meditating thereupon: but those that consider onely words, and in what phrase they shall speak, shall never speak well, but be out at every turn, because the foundation is not laid whereupon their discourse should be built; for the materials, which are words, will serve them of small stead, or to little purpose, when they want the ground, or mistake the ground whereon they should work. But a learned Orators head, said she, is like a garden, wherein is set divers sorts of flowers fetch'd from several soyls,

both far and near, as some from *Demosthenes*, *Thucydides*, *Tully*, *Seneca*, *Tacitus*,<sup>377</sup> and the like, and many slips from more modern Orators, and seeds from so many several Authors, which they strew<sup>378</sup> about in their Orations, as is *sans* number. Or, said she, a learned Orator is like a Crab-tree stock, whereon is grafted several sorts of sweet fruits, but bears nothing of its own fruit; and if it doth, said she, they will be but sower Crabs; so their speech would sound harsh to the ear, as such sower fruit would be sharp to the tast: whereas a natural Orator, said she, bears nor brings forth no other fruit but his own, which is sweet and pleasant, without pains-taking or ingrafting; but all things grow as Nature sets them without the help of Art.

But I have observed, said she, that in matches of Orations the last hath ever the Victory, or for the most part, although not so wise or eloquent as the first; which shews, that the digesting part of the brain, which is judgement and nutriment, which is truth, which nourisheth the rational understanding, is not like the stomach, the digesting place of food, that is, to nourish the sensitive body; for when that the stomach is full, the tast dis-relishes<sup>379</sup> all meat presented thereunto, be it never so delicious, it heaves against it, as being overcharged;<sup>380</sup> neither does variety tempt it.

---

<sup>377</sup>The first English translation of the famous Greek orator Demosthenes (384-322 BC) was done by Thomas Wylson in 1570. Demosthenes studied rhetoric and legal procedures and worked as a speech-writer and lawyer. His reputation as an orator was well-established in England. Wilson encouraged 'those who desire to be eloquent men (the chiefest ornament that can be given to man upon earth) shoulde chieflye studie Demosthenes, and followe hym by all meanes possible' (*The three Orations of Demosthenes chiefe Orator among the Grecians* (London: 1570) *STC* 284:04, n.p). Although not the first, Thomas Hobbes completed an English translation of Thucydides' *Peloponnesian Warre* and printed it in 1629 and again in 1634 and 1648. In a preface, Hobbes says of Thucydides, 'Now for his writings, two things are to be considered in them, Truth, and Eloquation. For in Truth consisteth the Soule, and in Eloquation the Body of History' (*Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre Written by Thucydides* (London: 1629), *STC* 1039:17, sig. a2v). Cavendish's lack of a formal education did not prevent her from benefitting from '[t]he influence of Roman culture upon early modern England'. The works of Tacitus (c. 56 – c. 120 AD), Roman historian, and Seneca, philosopher, orator, and tragedian, circulated through translations (David Cadman and Andrew Duxfield, 'Introduction: Rome and Home: The Cultural Uses of Rome in Early Modern English Literature', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, ed. by David Cadman, Andrew Duxfield, and Lisa Hopkins, special issue, vol. 19.1 (2016), Online). Through her husband and brother, Margaret would have been aware of the rhetorical influences these writers had on the educational and literary establishment.

<sup>378</sup>*NP* 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction replaces the original word with 'strew', p. 325. The list of errata notes this correction.

<sup>379</sup>*dis-relishes*] dislikes (*OED* v. 2)

<sup>380</sup>*overcharged*] overly full.



Whereas the head, although it be stuffed, or over-gorged, as I may say, still covets more; and the ears suck and draws in with an eager appetite, so it be variety, otherwise it grows dull, flat, and drousy. For the Brain will feed on gross matter, or unwholsome trash, with more pleasure, and greater gust than on that which is fine or wholsome, if once received before.

Also, said she, I perceive all those that make Orations in the Field to their Souldiers, repeat their Victories from the first descent of the foundation of their Cities, Kingdomes, and Commonwealths; and the renown of their Ancestors, but never their losses, their treacheries, or their follies, they strive to bury them in oblivion; for though it be a good policy, yet it is not a clear honesty, to present a half-faced<sup>381</sup> glass for a whole. But this is not so great a fault, but it may be excused, when it is to a good end, as to defend what is rightly thereon, or to gain back what un- [325:Tr] justly they lost, or to revenge an unpardonable wrong, or injury, or to punish a wicked Crime, or to take part of the innocent hellesse, otherwise it is a dishonesty not excusable, as when it is used for treason rapine<sup>382</sup> or the like.

But you Orators, said she, you are like those that are skilfull in playing on a Flute, or Cornet, where the ears of the Auditors are the holes, and your tongues or words, as the fingers, do make the stops; and your breath gives the sound, and your Wit and your Learning are the Aires and musicall ditties that moves their passions, or rather their passion, for indeed there is but one passion in nature, or at least in an animall figure, which passion changes into severall formes, according to the severall subjects or objects, it is placed upon, for upon some subjects or objects, it is love, upon others it is hate, upon others it is fear, upon others anger, and so the like of all the rest of those they call severall passions which is but one naturall faculty, property, quality, or what you will name it, which

---

<sup>381</sup>*half-faced* incomplete.

<sup>382</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): A comma is placed between 'treason' and 'rapine', p. 632.

is the heart: That these severally alter, and Camelion-like change, as sometimes seems as all one colour, and sometimes of divers colours, or as a triangular glasse, which makes million of various collours from one light; so doth the triangular heart from the light of life seem to have many passions; but, said she, least Orators should be the cause of unlawfull passions, there ought to be a Law, that at all publick assemblyes that are drawn about an Orator,<sup>383</sup> either such as are to declare the Command of the Gods, or for any other instruction, or informations, or exhortations, either in the Church, or on Theaters should not be mixed of severall sexes, but either the assembly should be all men, or all women; otherwise a consecrated place may be polluted with wanton eyes and inticing countenances, soft<sup>384</sup> whisperings and secret agreements to dangerous meetings, evill intentions and wicked actions, by which a Church would become a bawdy house, and the Priest, the Pimpes, or procurers to draw them together; and for Orations concerning the Commonwealth, or for any importunate matter, would be lost, for the ears of the assembly would be stopt by their eyes, at least the hearing of the Auditors would be imperfect, and their understanding confounded, and their memory dazled with the splendour of light glances, and faire faces of each sex.

*The eighth sort of Visiters were States men,  
who askt her what governement was best for a Common wealth?*

She answered Monarchy; For, said she a good King is the Center of a Commonwealth, as God is the Center of Nature, which orders and disposes all to the best, and unites and composes all differences which otherwise would run into a confusion; and Unity, said she, is sooner found, and easier made by one than by more, or many; Neither, said she, can one man make so many faults as more, or many may, besides, said she, there is lesse Justice, and more injustice in a multitude than in one. [326:Tr3v]

---

<sup>383</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction blots out 'Oracle' and replaces it with 'Orator', p. 326. Neither this nor the following correction is noted on the errata list.

<sup>384</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction blots out 'self' and inserts 'soft', p. 326.

Then they asked her, whether it were lawfull for a King to lay down his Scepter, and to lay down his Crown?

She answered, That Princes that had voluntarily lay down their Royall dignity, do express some infirmity, either in power, or weakness of understanding, or imperfect health of body, or effeminancy<sup>385</sup> of spirits, or doting affection, or vain glory. As for Religion it requires it not, nay, said she, it seemes rather an impiety for *Joves* anointed, as his chief deputy on earth, to leave or be weary in governing the people, by which and in which he serves *Jove*. And it was accounted, said she, as a blessing as well as an honour in the ancient writ to go out, and in before the people, most being inspired by *Jove*, to that dignity of Prophesying, and for the great gallant, heroick Heroes, as *Alexander*, and *Cesar*, they left not their Crowns, nor parted with their power untill death uncrowned and divested them: neither, said she, were there any that voluntarily laid down, or yielded up a crown; but have had more condemners, and dispraisers than commendrs, or admirers: thus, said she, neither the Lawes of Honour or Religion allow it, nor can I perceive morality approves it.

Then they asked her, if a foolish King might not bring a Common-wealth to ruin sooner than a Councell?

She said no; for, said she, the plurality breeds faction,<sup>386</sup> which faction causeth more evill than one foolish head can make, or bring about.

Then they asked if a Tyrant King were not worse, than a factious Councell?

She said no, for said she, a Tyrant King might make good Lawes, and keep Peace, and maintain supreme power and authority; but a factious Councell, said she, will break all Lawes, do no Justice, keep no Peace, obstruct authority, and overthrow supreme power, but, said she, that Kingdom, is happiest that lives under a Tyrant Prince, for when the people are afraid of their Prince, there is Peace, but where the Prince is afraid of the people,

---

<sup>385</sup>*effeminancy*] unmanly weakness.

<sup>386</sup>Cavendish may see variety in nature as a kind of plurality, which would explain why for her nature is the source of evil and chaos.

there is War; and there is no miserie like a Civill War, and there is no greater signe, that a King is afraid of his people, than when he advances those that are, or seem to be his enemies; thus subjects in generall live happiest under a Tyrant,<sup>387</sup> but not particular Courtiers, or busie prating fools or factious knaves, when a facile King causeth more trouble and distraction and greater ruine; by his soft easie nature than a cruell tyrant with executions, severe lawes, or heavy taxes; For the greatest tyrant that ever was, will not destroy all his subjects, or take away all subsistance, for his own sake; for if he did, he would distroy his power, and ruine his Monarchy.

Then they asked her, what men made the best Privie Councillors?

She said, those that had most experience, such as had seen the severall changes of Fortune, and observed the severall humors of men, Likewise those that are rich, for those will be cautious in their Counsell, and carefull for the Commonwealth for their own [*327:Tit4r*] sakes, not daring to adventure their estates in a Factious part, or a rash advise: but said she, Princes should not have more Councillours than businesse, for fear they should make troubles for imployments.

Likewise, a State should not have too many Magistrates, for many Magistrates in a Commonwealth, are like many masters in a family; nor too great a number of officers, least the many officias<sup>388</sup> should overcharge the State, spending more in ordering, and commanding, than they would loose by some disorders, and disobedience.

Then they asked her what was apt to make Rebellion?

She answered, Poore Nobility, and rich Citizens, as Burgers, being both factious and apt to raise rebellion through Covetousnesse and Ambition: for the poor Nobility would have wealth to maintaine their honour, and rich Burgers and Yeomandry would have honour, to dignify their wealth.

---

<sup>387</sup>*Tyram*] Tyrant.

<sup>388</sup>*officias*] officers.

Then they asked her, why those Kings that had Favorites were most commonly unfortunate?

She said, one cause was, that the subjects in generall take it for a weaknesse in a Prince to be ruled, or persuaded by one particular man.

Secondly, they hate that particular person, as an Usurper, ingrossing wholly the Kings favour, which makes them think their Prince unjust, to give one man, that which ought to be distributed according to merit and worth.

Thirdly, the Favorites crimes, are thought the Kings cruelty or Facillity.

Fourthly, the Favorites vanity is thought their taxes, all which makes them apt to murmure and Rebell, but they never faile to Rebell, when the King imposes himself a buckler<sup>389</sup> betwixt the people and his Favorite, by which he indangers himself, but helps not the Favorite.

But a King, who would raigne long and peaceably, if he will have a Favorite, must have a Favorite to be a buckler, between him, and the rest of his subjects, for he must not take his Favorites faults upon him, but lay his faults on the Favorite, For when a people judge their King to have faults, they will withdraw their reverences; for Princes must be thought as Gods that cannot erre, but Favorites, said she, are very dangerous, insinuating Parasites; For those Princes must needs be ignorant that are much flattered, for every flattering tongue, is as a muffler to blind the eyes of the understanding, and self-conceit is the mouth that sucks the milk of of<sup>390</sup> vain glory, which putrifies the reason, and breeds a corrupted judgement, which causeth crudities, and ulcers in the stomack of the Commonwealth, and makes the heart of the Kingdom sick, which distempers the whole body; and brings the plague of Rebellion, every member being infected therewith, which is a certian and sudden death to Monarchicall Government.

---

<sup>389</sup>*buckler*] protector (*OED* n.<sup>2</sup> 2).

<sup>390</sup>*of of*] possible printer's error.

Then they asked her how great Monarchs should use petty Princes? [328:Tit4v]

Great Monarchs or Princes, should alwayes keep lesser Princes in awe, least in time they should go cheek by jowle, and may chance to thrust them out of their power, either by Land or Sea; Indeed, they should be kept like Spaniells to crouch, and not like mastiffs to bite; otherwise they may chance to leape at their throate, and teare out the life of their supremacy. Also, said she, Lesser Princes ought not to be suffered to incroach upon the Ceremonies of Great Monarchs; for, if Ceremonies Deifie, those Ceremonies ought to be kept sacred.<sup>391</sup>

Likewise, said she, not to incroach upon their orders or dignifyings; as to make Nobility, or to give their orders or such as are like thereto, as the *George*, the *S. Esprit*, or *Golden Fleece*, which Elective Princes are apt to do, if they be not kept in awe by the inhereditary Kings; but those inhereditary Kings that give way to them to do it, ought to loose their magnificency.

Then they asked her how Kings and Monarchs should use their Officers of State and Commanders of War?

She said kindly whilst they were in imployment; for their imployments, either in the Civill Magistracy or Martiall discipline, give them power, and a small, or weak power, said she, oft times ruins a greater, or stronger power; especially when malice and opportunity are joyned together; For though Ambition, said she, perswades, yet it is opportunity and malice which betray and set open the gates to Rebellion; for many powerfull Princes and Potent Monarchs have been unthroned, and a Kingdom ruined by a meane subject, or subjects; and small beginnings. Wherefore, said she, Princes and States should have a care of lessening the power of their Officers, as to remove them from a better office, or higher degree to a worse office, or lower degree, but if they will remove

---

<sup>391</sup>Susan James points out that for Cavendish and her husband, the link between the dominion of God and the state is ceremony (*Political Writings*, p. xxvii).

them, or must, as being most convenient, then let them put them out of all power and authority, or advance them, either in authority of office or honour, by which they will quallify their spleens, or prevent their malice: or destroy their abilities, from doing any harme.

Then they asked her, if it were seemely or fit, that Kings should suffer any Subjects to be familiar in their discourse or actions, either to themselves privatly, or in the presence of a public assembly?

She said no, for, said she, a familiarity makes a Comparity, for it advances a Subject to a greater respect; and drawes down a King to a lesse esteeme; but said she, Kings should be like Gods, obeyed with fear, and loved for Mercy.

Then they asked her what Kings should do to such subjects or servants?

She said, they should be checkt with frowns, and banished from their presence, for that King that doth not keep strict orders, and rule severely, shall neither be obeyed nor loved, as being either fearfull, that he dare not check offenders; and cut off Criminalls, or facile to suffer boldness in his sight, or hated as being thought partiall, and if you will observe, said she, you shall find the more *[329:Uu1r]* sterne a master is, the better he shall be served: for although his servants complaine, yet they dare not disobey; so a King, the more Tyrannicall he is, the better he shall be obeyed, when a gentle master, and a facile King shall lose their power and authority.

Then they asked her whether it were wise for a King to discover the secrets of his heart to a chief Favorite Councillour?

She said, the King that made known the secrets of his heart, or would but make known his ordinary intention, untill they were to be put in execution, although but to the most trusty of his Councill was fitter to be ruled, than to rule, but, said she, it is an ordinary policy in Favorite-Councillors to perswade their Prince to keep nothing of moment from their knowledge, or any advise that others give, for if they do, they cannot counsell as they

should, because they know but part of the Kings affaires, which credulous Princes believe; and so betray themselves. But wise Princes, said she, hear others, but counsell themselves; And foolish Princes, said she, will hear nothing from any, but those they will intrust; but if they do, they straight tell their Favorits, as children do their Nurses all that they hear, or know.

*The ninth sort were Tradesmen or Citizens.*

And they asked her how they should grow rich?

She said, not to have their pride above their calling; for they that think themselves too good, or too worthy, or too highly born for their trade, will never thrive thereby; for they neglect it through scorne, and so grow poor with Pride.

Likewise, said she, not to take too many apprentices, for out of a covetousness of a little present money, they get when they are bound, they are forced for seven years to maintain a company of idle boys,<sup>392</sup> that can gain them nothing, by reason they must learn before they can work, and by that time they come to be shop-men or work-men, and skilfull in their trade, their time is out; so that the Masters loses the time in teaching them, and spends money in maintaining them, and receives no profit by them.

Likewise, not to have more Journey-men<sup>393</sup> than traffique; for Journey-men have great wages, and when they have more servants than imployments, they spend more than they get; giving more wages out, than they have profit coming in.

Likewise, not to set too great prices on their ware, for those that sell deare will have but few customers.

---

<sup>392</sup>The contract between apprentices and masters was governed by the Statute of Artificers, established by Queen Elizabeth in 1563. In exchange for training, the apprentice, by law, was obliged to work for his master for at least seven years. For a discussion of the circumstances surrounding the statute, see Donald Woodward, 'The Background to the Statute of Artificers: The Genesis of Labour Policy, 1558-63', *The Economic History Review* 33.1 (Feb., 1980), pp. 32-44. On the enforcement of apprenticeship rules, see Chris Minns and Patrick Wallis, 'Rules and Reality: Quantifying the Practice of Apprenticeship in Early Modern England', *The Economic History Review*, 65.2 (2012), pp. 556-579.

<sup>393</sup>*Journey-men*] artisans who have completed their apprenticeships but still work for another (*OED* n. 1).



Likewise, not to neglect their shops, for when there is no body to sell their ware, it must needs lye unbought.

Also, not to neglect their Customers, for there are few will stay and pray, for what they must deerly pay.

Likewise not to break their promises, or day of payments, for that will make all afraid to trust them.

Likewise, not to trust much, especially such as have not visible [*330:Uu1v*] estates; for they that sell out their Wares for bonds,<sup>394</sup> may chance to break by their Customers, for though bonds may imprison their person; yet not always get their money; for as the old saying is, *Where there is nothing to be had the King must lose his right.*

Likewise to shun all Law suites, for whilst they follow their suite, they are forced to neglect their trade, leaving all to their servants, who are as idle and as carelesse in their shops, as the master is busie in Law: And whilst the Lawyers pick their purse of their gaines,<sup>395</sup> their servants cozen and rob their shops of their wares, or lose their customers by their carelesnesse, or lazily neglect their work; also not to be drunkards, for drink drowns all industry, and though it swells the body, it shrinks the purse; and as it disorders the brains, so it causes disorder in a Family, by abusing their wives, children, and servants, disturbing their neighbours with their quarrells, and unhandsome demeanors; besides their drunken humors, sometimes they spoile and destroy their goods, so that what with their spending more, or at least as much, as they get, in spoyling what they have and neglecting what they should, a drunkard is never rich, but on the contrary very poor.

---

<sup>394</sup>On the pervasiveness of credit in early modern England, see Craig Muldrew, 'Debt, Credit, and Poverty in Early Modern England', in *A Debtor World: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Debt*, ed. by Ralph Brubaker, Robert M. Lawless, and Charles J. Tabb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 9-35. William Cavendish's debt.

<sup>395</sup>Muldrew points out that the 'amount of debt and contractual litigation had a profound effect on society, making it very legalistic' (p. 22).

Lastly, to marry wives that are approved for good huswifery; rather than for riches, for an idle gossip will spend more than she brings, and will be maintained finer than her husbands quality, and above his trade, or calling.

Then they asked her, what it was to be a good Citizen.

She said, not to look after their particular profit, more than the publique good, as not to neglect their duty in discharging their Commissions, or offices, in authority.

Likewise not to prefer their own private interest before the publick, as to ingrosse trading or heighten the prizes.

Also not to be factious, as murmuring at Authority, or repining through envy.

Likewise, to defend their Country with courage, wealth, and love, against any assault made therein.

Likewise to observe the Lawes punctually, to perform the customes and ceremonies strictly, to submit to Magistrates willingly, to dwell by their neighbors peaceably, to governe their family orderly, to breed their children civilly, and to live honestly.

*The tenth sort that visited her were House-keepers, and  
Masters of Families, &c.*

They asked her what was the greatest ruin to an Estate?

She answered, great Estates were ruined with gluttonous Hospitality, unnecessary servants, negligences of Stewards, unprofitable horses, drunken sellars,<sup>396</sup> carelesse masters, and vaine-glorious vanities.

As for the first, said she, a man is only praised so long as the meat is tastable<sup>397</sup> in their mouths, but when their bellies are full, and their stomacks sick, by being overcharged,

---

<sup>396</sup>*sellars*] officers responsible for 'storage and distribution of provisions' (*OED cellarer* n.).

<sup>397</sup>*tastable*] tasty (*OED* adj. II 3).

they will curse, not [331:Uu2r] onely the meat they eat, and the Cook that drest it, but the Master that gave it, and at best when it is digested it is forgotten.

As for unnecessary servants, said she, when there are more servants than work, they grow lazy and proud, thinking themselves Masters by their little employment, forgetting at whose cost they live at. Besides the factions idleness brings, by hearkning after tales, and reporting them worse than they were meant; so they rather serve to eat than to work, to command than to obey.

Then they asked her, whether it were not against Hospitality to quarrel with a Stranger in his house.

She said, yes.

Then they asked her, if it were not lawfull to defend his Honour against a stranger in his own house.

She said, they might defend their life in their own house, but not assault the life of their stranger, or guest.

Likewise, said she, they may defend their Honour by reasoning, clearing, and telling the truth, and by declaring the right; but not to revenge their quarrel in their own house; but when they are departed from their house, they might do their pleasure.

Then they asked her, if a house-keeper might not in honour deny strangers entertainment.

She said, yes, when it was inconvenient to the owner, and not very serviceable to the guests.

Then they asked her, if an impertinent troublesome guest might not be put out of his house, if he would not go civilly of himself?

She said, yes; for, said she, every mans dwelling-house is, or ought to be his earthly paradise; and if there be a serpent, he ought to be banished out, or evil Angels to be thrown out.

Then they asked her, if it were against the laws of Hospitality, if they should entertain their guests onely with a sufficiency, without a superfluity.

She said, Honour did not binde or require any man to ruine himself; wherefore, said she, every man may, nay ought to entertain according to his estate.

Then they asked her, if they ought not to make a difference of persons in their entertainment.

She said, yes, if their estates would allow it, or else not; for every man, said she, must entertain according to the ability of his fortunes, not according to the quality of his guests.

Then they asked her, what was the reason the man looks finer in the masters old cloaths, than the master did when he left them off.

She answered, the reason, was because the master seemed too noble for his old cloaths; but when the man had them on, the cloaths seemed too noble for him. [332:Uu2v]

*The eleventh sort that visited her, were married Men and their Wives.*

The men asked her, what was the best course to keep the wives honest.

She said, tender regard, civil respects, wise instructions, honourable examples, and virtuous employments.<sup>398</sup>

For, said she, idleness breeds vain thoughts, wild passions, and extravagant appetites, and vain thoughts, and wild passions have a sympathy to each other; and as thoughts lye in the brain, so passions dwell in the heart, and various thoughts raise up several passions: but Reason, said she, should govern as King in the Brain, and Temperancy as Queen in the Heart; and when this King and Queen are contracted into a matrimonial bond, the life lives orderly, the minde peaceably, and the body healthfully; wherefore, said

---

<sup>398</sup>As Susan James points out, Cavendish believed there were great risks in marriage for women. It exposes them to 'physical and psychological torture condoned by the law' (*Political Writings*, p. xxix). See also *Orations*, pp. 198-202.

she, women ought to be wisely employed, for business to the minde is as necessary as exercise to the body, and instructions to the minde are as necessary as food to the body; and let me warn you, said she, of idleness, for it is the great Bawd of the World.

Then the men asked her, if husbands might not in honour correct their wives.

Yes, said she, with timely admonitions, seasonable reproofs, and loving perswasions, but not with cruel blows, for a husband is a wifes guardian and protector from all harms; wherefore he ought not to hurt her, but to cherish and defend her: but, said she, a husband may restrain a wife, although not beat her; for if she be an unsufferable scold, or a vixen, he may binde her hands with kinde embraces, and stop her mouth with kisses.

If she be indiscreet, he may restrain her from going abroad, lest she should disgrace him with her follies.

If she be a slut,<sup>399</sup> he must keep servants that are cleanly, if he be able; if not, he must do his work himself, or visit his wife but seldome: but if he cannot do his work himself through publick employments, and yet he must be at home, he must strive to make her better by perswasions and directions; for they that will not mend with good counsel, will grow worse and worse, and more perverse with blows.

If she be wanton, she must be kept to a spare dry diet; she must be purged much, and eat little; she must study much, and sleep little; and she must have moral lectures preached to her very often; likewise, she must be maintained thriftily, not vainly; she must not be suffered to be superfluous or costly, but onely to be allowed necessaries or conveniencies, which will keep her from wandring or gadding abroad, having no vanities to shew her neighbours; as for a man to lock up his wife, it is no secure remedy, for women will finde a thousand inventions to get liberty.

---

<sup>399</sup>*slut*] a lazy woman who is unclean in her person and habits (*OED* n. 1 a).

Wherefore if the cure cannot be wrought upon the body and [333:Vu3r(Uu3r)] minde, they may despair; for restraint of liberty will do them small good.

But the onely way in this condition is for a man to part from his wife; for then the world may onely pity him as being a Cuckold, but cannot scorn him as being a Wittal.<sup>400</sup>

Then they asked her, if a husband might not be lawfully complemental to other women in their wives company.

She answered, it was unworthy for any man rudely to neglect a civility to any woman; and he was no wayes worthy the name of a Gentleman, that used not respect to the meanest of that Sex: but, said she, a husband ought to have respect to his wife, as to do no action, nor speak no words that may justly offend or disgrace her, or to put her out of countenance; for though men ought to be civil to that sex, yet a husband ought not to make courtships to any, neither in jest nor in earnest; for foolish toying, though harmless meaning, and honest intentions, may cause great discontent betwixt a married pair, and breed such quarrels as cannot be reconciled.

Then they asked her how they should breed their children, especially sons.

She said, children should be bred according to their condition of birth or fortune; yet, said she, there is a general breeding as well as a particular breeding, that is, to be bred on honest grounds, and honourable principles, to do as they would be done by, that is, justice; to suffer an evil patiently, when they cannot avoyd, that is, fortitude; to be industrious to prevent evils that may come, is prudence; to abstain from tempting evils, that is temperance; and to instruct them of the benefit that will accrew thereby, shewing them that it is the greatest wisdom for a mans self to be honest, and to have honourable principles is to do good, when they have power to do hurt, to prefer their neighbours good

---

<sup>400</sup>*Wittal*] a man complaisant about the infidelity of his wife (*OED* n. 1 a).

before their own pleasure, to maintain right, to defend the truth, to assist the helpless, to incite them to noble endeavours, and civil demeanours.

For particular breeding, if they be nobly born, they should be respectfully bred, their Tutors should instruct them submissively and humbly, and not commandingly; they should rather be perswaded by reason, than forced to learn by terrifying; otherwise a noble person may have a slavish spirit; their learning must be to know men and manners, to be instructed of times past, to be advertised of the times present.

Likewise, they must be bred to handle the Pen more than the Pencil,<sup>401</sup> the Sword more than the Pen, the Horses bridle, more than the Fiddle-string, the Cannon-bullet more than the Racket-ball, the Vaulting horse more than the dancing pace, to encounter strengths more than running lengths, to wrestle more than shuffle Cards, throwing the Bar more than throwing the Dice; these actions<sup>402</sup> are too soft and effeminate for masculine spirits; also, they must rather be taught to speak well, than sing well.

Likewise, they must rather study Fortification than Logick, to [334:Uu3v] defend Towns rather than dispute Arguments, to decide Quarrels rather than to make Quarrels.

Likewise, they must study how to return obligations gratefully, to present merit nobly, to supply necessity generously.

Likewise, they should be bred more with the Muses than the Sciences; for the Poetick flame doth fire the spirits with a noble ambition.

Likewise, they must be bred to know the Laws, Customes and Priviledges of their native Country, lest their ignorance should commit faults in breaking the Laws, or commit errors in omitting the Customes, or do themselves wrong in not claiming their Priviledges.

---

<sup>401</sup>*Pencil* a paintbrush (*OED* n. I 1 a).

<sup>402</sup>*NP* 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction blots out 'of Cards', p. 334. The change is not noted on the errata list; however, deletions in general do not seem to be noted.

Also, they should have some insight of the Laws of other Nations, that they may know how to behave themselves, if they should be sent Embassadors, or to advise, if they should be called to Councils.

Also, they should be instructed in the Maps of their own Nation, as also the Maps of foreign Nations, that they may know how to order their commands, to take their advantages, and to avoid dangers, in case they should be employed as Commanders and Officers of War for their King and Country. In short, they must be instructed by Truth, advised by Honour, and encouraged by Fame.

As for the breeding them in common Schools, I do utterly disapprove, although some say it gives them confidence, and quickens their courage: but my opinion is, it rather makes them rudely bold, than manly confident.

Likewise, it learns them rather to quarrel than to fight; for a company of boyes make a wrangling noyse, and scolding quarrels, but seldome fight or cuff with alacrity.

Likewise, it makes them factious and unconstant; for having not experience to understand truly, and judge rightly, they one while take this boyes part, another while another boyes part; then there is a faction between the little boyes and the great boyes, and a faction amongst the lesser boyes.

Likewise, a Free-school is apt to make Liars, Sharks, and Theeves; for boyes will not onely be apt to lye to save<sup>403</sup> their breech, denying the truth of a fault, but to get a Point, or rather fear to lose a Point or a Farthing at play.

Likewise, to learn them to shark, being necessitous, either by the thriftiness of their parents, or tutor, or both, or being cosened by other boyes, whose parents have not much to give them; and they rather than want, will do any base thing to get; and boyes being active and stirring, young and strong, cause sharp appetites, and quick stomacks, which

---

<sup>403</sup>*to save*] to mend or remedy (*OED* v. I 3 a).



quick stomachs and short commons<sup>404</sup> do not agree; and their hunger out-running their meat, makes their wit out-run their honesty; for they will be strangely subtil, and most ingenious to cosen or get from those boyes that have more than the rest; it learns them to flatter and dissemble, to get it by fair means; or to quarrel and lye, to get it [335:Uu4r] by force; or to watch or design, to get it by theft; and when they cannot compass<sup>405</sup> their designs, they will make other boyes sharers to help them to steal, or at least to cheat.

Likewise, it makes them envious at the praises of those that are most apt to learn; also malicious, for being whipt, and makes them ill natured, to wish or be glad when any other boyes are whipt, because they shall not be laughed at or twitted<sup>406</sup> for being whipt.

Likewise, it makes them base informers, and many times false accusers; for rather than they will suffer the disgrace, as they take it, to be whipt alone, they will betray, lye or accuse any, so as it may cause the same punishment

Besides, in common Schools much beastly wickedness is learnt; but it were a wonder if vices should not be catch'd in a common School, being so many boyes in a company of several natures and dispositions, qualities, births and fortunes, and vicious qualities, being like the plague, malignant; for one sick body is able to infect a whole town, when the best cordial counsels and advises cannot save life.

A company of boyes are like a company of colts before they are backt, which kick, and fling, and run about, and are so impatient at the bridle, spur, and rod, that they strive with all their strength, and use all their skittish tricks to fling their rider off, striking all that come near them; so do boyes their tutors; and unless a tutor be a discreet man, and a wise governour, his scholars grow resty, and become unusefull, stubborn, malicious, and ill natured.

---

<sup>404</sup>*commons*] rations (OED n.1 9).

<sup>405</sup>*compass*] achieve (OED v.1 IV 11 a).

<sup>406</sup>*twitted*] condemned or rebuked (OED v. 2 a).

But by reason it is proved that common Schools breeds confidence, or rather boldness, it is good for the breeding of such youth whose parents intend them for Lawyers, and Divines, Embassadours, and the like, who are to present themselves, and to speak in a full Assembly, where bashfulness may perchance disturb and obstruct their Oratory. Besides, it is the best breeding to get experience, and to be acquainted with the nature of mankinde; for in youth the nature lyes open and plain to the view; and the rest of the senses being not arrived to the art of concealing them under counterfeit veils, or disguising them in various dresses, which time learns men to do.

Likewise, these common Schools may be good for physicians, and Chyrurgeons, and Souldiers; for Chyrurgeons, because it makes them bold and adventurous; for Souldiers, it makes them hardy, venturous, and resolute; for Physicians, it gives them experience of several appetites, diets, and constitutions; for prints strike deeper in youth than age, and men in age remember best the observations of their youth; and youth observe more than age doth, and like a Jackanapes, imitate what they observe.

As for the particular breeding of the common sort, they are to be bred according to the profession their parents intend them to practice; as Clerks must be bred to the use of the Pen, as to learn several hand-writings. [336:Uu4v]

All Merchants, either trading, trafficking, or adventuring must learn Arithmetick, and to keep Accounts.

Apothecaries must learn the difference and properties of Simples.

Doctors to use application.

Lawyers must learn the Laws, Customes, and Priviledges of the Kingdome; also, the Records, Fees, and Offices of several Courts; likewise, all sorts of Warrants, Grants, Leases, Wills, and Copies.

Heralds must be good Antiquaries; also they must be learned in the fashions, ceremonies, and orders of Dignities.<sup>407</sup>

Surveyors, and Architects, and Musicians must be learned in the Mathematicks and Geometry.

Picture-drawers in Historie and Geography; likewise, in the Mathematicks, by reason of Symmetry.

As for Handicrafts-trades, practice makes them Masters; and Trades-men of all sorts, the lesser speculative learning they have, the better workmen they be most commonly, busying their heads with nothing but their trade.

As for Secretaries of State, they must be bred to several languages, and to understand the Laws, Customes, Humours, and Potencies<sup>408</sup> of forreign Nations, for which they should be bred with several Embassadours, whose employments are travelling Schools, and experienced Tutors.

As for States-men, they must be bred to a general Learning, but no particular study; they must learn the humours of men, as well as the Laws of the Kingdome; they must learn the discipline of War, as well as the rules of Peace; they must learn the weakness and strength, the infirmities and advantages of the Kingdome, as well as the traffick and commerce.

They must learn Morality as well as Rhetorick; they must learn to do well, as well as to speak well; for he will be but a corrupt Statesman who hath more eloquence than justice, more policy than honesty.

But youth, saith she, their understanding is like their age and bodies, little and young; their eyes must first be fed with action, their ears with relation, which without those objects and subjects the understanding would become lean or starved; for several objects

---

<sup>407</sup>*Heralds*] Heralds were responsible for state ceremonies, for settling questions of precedence in court processions, and recording names of and pedigrees of those entitled to armorial bearings (*OED* n. c).

<sup>408</sup>*Potencies*] degrees of power (*OED* n.1 5).

and discourses put to the sight and hearing, which pass through the eyes and ears into the head, to feed the brain, which maintains the life of the understanding, as several sorts of meats put by the hands into the mouth, pass through the throat into the stomach, to feed the body, to maintain the life thereof; and the natural capacities digest those several objects and subjects into knowledge and understanding, as the natural heat into flesh and blood.

And the brain is like the body, sometimes more strong, and sometimes more weak, which makes the understanding sometimes more sick, and sometimes more healthy: but sometimes the brains will be stufft with phancy, as the body with humours. [337: Xx1r] But some brains are like an unhealthfull body, that will never thrive; and others like stomachs, that nourish but with some particular sort of meat, when variety will corrupt, but never digest.

And others are like stomachs, that the more varieties are received, the better concoction,<sup>409</sup> where particulars would cause a surfet.

Likewise, said she, young brains are like tender slips, not grown to bear fruit, but length of time brings them to maturity.

And some brains are like barren grounds, that will not bring seed or fruit forth, unless it be well manured with the wit which is rak'd from other writers or speakers.

Others are like unplowed ground; for the senses, which are as the husbandman, either neglect through laziness, or are so poor, as not having a sufficient stock of objects, or subjects, or matter, or form, to work with, or sow in the brain.

Others are like foolish husbandmen, that either sow or reap too soon, or too late, that know not how to set and graft, to prune or to cherish, which makes the brain unprofitable.

---

<sup>409</sup>*concoction*] digestion (OED n. 1 a).

Others like ill husbands, run wandering about unconstantly, and never regard their affairs, but let the brain run to weeds; which with good husbandry, the brain might bear fruitfull crops.

And some is so rich and fertile, that if it be not plowed nor set, yet it will be fat meadow, and rich pasture, wherein grow wilde Cowslips, Primroses, Violets, Dazies, and sweet Time, Marjerum, Succory,<sup>410</sup> and the like,

Then they asked her, how they should govern their servants.

She answered, with employment; for, said she, idle servants, like idle subjects, grow factious, and so rebellious, for want of good employments to busy their heads with.

Then they asked her, how Masters ought to use Servants.

She answered, as good Princes do their Subjects, with a fatherly care for their well being, well doing, and subsisting; a Protectors regard, for their safety; a just Judge, for their rights and priviledges, for their condemnations and punishments; an honest Friend, to advise them; a wise Tutor, to instruct them; a prudent Governour, to order them; a powerfull General, to command them; a bountifull God, to reward their painfull labours, their dutifull obediences, their honest services, their faithfull trust, and their constant fidelity.

Then the wives asked her, if it might not be as lawfull for wives to receive and entertain Loves courtships, as for husbands to make Love-courtships,

She said, no; for, said she, unconstant women were the ruine of a Commonwealth;

For first, it decayes breed; for though many be barren by nature, yet there are more become barren through wildness.

Secondly; it corrupts breed, mingling the issues of several men. [338: Xx1v]

---

<sup>410</sup>*succory*] chicory, an herb used medicinally and in cooking (*OED* n. 1).

Thirdly, it decayes industry, for a man that doubts the children be none of his, will never take paines to provide for them, or at least not to enrich them.

Fourthly, it makes dangerous and deadly quarrells, for the Cuckold and the Cuckold-maker can never agree.

Then they asked her, what they should do, in case their husbands did kisse their maids, or their neighbors maids, daughters, or wives?

She said, to take as little notice of it, as they could; to give them as much liberty as they would have, to praise their mistris more than they deserved, and to cause them to be as jealous of them, as they could be.

First, said she, to take no notice of them, makes them to live quiet, and makes their husbands to be more shy, least they should perceive it. Otherwise, said she, there will not onely be quarrells, but she will receive often affronts, and disgraces by himself and Whores.

Secondly, said she, to give them Liberty which will glut their appetites, surfet the humor, and quench their affections.

Thirdly, she said, a superlative praise will abate<sup>411</sup> the truth, and out-reach the admiration.

Lastly, said she, to make them jealous by discoursing that no woman is to be trusted or relyed upon for their constancies in Love, when they have forsaken their own honour, their modest nature, their honest birth, their lawfull rites, their civill customs, their pious zeal to heaven; for jealousy, saith she turnes love into hate.

Then they asked her what they should do, if their Husbands whoors did inslave them, by being as mistrisses to command, and they, as a drudge, and slave to obey, making them as a Bawd, or witness to their lascivious acts?

---

<sup>411</sup>*abate*] take the edge off (*OED* v. II 10).

She said, there was nothing for that but parting; for said she, a noble mind cannot play the Bawd nor live with impudent vices: but said they, if the wife have children, how shall they part then? 'Tis better, said she, to part with the goods of the body, than the goods of the soul; wherefore it were better to part from children or life, than with Honour and Vertue. For though Vertue, said she, may winke at an infirmity; and honour may excuse a fault, yet not be made as a party, or brought to the publick view, or be made a slave thereto.

Then they asked her, what was the best way to keep their husbands love, and cause them to be constant?

She said, the best way to keep their husbands love, was to be honestly modest, cleanly, patient, prudent, and discreet; but said she, a man may love dearly and tenderly his wife, and yet desire to kisse his maid, wherefore to keep him constant, said she, a wife must act the arts of a Courtison to him which is very lawfull, since it is to an honest end; For the Arts are honest, and lawfull, but the design and end is wicked, but said she, to learn those Arts [339: Xx2r] you must be Instructed by such as have practised or seen them, for I have not, nor cannot guesse, or devise Arts.

*The twelfth sort were Nurses with their Nurse-children.*

And they asked how children should be ordered?

She said, young children should be handled gently, watched carefully, used kindly, and attended prudently.

As for the gentle handling, said she, it is most requisite, for children are rather grissles<sup>412</sup> than bones, more jelly than flesh, wherby the least oppression or wrenching, or turning may deform them, causing those members to be deformed, that otherwise would

---

<sup>412</sup>*grissles*] gristle.

be in perfection; and by reason Nurses handles not children tenderly, is the reason so many are lame, and crooked as they are.

Likewise nurses should give their limbes liberty, not swadle nor tye them too hard; or to suffer their coates to be too little, or their shoes, or stockings too short, nor to pin too many pins about them, least they should prick them.

Likewise not to tosse nor tumble them, nor to dance nor rock them too violent; for a weak motion may displace an unknit grissle, joint, and what pains soever they feel, or hurts they get; they cannot complain or tell their grievance by their speech, having not learnt a language; and though their tears supplyes their speech, yet nurses most commonly takes their tears to be shed out of a froward passion, rather than a mournfull complaining, or a craving redresse, which makes them onely to sing or prate, or whistle, or rattle to them as to please them; but not search about them, or observe them to find out their malady to ease them, but rather by the dancing and rocking them, they put them to more pain.

Secondly, to watch them carefully, for many children are killed or crippled, or blinded, or scarified,<sup>413</sup> which is worse by the negligence of the Nurses; And some are overlayd<sup>414</sup> by the Nurses in their sleep, some choakt by giving them meat too hard, or too big to passe through their little tender throats again: some fall into the fire, and burne then, or put our their eyes, or disfigure their face, some fall from tables, stools, bedds, stayers, or the like, whereby they become ofttimes cripples all their life, and many the like accidents befall, through the carelessness of the Nurses; wherefore children should rather lye and play upon the ground, laying some soft blanket under them, then be set upon tables, stooles or beds; besides it is both healthfull and strengthening for children to lye stretching and roling themselves, for their weak strength cannot disorder their tender Limbes, but rather gives them liberty to grow; where to be carried much in armes, or to set much in chaires,

---

<sup>413</sup>*scarified*] scarred.

<sup>414</sup>*overlayd*] to lie over or on top of so as to suffocate (a child, etc.) (*OED* v. 7 a).



or to lye much in Cradles cramps up their limmes, and doth as it were rivet their joints, causing them to grow as we say double jointed.

Thirdly, to be fed sparingly, or rather discreetly, for there [340: Xx2v] is nothing that distroyes children, or causeth more diseases, than too full dyet; for nurses are of an opinion, that a child cannot live and be in health, unlesse they be alwayes, eating, through which opinion the Nurses feeds them so long, as they puke it up again; and the Nurse is so desirous they should eat, that they will return the meat, they spue up into their mouthes again, forcing them to eat against their appetite, or stomach, which must needs be very unwholsome. First in overcharging their stomacks; next in not giving their stomach time to digest; Lastly, in giving a child milk, and flesh meat, which no wayes agrees; for it curdles the one, and corrupts the other; Thus an overcharged stomach causeth surfetts, which surfetts breeds a superfluous moisture, which causeth the Rickets; or els it breeds tough matter, which matter breeds obstructions, which obstructions causeth white swellings; Likewise an ill digestion breeds crudities,<sup>415</sup> which crudities cause the Collique and Convulsions; also milk and meat, the corruption of the one doth cause burning feavers, or scabbs on their heads and faces, and sharpnesse of the other causes Agues, or sharp Rhumes, making sore eyes, or the like Rhumatick diseases, and children being weak of Nature, and sickly in breeding of teeth, which makes them more weak, yet they feed them so much, that if a man at his full strength should eat as often, and as great a quantity for his growth, as children for theirs; they will become as weak as a child, and there would be as great a mortality of men as there is most commonly of children, for more dyes in Infancy than in Age, and the reason is they are killed with over-feeding, although Nurses and Parents impute it to the teeth; For a child as I said, cannot tell its grievances, which makes them mistake, by reason they can onely guesse at the cause. Wherefore said she,

---

<sup>415</sup>*crudities*] undigested matter in the stomach (*OED* n. 2 a).

children must be both orderly and temperately fed, as a breakfast, dinner and supper, untill such time, as they are so strong as to run about, and then they may eat four times a day, as in the after-noon: For by reason a child is active and always stirgrin,<sup>416</sup> and likewise growing they may eat the oftener, if they exercise much, but, whilst they are so weak as having not strength to run about, they must be fed with lighter meat, and a lesse quantity; For though some are of opinion that a childs stomack is extraordinary hot, which heat they think causeth a quick digestion, yet I am of opinion, the heat is according to their years, which is like a new kindled fire, which is rather a smothering heat, than a hot dissolving heat, and as heat is weak in a child, as being not throughly kindled, so it becomes weak by age, as being burnt out, wherefore Infancie and old Age should feed most temperatly, lest the quantity of the fuell should quench out the strength of the heat, but howsoever Nurses feeds children as if they had Oestridges stomacks, which is able to digest Iron.<sup>417</sup>

Lastly, children should be kindly used, and prudently bred, wherefore they must be humored in all things that are not hurtfull, otherwise to be crossed, makes them of a froward and crossing nature: for the ill custom of being crossed, makes them take the [341: Xx3r] habit or custom of crossing, and to strike or beat, or whip them, is worse, for stripes creates a Spanish disposition,<sup>418</sup> and timorous spirits, or hard and cruell natures.

Likewise not to scold, raile, or to give children ill language, for that only teaches them the rudest part of language, and to be foul mouthed, as we say.

---

<sup>416</sup>stirgrin] NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'stirring', p. 669.

<sup>417</sup>Sir Thomas Browne states in *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, 'The common opinion of the Oestridge, Struthiocamelus, or Sparrow-Camell conceives that it digesteth Iron', p. 225 (*OED* n. A 1 a - quote).

<sup>418</sup>According to David J. Weber, it was a commonly held opinion in Europe and England that 'the Spaniards were unusually cruel, avaricious, treacherous, fanatical, superstitious, cowardly, corrupt, decadent, indolent, and authoritarian' (*The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 336. See also W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England. - the development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N. C: Duke University Press, 1971). In NP 1671 (*Wing* N856), 'a Spanish disposition' is altered to 'a Spaniel's disposition' (p. 670). Cavendish may have made the change for political reasons. The Treaty of Madrid between England and Spain, which had been signed in 1667, was the beginning of peace between the two countries after the eleven-year Anglo-Spanish War. A complicating factor is the *OED* (n.2) defines 'Spaniel' as 'Spanish person'.

Likewise children must not be deceived with lyes; least they learn to deceive, with lying, also they must not be frightened, with telling them of hobgoblins, or the like; for what is printed in infancy doth not easily wear out with age, and certainly the terrors of youth are a great cause of cowardly age. For surely frightening tales to children work the same effect on the mind, as unwholsom food on the body: for as the body becomes weak, so the minde fearfull.

Likewise children should be taught the purest and perfectest parts of their language, and the most significant words, and eloquent speech, that the tongue may get the habit of a good pronunciation, as well as the understanding the right and cleer sense thereof, otherwise they will be like those that have learned Musick of an ill Master, that though they can play a tune perfectly and keep just time, and set a true note; yet they play not sweetly, but rough and rudely, making a jarring scraping, or squeaking noise.

Wherefore children must hear truth, and not lyes, be instructed with reason, not beaten with rodds, advised with kindnesse, not threatned with words, presented with gifts, not crost in toyes, used with respect, not sleighted with neglect.

Likewise, they must be taught to speak perfectly not imperfectly, sensibly not nonsensibly, seasonably not impertinently, civilly not rudely, truly not falsely.

To conclude, those that attends children should behave themselves well before them, least they should give an ill example.

Wherefore the better sort that have estates to maintain it, should have their children attended by none; but such as are well fashioned, well spoken, well quallified, and well quallityed.

*The thirteenth sort were Widowers and Widowes.*

The Widowers asked her, if it were not allowable for Widowers, in the Lawes of Honour to Marry?

She said, yes, in six Cases.

The first was, if he had a good Estate, and had no children to be heir to it: or that there none left of his Family, to keep alive the lovely memory of his Ancestors.

The second was, if he had many young children, and his employments or affaires, required him often from home.

Thirdly, if he had many servants, and much household employments.

Fourthly, if he were a Melancholy man, and lived solitarily alone. [342:XX3v]

Fiftly, if he were infirme or sickly.

And lastly, if he were conscientiously honest, or honestly Amorous.

Yet, said she, these must be wise in choosing such a woman as his affaires requires, or his humor desires, for a man that marryes for children, must choose a woman well born, well bred, a good reputation, and comes from a fruitfull stock; likewise she must be beautifull and well shapt, lest she give his breed an ill dye, or an ill favoured mark.

Secondly, If a man marry a wife to take care to breed up his children, he must choose a discreet, sober, and well natured woman, and one that is honorably born and well bred; for those that are honorably born and bred, have good natures, noble quallities, and sweet dispositions, also it breeds children to respect, it humbles them to obedience, it subjects them to corrections, and begets in them a love.

Thirdly, if a man marryes a wife to follow his servants, and govern his household affaires, she must be such a one as have been bred thriftily and to good Huswifery, an one that hath had some experience in the world, otherwise he may chance to have a busie wife, but not a prudent wife, she may take paines, but he but small gaines.

Fourthly, if a man marryes because he would not live solitarily alone, he must use his endeavour to get a cheerfull wife, and of pleasant humor, or rather a pleasing humour; also she must be conversable, and of a ready wit, and a good understanding, also of a

healthfull constitution, otherwise he will have a disease instead of a wife, a trouble instead of a companion, a grave instead of bed.<sup>419</sup>

Fiftly, if a man marries a wife to attend and nurse him, she must be a neat, cleanly, and ingenious, and handsom handed woman, also skillful at Chirurgery; and Phisick, and the applying of medicins; likewise, she must be carefull, watchfull, and industrious, also patient, silent, chaste, and good natured, otherwise his wife instead of a nurse may prove his plague, his hell, his tormenter, his plague with her sluttery, his hell with her dishonesty, his tormentor with her froward nature and scolding tongue.

And lastly, if a man marry out of a consciencious honesty, or being honestly amorous, he must endeavour to get a chaste, healthfull, beautifull, cleanly woman.

Likewise, she must be of a free disposition, a merry humour, and a kinde nature, also she must rather be modestly kinde, than boldly wanton.

For if she be dishonest, his jealousie will disturbe his love.

If sickly, his kindnesse will disturbe her health, if ill favoured, it will tempt his constancy, if sluttish, he will loth her bed, if peevisch or coy, it will cross his desires, and if bold, it will surfet his appetite.

But, said she, equall matches and happy marriages are not common, by reason Fortune, Covetousness or Lust, makes more [343:XX4r] marriages than prudent judgment or love; and oftentimes men and women are deceived in each other, by reason the nature of man is so obscure, as it can hardly be found out; besides, Woers do strive to conceale their faults and vaile their defects, or pretend to be vertuous, because they would be gracious in the opinion of their mistrisses, or the mistris in the opinion of the suiter, when marriage will discover them to be but counterfeits, gilded with deceit, which golden outside is

---

<sup>419</sup>bead] bed.

rubbed off with acquaintance, and then their base drossy nature appears, and repentance is bought therewith.

Then they asked her, if it were not lawfull for a man to keep a mistriss in case he was unwilling to marry, or at least a second wife.

She said, the Lawes of Nature and Custome would allow it, but not the Lawes of Morallity or Divinity. Wherefore if they could not live a chaste single life, she said they ought to marry.

Besides, said she, although those men that have mistrisses instead of a Wife, and hath liberty to change their Mistrisses, which they cannot do, their wives; yet it is a far worse condition of life, to keep a Mistriss then to marry a wife: for the best natured mistriss, is harder and more difficult to please, than the worst humored wife; For a Mistriss is a tyrant, prouder than a mean foolish favorite, more commanding than a strict Generall, more Tyrannicall than a Tyrant; more false than a Traitor, proud, because sued to,<sup>420</sup> commanding, because served with obedience; cruell, because jealous; false, because unconstant; Wherefore she must be flattered, obeyed, observed and watcht; Likewise they will be more prodigall than a Gamester, for what they get by vice, they spend by vanity, and yet more covetous than an Usurer, for if she lend her lover, her person, she will have the interest of his estate.

This ruins his family, and impoverishes his estate; also she is more froward than a child; if she hath not what she desires, or as melancholy as a Stoick, when she hath so much, she knows not what to desire; more furious than a desperate madd man, when she is crost; wherefore she must be humor'd, and pleased to keep her quiet.

---

<sup>420</sup>*sued to]* had a man woo or pursue her (*OED* v. II 23).

Likewise when she is merry, she is more mischievous than a Jackean Apes; more skittish than a colt; skipps more than a Frog, Chatters more than a Pye:<sup>421</sup> when she is angry, she is more furious than a Bull, and fierce than a mastif.

When she hath designs, she is craftier than a Fox; more subtile than a Serpent; when covetous, more ravenous than a Wolfe; when jealous, more cruel than a Tiger; when kinde they are worse than beasts; for whores are seldom harmelesly merry, or vertuously melancholy, or honorably angry, or innocently wise, or prudently thrifty or lovingly jealous, or modestly kinde; The gifts of Nature, Youth, Wit, and Beauty, they set as snares to intangle vertue, or to intrap vice; youth sits, beauty drawes, and wit catches hold.

To conclude a whoore, and good fortune leaves a man at [344: Xx4v] once, and a Whore many times makes ones fortune ill: When a chaste Wife is constant to a Man all her life, and many times makes an ill fortune good.

Then the Women asked her, if it were not allow'd in Honours Laws for Widows to marry.

She said, by no means; for Widows do both cuckold their dead Husbands, and their living Husbands.

*The fourteenth sort were Virgins.*

They asked her how they ought to behave themselves.

She said, soberly, modestly, silently, civilly, temperately, and dutifully.

Soberly, as to behave themselves with reservedness, as not to dance, skip, jump, or toy wildly about. Likewise, not to wander or gad abroad without their Parents or Governesses.

---

<sup>421</sup>[pye] a magpie, a black and white bird with a noisy chattering call (OED n. A 1 a).

Modestly, as not to keep lewd or ill famed company, or to entertain all sorts of Visitors, or to suffer men to embrace, kiss, or to whisper to them.

Silently, as not to talk much or loud, or to laugh or sing much before company, unless they have excellent voyces; nor then, except they are civilly intreated; and if they can sing, and are intreated thereto, not to be foolishly nice, nor confidently forward; also, to leave the hearers with a relish or appetite, and not to sing so long as to tire them, or surfeit their ears.

Civilly, to give every one their due respect.

Temperately, as not to drink too much wine, or eat too high or luxurious meats.

Dutifully, to obey their Parents, Governess, Tutors, or Mistris, with all humility, care, diligence, willingness, and love.

Then they asked her, if they might not lawfully entertain Suitors.

She said, yes; but so, as to have some Friend by as a Witness, that they may not give them cause to brag of their received favours, or to challenge promises, or to receive disgrace by their inconstancies; but to hear their suit with attention, to return them an answer with discretion, to entertain modestly, or deny them civilly.

Then they asked her, what age was best to marry in.

She said, at the years of twenty; for at that age, said she, time doth both usher and follow you; and at those years, a Woman is like the Sun at high noon, being then in his full strength, glory, and splendour, as being past the dawning day of infancy, and hath enlightened the dark clouds of ignorance, and fill'd with the sweet morning dew of good education; and at this height you give a full light of beauty, without shadows; a clear day of wit, without misty errors, or foggy follies; a comfortable warmth, by an assured settled love; a nourishing life, by a fruitfull womb: for marriage, with childish years, is like unseasonable weather, wherein nothing is brought forth kindly; it dryes the sap of [345:Yy1r] youth, shrinks the body of growth, it nips the buds of beauty, blasts the



blossoms of modesty, withers the leaves of pleasure, spoils the fruits of birth, and kills the root of love. For if Women marry before they they come to full growth, their children are most commonly weak and infirm; for when a young and tender slip bears fruit, the fruit is most commonly little, or insipid, or very watrish; also, those trees last not so long, nor are so strong nor large, nor flourish so much as those that bear more late.

Likewise, when Women marry before they are experienced in knowledge, or have solid judgement, they most commonly repent, as being deceived, or despising the acts of their youth, or condemning their childish affections, or rather fondness; for youth is rather fond than truly loving, by reason they have not judgement to distinguish merit and worth from vanities and trifles; for they will be catch'd with sweet banquets, perswaded with kinde words, enticed with gay cloaths, and won with pedling toys; nay, many young Maids will marry for no other reason but to wear a wedding ring; for they never enquire after their birth, fortunes, breeding, or disposition, but observe whether they be brave or no; a silver and gold laced suit they prize more than lands or livings; gay ribbins, and flanting feathers they esteem more than titles or birth; to dance, and make a courtly congey, they account them exactly bred, their flattering courtship they believe is good nature, and gentle disposition; they think them very wise if they talk much, and very valiant if they swear or rant much, very noble if they brag much, very handsome if they be fine, and very fine if they be gay.

Three or four Lacquais<sup>422</sup> they take to be most honourable attendance, and more than forty other Servants; and the Master of a Race horse soon wins a Mistris, and with more facility than the Wager for which he runs.

But let me warn you, said she, of Bawds, for they are more crafty, and have more devices and policies to deceive young Virgins, Wives, or Widows, than *Machiave*<sup>423</sup> or the

---

<sup>422</sup>[*Lacquais*] lackeys; footmen (*OED* n 1 a).

<sup>423</sup>Niccolò Machiavelli, political philosopher and writer known for his book *The Prince*. However inaccurately, his name is associated with dishonesty and unscrupulous behaviours.

wisest Statesmen, to cosen the people. Of which Bawds there are four sorts, a procuring Bawd, a protecting Bawd, a conniving Bawd, and a flattering Bawd.

A procuring Bawd is to make Love-matches, and contrive Love meetings.

A protecting Bawd is to help Lovers in distress, as to entertain, or hide, or conceal Lovers.

A conniving Bawd is to wink or take no notice of Lovers designs, hindring not their meetings, nor obstructing their desires, but leave them both to time and opportunity.

A flattering Bawd is to palliate<sup>424</sup> Lovers faults, excuse Lovers follies, to maintain Lovers arguments, and to plead Lovers freedoms.

But many one, said she, are Bawds to corrupt their own Virtue, and are as ingenious and industrious to cosen themselves, as those that get a fee, or bribe, to cosen another.

[346:Yy1v]

Wherefore, said she, Women should guard their Chastity with temperance and prudence, with courage and constancy, with innocence and modesty, with honour and piety.

Then they asked her, whether it was a disgrace and dishonour to live to be an old Maid.

She said, no; for Virginitie, said she, may be compared to Angels for purity and innocency; and to be like Angels, is no dishonour to any age, sex, or quality: but if a Woman cannot be free from scandals, or safe from injuries, she ought to marry; for a Husband is a Tower and Champion to keep and defend a Womans chastity and reputation.

Then they asked her, why old Maids were most commonly scorned and despised?

---

<sup>424</sup>*palliate*] to conceal or disguise (*OED* v. 3).

She answered, it was out of a corrupt nature in Mankind, which strives to scandalize Virtue; and a spitefull reproach from the masculine sex, that would corrupt all the female kinde.

Besides, said she, the generality of Mankind think it a disgrace to be ignorant in any thing in Nature, although it be in Vice; for they had rather be Criminals, than ignorant. But Virtue, said she, desires to know no more than for Virtues use.

*The fifteenth sort were Lovers.*

And they asked her, what made Love so painfull.

She said, a Lover was as if he were tyed to a post, his minde being firmly fixed upon one object: but when the minde is stretch'd, said she, with admiration, then is a Lover nailed with thoughts, as it were, upon a cross; for admiration is extension, and yet is fixed; and when the minde, said she, is extendedly fixed, the spirits grow faint, the senses dull, the complexion pale, the body sick, the flesh withers, and the strength decays; where if the thoughts, said she, were loose, the minde would be at liberty, and free from Loves tormenting pains.

Then they asked her, why Lovers were apt to weep.

She said, that when the minde was crucified, it was a hundred to one but it would bleed; for, said she, tears are the blood of the minde, although they flow in the body; for the head and the heart, said she, are the Cisterns that are fill'd with this blood; and the eyes are the veins or artery pipes, through which it runs; and when the minde is wounded, it bleeds, which blood is dropping tears, which fall upon the cheeks, and sometimes gush out in a full stream.

Then they asked her, why they were apt to sigh.

She said, sighs were the minds pulse; and when the minde was sick, the pulse beats strong, fast, and unevenly, which made Lovers sigh softly, smotheringly, and sometimes deeply and strongly.

Then they asked her, what made Lovers groan?

She said, groans were the minds voyce; and when it felt pains, it complained, as finding no ease. [347:Yy2r]

Then they asked her, what made Lovers extravagant.

She said, extravagantness was a distemper in the minde, which distemper was caused by the pain it felt.

Then they asked her, if there were no cure.

She said, yes; Time was a good Physician, and Change the onely Remedy; unless, said she, the object of love be unalterable, and then it is dangerous. But you Lovers, said she, the minde would be well and free from such pains, if it were not for the appetites: but they are never pleased, but restless, run after excess, and hunt after variety; for they are always in pain, either in desiring and not enjoying, or else with surfetting of what they have fed upon; for the period of the appetites is excess, and excess is surfet, and surfet is sick, and desire is travelling, and travelling is restless, and restlessness is wearisome, and wearisomeness is painfull; insomuch, as before we get to our desired end, we are tired, or dead.

*Seldome do Lovers weep, sigh, groan, or tremble,  
But to make Love, is not it to dissemble:  
But some can forge these passions by the dozen,  
And act them all poor Women for to cozen.*

*The sixteenth sort of Visiters were Poets.*

Who asked her, why Poets were most commonly poor.

She said, Poets were so imployed with contemplation, that there was no time for fruitions;<sup>425</sup> for Poets, said she, had rather have phancies in their heads, than money in their purse; and take more pleasure in expressing the one, than in spending the other; which

---

<sup>425</sup>[Fruitions] concrete realities born of work; possessions.

makes their imaginations their chiefest possessions, being careless of Fortunes goods, despising her service, regarding neither their frowns, nor her favours, being entertained by Nature, whom they most industriously serve, and diligently attend.

Then they asked her, who were most in Natures favour, Poets or Philosophers.

She answered, there was no doubt to be made but that Poets she esteemed and loved best; for, said she, Natural Philosophers tire Nature with enquiries, trouble her with searching and seeking about, anger her with their erroneous opinions, tedious disputations, and senseless arguments, and make her outrageous with their cruel extractions, subtractions, and dissections.

As for Moral Philosophers, said she, they restrain, enclose, and tye Nature, as one that is mad, tormenting her beyond all reason; but sometimes, said she, with struggling and striving, she breaks out, but cannot get so far but they straight get hold of her again, which makes them always at variance.

But Poets, saith she, never cross nor anger her, nor torment her, they please her all they can, and humour her every way, they sooth her passions, feed her appetites, delight her senses, praise [348:Yy2v] her wit, admire her beauty, adorn her person, and advance her fame.

Then they asked her, what the Muses were.

She said, the Muses were Natures Dressers, and Poets Mistrisses, to whom they made love, and several courtships to.

Then they asked her, what Poets were.

She said, Poets were Natures Painters,<sup>426</sup> which drew her to the life, yet some do flatter her, said she, and some do her wrong; but those that flatter her, she favours most, (as all great Ladies do.)

---

<sup>426</sup>With a connection to the title of this volume: *Natures Pictures*.

Then they asked her, what was the ground of Poetry.

She said, distinguishment and similizing, which is, said she, judgement and phancy; as for numbers, rhyme, and rhetorick, they are but the several accoutrements, but no part of the body of Poetry.

Then they asked her, what was the effect of Poetry.

She said, to move passions, to describe humours, to express actions, to correct errors, to condemn follies, to persecute vice, to crown virtue, to adorn the graces, to entertain time, to animate youth, to refresh age, to encourage noble endeavours, to quicken the spirits, to please the senses, to delight the minde, to recreate the thoughts, to increase knowledge, to instruct the understanding, to preserve the memory, to refine language, to praise heaven, to inflame zeal, to register life, to in-urn<sup>427</sup> death, to pencil nature, and raise fame.

Then the Poets asked her, if Wit might not be gotten by Industry.

She said, yes; for though it is Natures work to make a brain strong and well temperd,<sup>428</sup> or put it in tune, yet it is learned practice and skill that must play therewith, like a Lute; although it should be well strung, and justly tuned, yet if there were no hands or other things to set it in motion, it would become useless; and unless it were tried, it would not be known whether it could sound or no; and if one as I was<sup>429</sup> that was not practiced and learnt in the art of that Instrument, they might jangle, but hardly play a composed tune, or make any harmony therewith.

So a brain becomes dull for want of use, stupid for want of subject, and barren for want of learning, unless Nature doth play on the Instruments she makes without the help of Art, which she can do, and doth do sometimes, but so seldome, that it is a wonder.

---

<sup>427</sup>*in-urn death*] to put the ashes of death in an urn; to defeat death.

<sup>428</sup>*distember d*] the missing character is either an 'e' or an apostrophe, p. 349.

<sup>429</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction inserts 'as I was', p. 349. The addition is not noted in the list of errata.

But although she doth not alwayes make use of Art, she never doth but make use of Time; for Time is her chief Instrument, with which she works, and produceth all things.

But I perceive, said she, few profit by reading over or repeating of their own wit; for it is like the breath of water, divers, which hath two bags, one filled with air, the other to put in breath that issues out; and that breath that goes out, can never be drawn back for use; for the life of the body must be fed with [349:Yy3r] fresh air, or else it is smothered out; so the life of wit must be fed with new subjects, or else it becomes idle, or panting, dyes.

*The seventeenth sort that visited her were Aged Persons.*

They asked her, what made Age so dull.

She said, that most commonly aged bodies had melancholy minds; their thoughts, as their bodies, were alwayes travelling towards death; unless, said she, it be the irrational sort, who live onely to their appetites, and dye like beasts; for although old Father Time preaches death to them every minute, they sensually, or being accustomed to his doctrine, regard him not, but follow their senses as long as they can, untill they become as insensible, as before irrational.<sup>430</sup>

Then they asked her, what made mankinde afraid to dye.

She said, pain and oblivion: but, said she, all creatures are afraid of the one, but none but mankinde are afraid of the other.

Then they asked her, what age endured the most violent pangs of death.

She said, middle age, and perfect growth, as being strongest bodies; for perfect growth with middle age, is like a well built house, throughly seasoned, and strongly settled, which makes death take the greater pains to pull it down: but infancy and age, said she, are

---

<sup>430</sup>*until . . . irrational]* until they become just as insensible as they were irrational.

like to houses, onely wast,<sup>431</sup> or rotten with long time, which the least puff of wind layes level with the ground.

Then they asked her, what course of life was best for age to live.

She said, piously, temperately, soberly, easily, peaceably, pleasantly, and sagely; to be pious, as to serve the Gods duely, to be compassionate and charitable; for the aged many times seem as if they were tired in the service of the Gods, making their age a lazy excuse for their omissions. Also compassionate, for Age having the experience of the changes of Fortune, the accidents of Chance, the miseries and cruelties in Nature, and the havocks and spoils Death makes, grow hard-hearted; for as Time hardens a tender Plant with the growth, so Custome hardens a tender Heart with the frequency.

Likewise, charitable; for Age having observed the false natures, the malicious dispositions, the subtil designs, the self-ends, the cruel actions in the generality of mankinde, is apt to censure, mistrust, and condemn all; which makes their Charity cold, and assistance slow.

Also, to be bountifull; for Age seeing the many miseries that Poverty brings, and the power that Riches hath, become oft times so covetous, and so sparing, that they become miserable, making their Stores their Prisons, their Gold their Shackles, lashing themselves with the rods of scarcity and inconveniency; and though their [350:Yy3v] blood streams not through a porous skin, yet are their veines shrunk up, and dry within; they feed on thoughts as Lovers do, and their gold is their mistriss, admiring it as the fairest of Natures works, worship it as a Deity, believe all happiness lives therein, and good is produced thereby, but those that have a generous soul by nature, and have been accustomed to relieve by practice, increase Humanity, Compassion, Charity and Liberality as in years; Also their love and piety is fuller of fervencies, and though the Lamp

---

<sup>431</sup>NP 1656 (Wing N855): A handwritten note blots out 'wrought' and inserts 'wast', p. 350. This change is not noted in the list of errata.



of their life is blinking, yet the flames of their zeal are more cleer, for as their oyle of life wasts, their oyl of devotions increases continually, powring in glory, praises and thanksgiving.

Likewise, said she, Age should live soberly and temperatly, as for Temperance, said she, Age is a distemper in its self, and therefore they should have a greater care in ordering themselves, but some are so far from patching the ruins of time, or propping, or upholding a sagging, sinking life, as they make the rents greater, and pull down the building sooner than nature intended her work should be, by their unseasonable houres, and unnecessary cares, disturbing their bodily rest and peaceable minde, also by their unwholsom diets, and disordered appetites, which weakens nature, and disturbs health more than otherwise they would be; But those that are prudently wise survey themselves, and industriously maintain life in as good reparations as they can, placing shelters before it, or laying covers upon it, to defend and keep it from boisterous storms, and nipping colds.

Likewise, they repaire it with nourishing food, comfortable Cordialls, and quiet Rest, which makes them appear like a famous monument: or an ancient Palace, whose stately structure cannot be buried in the ruines.

Likewise to live soberly, as gravely, or reservedly, for an aged body with a vaine minde, phantasticall humors, extravagant actions, apish behavious,<sup>432</sup> and idle discourses suite not well together, they appear both uncomely, undecently and unnaturally, for can there be any thing vainer, than for age to rant and swagger, brag and boast, or to be vain-glorious, or can there be any thing more Phantasticall than for age to be inconstant and various, pining and spitefull; gossiping and twatling, amorous and wanton; and can there be more phantasticallnes, than for age to be fooling and toying, sporting and playing, dancing and singing, flanting and revelling, posting and travelling, searching and seeking,

---

<sup>432</sup>*behavious*] behaviours

sharking and fawning, crouching and creeping, or can there be more apishness than to see Age full of imitation, as to affect a dancing, jetting, strutting, stragling gate, a pruning, jointing, wreathing, rowling posture, a simpring, fleering,<sup>433</sup> jearing, mopping, mewing countenance, or learing, flearing, winking, gloting eyes.

And what can be idler than to hear age talke lasciviously, baffonly,<sup>434</sup> impertinently, falsly, amorously, vain-gloriously, maliciously, factiously and wickedly; But sober age hath a setled [351:Yy4r] minde, quiet thoughts, well governed passions, temperate appetitits,<sup>435</sup> noble resolutions, honest designes, prudent actions, rationall discourses and majestical behaviors; As for an easie life, said she, age should shun all troublesome offices, painfull employments, tedious travellings, long speeches, impertinent talkers, hard couches, uneasie garments, sharp colds, burning heats, also surfets or unpleasant, or lothsome meats, or drinks, for it were better to dye than live in pain, and the infirmity of Age is paine enough, without any addition to increase them.

Likewise, age should strive to live a peaceable life, as neither to hear quarrells, or make quarrells, or be a party in quarrells, or quarrelsome business.

Likewise to abate all turbulent passions, restless cares, endless desires, vexing thoughts.

Likewise to avoid all clamours or mournfull noises, cruell, dreadfull, or pittifull objects; Also, they should forgive injuries freely, suffer injuries patiently, submit to power willingly, or at least readily: For life is a torment, when peace is banished, and to have an unquiet life, a troubled minde joyned with a weak body, would be as bad as hells torments.

The last is, a pleasant life. For age being apt to be melancholy, it ought to please it self, to divert its saddest thoughts, and raise its drooping spirits, besides, Age hath most

---

<sup>433</sup>[*fleering*] the act of laughing or smiling fawningly.

<sup>434</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'buffoonly', p. 694. This word in most instances is used as an adjective, but Cavendish uses it as an adverb here.

<sup>435</sup>[*appetitits*] appetites.

reason to please it self, having by nature the shortest while to live; And they are most unwise that makes not the best use, or takes not the most profit out of time.

But some may say, that Age cannot pleasure take, by reason that pleasure lives in the senses, and the senses, which are the strings, Organs, or pipes of pleasure, is broke, or out of tune; And for the minde, they will say, is subject to ruinous time, as much as the body and senses; For knowledge which is the foundation thereof; And understanding the building thereon, and memory the doors thereto, and remembrance the windows therein, is apt to decay, which forceth the inhabiter, which is delight to forsake its mansion, but I speak not to those that are so old, or so infirme, as to be past thinking, as it were, for those are but breathing carcasses; not living men, but I speak to such, whose knowledge is more, and understanding cleer, by times experience; For though the body hath a fixt time to arrive to a perfect growth, and perfection, yet the mind hath not: for the minde can never know, nor understand so much; as it might not know and understand more: neither hath time such a Tyrannical power over the minde, as over the body.

Wherefore, said she, the minde may have delight, when the body is past pleasures; and the thoughts, which are the children of the<sup>436</sup> minde, may have more various pastimes, and recreations to delight them, than the senses can have varieties of substance to work pleasures out of, for they can create delight in themselves, which the senses cannot. For they become dull, and grow as dead, when they have nothing to work on. [352:Yj4v]

When the thoughts are like spiders, or silk wormes, that can spin out of its own bowells, which is the minde; for the minde is the bowells or wombe of thoughts: and though some think the mind would be like an empty house, if it were not furnished by the senses, and outward substance, but some mindes are so largely, curiously, and sumptuously

---

<sup>436</sup>NP 1656 (Wing N855): A handwritten note inserts 'the', but the errata inserts 'in', p. 352.

built by nature, and with such, excellent rich and strong materials, as they need not the senses;

For severall objects or subjects that the senses bring in, do but incumber it, and lumber it, hiding the curious Architecture thereof, and shadow the light therein; but howsoever to please or delight the minde by the senses, Age must hear sweet charming musick, view delightfull objects, smell comfortable sentes, taste savory meats, drinke delicious drinks; be lapt in soft silks, or warme furre.

Likewise, they must converse with witty and pleasant company; and so to recreate themselves in what they most delight; for Wise and Noble Age cannot delight in any thing, but what is Honorable, Allowable and Commendable; for whosoever lives temperatly, prudently, soberly, easily, peaceably and pleasantly, lives sagely, but, said she,

*Wise Age majestique seem's like Gods above,  
Their Countenance is mercy joyn'd with Love,  
Their silver hayres are like to glorious Rayes,  
Their eyes like Monarchs Scepter, Power sways,  
Their life is Justice seat, where Judgements set,  
Their tongue is the sharp Sword, which Truth doth whet,  
Their grave behaviour Ballance which doth poize,  
The scales of thoughts and action without noise,  
Merits the Graines, which makes them even weight,  
Honesty the stedly hand, that holds them streight.*

*The eighteenth sort were Souldiers.*

And they asked what sort of men were fit to be Generalls?

She said, those that could command themselves were wise enough to command others.

Then they asked her what sort of men, were best for other Commanders and Military Officers?

She said, those that had learnt to obey, for from their obedience they could well Command.

Then they asked her, of what Age men should be chosen for Souldiers?

She said that men of twenty were desperate, and men of thirty were couragious, and from thirty they were valiant: for courage, said she, is not so furious, as desperatness: nor valour so rash as courage: and beasts, said she, are furious and couragious, but none but men are valiant, but, said she, of necessity there must be men of all Ages, that are able to bear armes, or els, there will be [353:Zꝛ1r] not men enough to make up a number; for though, said she, furie is soon spent by violent force, and courage is weaker by rash follyes, yet if none should be chosen, but those that are rightly valiant, there would not be a Troop where there should be an Army: for true valour, said she, is such an equall temper and mixture of Capacities, qualities and other vertues compounded to make this one, as Justice, Prudence, Temperance, Patience, Judgement, Understanding, Resolutions, Audacity, Circumspection, and the like, as there are few valiant men to be found; when men of courage whole Armies fall, for courage is onely a passion without any mixture of fear, or rather it is an appetite to adventures.

Then they asked her what assaulting armes were best?

She said, the sword, for, said she, Canons, Muskets, Carbines, Pistolls, or the like, are fitter to fight with walls than men: Besides, said she, there is no assaulting armes that stands at a distance, but seem cowardly, as Bows, Slings, Pistolls Gunns, and the like, which makes men seem, as if they were afraid to meet and encounter body to body, when a sword or the like weapon, seemes as it is Heroick and manly.

Then they asked her whether an Army were better to intrench, or lye in Garrison Towns.

She said, to intrench, for said she, the Souldiers will be carefull to defend their walls of mudd, which are Trenches, but when they lye in Garrisons, they become negligent, as thinking the walls of stone should defend them.

Then they asked her, how they should begin the onset of a battail.

She said, Closely, Coldly, and Temperatly, least their force should wast in their fury, and disorders, should grow by the violence thereof.

Then they asked her how they should behave themselves in a Victory?

She said, humbly and mercifully.

Then they asked her how they should behave themselves, when they lost?

She said, Patiently and Cheerfully; to shew their spirits were not dejected with their ill fortune.

*The last sort that visited her, Were Historians.*

And they asked her, whether it were pains worth the taking, to write an History?

She said, there was no pains worth the taking, but for the cause of Truth; the sake of Right, and for the advancement of good.

As for an History, said she, it cannot be exactly true, because there are so many severall intentions interwoven with several accidents, and severall actions divided into so many severall parties and severall places, and so many severall Reporters of severall opinions, [354:Zꝛ1v] Partialities<sup>437</sup> Understandings, Judgments, and Memorialls, which gives such various relations of one, and the same action, as an Historian being but one man, cannot possibly know the truth, which makes them write so falsely, whereby Right is so injured and degraded of that Honour which is due unto its merit, or els hath that Honour given, as it had not merited to deserve; Neither doth History add good to an humane life, or Peace to a disordered State or zeal to a pious soul; for it instructs the

---

<sup>437</sup>NP 1671 (Wing N856) places a comma between 'Partialities' and 'Understanding', p. 701.

present life with the Vices, Follies and Ambitions, Rapines, Cruelties, Craft, Subtilties and Factions of former ages, which makes the present age more bold to do the like; and desirous to follow their forefathers steps, which rather inflames the distempers than gives Peace to a Commonwealth; indeed it distempers a peaceable Commonwealth; and oftentimes brings it to ruin, over-heating the youth and hardning the aged; neither doth it add zeal, for reading in history the severall Religions, and many Gods, that wise-men held and prayed to in every age, weakens their faith with doubt of the right, not knowing what to chose.

Also Historians are for the most part detractors, for they oftner blur mens reputations, than glorify them; and the world is apt to believe the worst part: for one pen may blur a reputation, but one pen will hardly glorify a reputation, for glory requireth many pens many witnesses, or els the world will not believe it, when one accusing pen shall serve to condemne the most noble persons, and Heroick Actions, so unjust the world is.

Also Historians are various, writing according to their opinions, judgement, and belief, not often to the Truth; for some praise those men, and actions that others dispraise; causing doubts to the Readers, not knowing which to believe: Besides, they are too partial to sides, and factions, that to the adverse they note things to their disadvantage, or aggravate their errors, or imperfections, and leave out somethings that are of high worth, and worthy the remembrance, or els lessen them in their relations, and to those they adhere to; they do the contrary, they either obscure, or excuse their errors, imperfections and crimes; And they illustrate with false lights their dimme vertues, or give them such praises they never deserved; Wherefore no History should be esteemed but what was written by the Authors themselves, as such as write their own History of their lives, actions and fortunes, and the severall accidents that befell in their time; and to their knowledge, yet said she, I wish I might outlive the Historian of these times, that I might write a History of the Historians, there to describe their birth and breeding, their life, their actions, their

fortunes, their interest; And let the world judge, whether they writ truth; and without partiality.

But to draw towards an end of my tale, all sorts of people resorting to hear her speak, she became so famous, as that a great Monarch, whose Kingdom was neighbouring to the Country she was borne, bred, and lived in; had a great curiosity, to see and hear her, for the fame of her beauty was equall to the fame of her [355:Zꝛ2r] wit, and putting himself into a disguise left his Kingdom, and wife to visit this Lady when he saw and had heard her speak, her wit, beauty, and gracefull behaviour did so ravish him him;<sup>438</sup> as he became a desperat Lover; whereupon he secretly revealed himself unto her, perswading all he could to leave that inclosed life, profering her to be divorced from his wife, and to marry her; but she refused his offers, despises his love, forbid his suite, and absented her person, which caused him to return in a rage and fury, sending Ambassadors to proclaim Warrs, unless the State would deliver the Lady into his power, but they absolutely denied to deliver her, thinking it both a wicked and dishonorable disgrace to their Countrey, although they perceived an utter ruin was like to fall upon them, by reason the Kingdom was in a weak condition, caused by former warrs; but it came no sooner to her hearing, but she desired to meet the Ambassadors in a publick audience, which they granted, where multitudes of people came thronging to see her; and when they were met, she thus spake;

*I come not here to make Eloquent Orations, to divulge my Wit, or to present my beauty to the view of many eyes; For though I may thanke Nature for her bounteous gifts.*

*Yet I have not that vanity and pride,  
For to allure, or draw from vertues side.*

*But I come to answer these threatning Ambassadors; for I cannot call them Noble, or Honorable, since they come upon a base designe, and to an unjust end; But let me tell them, the Gods would hate me,*

---

<sup>438</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): The double 'him' is a possible printer's error, p. 256.



*should I break my holy vow; Next, I should grieve my Fathers sleeping ashes, should I disobey his dying command. Thirdly, I should be a dishonour to my birth & Sex, should I live incontinently. Lastly, I should curse my birth, hate my life, blast my fame should I be the cause of my Countryes ruin, and my Country had cause to do the same, should it be ruined for me, but since it will prove a mischief, sin, and shame to live; Honour, Prudence, Love and Justice, bids me dye, wherefore I have sacrificed my life for my Countreys Peace and safety, my unspotted Chastity, holy Vowes and dutifull Obedience, and to quench the raging lust of a wicked Tyrant.*

And growing very sick, she became so weak, as she could stand no longer, but gently sinking to the ground, she fell, whereupon all that could get neer run unto her to help her, but she told them, it was in vain; For poyson, saith she, hath been the engin that hath broken open the gate of life, to let death in, and so immediatly died; which the people no sooner understood, but made such outcries and lamentations, and mournings, as if there had been an utter desolation of the whole world, then after some times of preparations they buried her with great solemnity, and intombed her costly, the State setting up her Statue of brasse, for her courage and love to her Countrey, the Church Deified her a Saint [356:Zz2v] for her vertue and piety: and the Clergy raised Altars, where all the Kingdom twice a year did offer unto her solemn Sacrifices thereon: And the Poets built severall Piramides of praise of her beauty, wit, vertue, and sweet graces, which Pirimides reacht to Fames highest Tower, and the Historians writ her life and death in golden letters, and recorded them in Fames brasen<sup>439</sup> Tower, that all the world might know and follow the example of her heroick spirit, generous soul, chast body, pious life and voluntary death.

---

<sup>439</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'Brazen', p. 706.

*Heavens Library, which is Fames Palace  
purged from Errors and Vices.*

*Jove* and some of the other Gods, being set in Councell; *Pallas* being one, rose up and bow'd to *Jove*, and thus spake; Great *Jove*, said she, I ought in duty and love to inform you, not only of the Vices and Errors, which are numerous in the world, which in time may bring it to confusion, but those Errors and Vices are crept into your great Library, Fames Palace, and if order be not taken to destroy them, they will devour all your best and noblest Records; *Jove* answers that vices were as Serpents, and Errors as Wormes, bred in the bowells of Nature, of which she could never be cured, for the Gods had no Medicine strong enough to purge them out, and by reason they were from all Eternity, they could not be destroyed, for if any thing could be destroyed that is from all Eternity; then we our selves might be destroy'd, but said *Jove*, we can cast them out of our own Mansions, though we cannot cast them out of Natures Bowels; also we can hinder them from coming in, wherefore Fame is to be reprov'd for suffering the Library to be so foul and full of filthy Vermin; whereupon, *Mercury* was sent to call Fame to appeare, before *Jove* and his Councell; so when Fame came, *Jove* told her, that Gods and Goddesses ought to be just and upright, and to have their Palaces pure, and full of Truth, which, said he, you nor your Palace hath not been, for you are Partiall and your Court full of faction, and my Library your Palace, foul and full of wormy errors, which if it had been kept pure and clean, they would never have enterd, or if they had enterd, you might have caused them to have been swept out by Old Father Time: Fame answered<sup>440</sup> that it was not her fault, for *Mars*, *Venus* and *Fortune*, had sent them in, and it is not for me to oppose so great a God as *Mars*, or so great a Goddess as *Venus*, or to sit as Judge to determin what was best to be flung out, or what to be placed therein, for none is fit to judge those causes but you great *Jove* and your

---

<sup>440</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A print note in the left margin reads: "Thus fame answerd for her self", p. 357.

Councill; *Jove* approving what Fame said, told his Councill, that after they had taken some repast, they would sit in Councill [357:Zz3r] again, and their only business should be to purge and cleanse their Library: so after they had feasted with *Ambrosia*<sup>441</sup> and *Nectar*, they returned to Councill, where they did first decree.

That all those Records as were to be cast forth, should be heapt up together, and then they would Decree their disposalls: after that they did Decree; That all those Records that were of Usurpers, and Invaders should be cast forth;

Next, that all Fabulous and Profitless Records, should be cast forth.

Thirdly, all wanton and Amorous Records.

Fourthly, all Records of useless Laws, and Inhumane Sacrifices.

Fiftly, all Records of Tedious speeches, or vain or factious Oratory.

Sixtly, all obstructive controversy, as being destructive to Truth, should be cast out, also tedious Disputes, and Sophistry; but *Mars*, *Cupid* and *Mercury* opposed it, as much as they could, saying,

That if all these Records should be cast forth, the famous Library would be very empty;

*Jove* said, it was an infamous Library whilst they were kept therein, and that no Records ought to be in *Fames* Library, but of such Acts as supprest vice, and advanc't vertue, and profitable for the life of Man, and those of necessary inventions, but chiefly those that glorified the Gods, and sung their prayes, declaring their Power, Wisdom, Justice and Love; whose Authors ought to have their memory recorded to everlasting Time: as for the works of Naturall Poets, said *Jove*, the fates have decreed them severall places in the Library, wherefore it is not in our power to remove them, but those that are like false coyne, that have only got by unjust means, the stampe of the true figure, and not

---

<sup>441</sup>*Ambrosia*] food of the gods (*OED* n. 1 a).

the worth of the Metal, such as are dross or basely mixt not not<sup>442</sup> pure and perfect pieces, we shall find out by their triall:<sup>443</sup>

After they had decreed the Generallities; they sate in Councell on the Particularities, as which were unworthy to be kept, or worthy to be cast out, first, they began with Morall and Naturall Phylosophers, Physitians and Chimists; where *Jove* said, all but some few ought to be cast forth, for to what purpose should we stuffe the Library with the repetitions & false Commentaries; of which all Modern Records are for the most part but repetitions of the old, the alteration only in language:

As for the Phylosophers, the first shall be *Plato*, his works shall be kept, all but his Commonwealth, and that shall be put out by reason it was so strict, it could never be put in use, nor come into practice; the rest *Pythagoras*, *Epicurus*, *Socrates*, and *Aristotle*: as for Phisicians only *Hippocrates*, and *Galen*, and *Paracelsus*<sup>444</sup> for his Medicins, and *Ramund Lully*<sup>445</sup> for the Philosophers stone, for although their Records be lost in the Rubbish of the Library, yet old father *Time* shall be imployed to find them out, and [358:Zz3v] other Record's that are buried in the dust, which is worthy of perspicuous<sup>446</sup> places; also *Aristotle's* Logick and Rhetorick was kept, and for Grammar *Lilly*: the next they came to consider, were Mathematicall Records, whereof none was to be kept, but *Archimedes* and *Euclid*,<sup>447</sup> as for the Records of invention, all that are either necessary, profitable, or pleasant shall be

---

<sup>442</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): The repeated 'not' probably a printing error.

<sup>443</sup>For this piece Cavendish probably took her inspiration from *The Republic by Plato*. In book III, the philosophers determine that Homer and other dramatic poets must be banished because they are imitators. Cavendish allows Plato's work to remain in her library despite the fact that he banished a poet she admired.

<sup>444</sup>Cavendish's health problems brought her into contact with eminent medical practitioners of the day. In 1645, while she was in Paris, she became very ill; a 'purging flux' . . . brought her close to death'. Her doctor, William Davison, prescribed laudanum . . . a drug 'invented by the controversial Swiss physician and alchemist Paracelsus' (Whitaker, p. 60).

<sup>445</sup>Raymond Lully (1232–1316) philosopher and logician

<sup>446</sup>*perspicuous*] conspicuous or distinguished (*OED* adj. 2 a).

<sup>447</sup>Interestingly, despite her rejection of Aristotle's natural philosophy, Cavendish believes his work on rhetoric should be retained. Micha Lazarus explains that '[t]he Rhetoric was known throughout the Middle Ages and was often prescribed for university courses, but by the Renaissance it was decidedly less influential than the rhetorical works of Cicero and Quintilian' ('Aristotelian Criticism in Sixteenth-Century England' (2016), *Oxford Handbooks Online*).

inrolled; but all such invention as is hurtfull, distrustfull, obstructfull, vaine and uselesse shall be cast forth.

Then said one of the Gods, *Archimedes* must be cast out, for he invented many Engins of War:<sup>448</sup> 'tis true, said *Jove*, but by reason it was in the defence of the City he lived in, and was a native thereof, he shall be spared: the next were Astronomers, whereof four were kept, as *Copernicus*, *Tycobrach*,<sup>449</sup> *Ptolemy* & *Galleleo*; the next sort shall be Orators, and Law-makers; as for Law-makers, there were *Moses*, *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*<sup>450</sup> kept; for Orators onely *Thucydides*, and *Demosthenes*, as for *Tully*, he was a vaine boasting fellow, and *Seneca* a meere Pedant, and a dissembling pretending Philosopher, and therefore they shall out; for Politicks only *Achitophell*<sup>451</sup> and *Machiavell*; then they came to Heroick Records, *Jove* said, that all the Records, that were of the actions of those they call the *Heroes*, most of them ought to be cast out, being violators of Peace, and destroyers of Righteous Laws and Divine Ceremony, Prophaners of our Temples, breaking down our Altars and Images, Robbing us of our Treasures, therein to maintain their ill gotten power, or to get that power they have no right to, having no Justice but strength to make their Titles good, besides they are the greatest troublers of Mankinde, Robbers and Theeves, disposing the right of antient Possessions, and defacing the Truth of antient times; with that *Mars* rose, and bowing to *Jove*, said, may it please your great Godhead; there are your Priests that have made it good by divine Laws, and many Lawyers that justify it by the Laws of every Kingdom, and by the Laws of Nations, and will you cast down that which your Priests and Lawyers preach and plead up: with that *Pallas* rose up and spoke;

---

<sup>448</sup>Archimedes (c. 287 BC- 212 BC) – the brilliant mathematician who invented a number of machines, including claws that lifted ships and machines that fired wooden missiles. His inventions were used to defend Syracuse, Sicily, his home, during the Roman siege (Hornblower and Spawforth). He is celebrated for saying that ‘with a lever long enough and a point to stand upon he could move the world’ (*OED*).

<sup>449</sup>*NP* 1671 (*Wing* N856): ‘Tychobrace’, p. 711. Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) – a Danish astronomer.

<sup>450</sup>Lycurgus (800 BC -730 BC) – a Spartan lawmaker. Solon (c. 640 B– c. 560 BC), an Athenian politician who created legislation that shifted power away from the aristocrats and devised a new, more humane, law code (Hornblower and Spawforth).

<sup>451</sup>Ahitophel – Counselor to King David. See 1 Chronicles 27:33.

Great *Jove*, said she, wisdom knows, that force makes the gown stoop,<sup>452</sup> and *Mercury* knows, that Orators tongues, are as often brib'd for feare as reward, and those two professions plead always for the stronger side, and falsifies your Text alwais for interest, and turnes right to wrong, and makes the Text and Laws, as a nose of wax,<sup>453</sup> which will take any Print, or els, how should such various disputes arise in that we hold sacred as Divinity, and every cause disputed *Pro* and *Con*, in all Courts by opposite Counsell, wherefore all-seeing *Jove*, your power will Rectifie it, and it will be Justice to throw them out, wherefore let all the Records of all those of the Heroick acts and Heroes both of Greeks and Romans, that were Invaders or Usurpers, with their Heroes, as *Alexander*, *Hanniball*, *Scipio*, *Caesar*,<sup>454</sup> and all the rest, and all other Records and Heroes, of what Nation soever, which is of that injurious, turbulent, ambitious and vain-glorious Nature, whereof [359:Zz4r] there be thousands which ought to be cast into Hells Dungeon, the place of infamie, there let their actions be recorded, and not usurpe Heavens great and glorious Library, as they did Earths; then said *Mars*, you must cast all the Heroick actions, and worthies in *Homers* works into that Dungeon: that must not be said *Jove*, for Homer was Heaven Chronologer, and the Records of the Gods of Heaven, must not be cast into Hell; besides, there was a just pretence for that warre, for the Grecians had received a palpable injury, and the Trojans did but defend themselves, and though the injury done, and the wrong received, were but by two single men, and the quarrell, but for a light<sup>455</sup> inconstant woman, yet it was a riot, and the more faulty and lesse pardonable, because it was a riot of our deputies on Earth, for Kings are Gods Deputies and Vicegerents, and therefore sacred,

---

<sup>452</sup>*makes the gown stoop*] causes legal professionals to engage in illegal or undignified actions.

<sup>453</sup>*Nose of wax*] a thing easily turned or moulded (*OED* n. II 9).

<sup>454</sup>Alexander the Great (356 BC–323 BCE) overthrew the Persian Empire and most of the known world of his day; Hannibal (c. 247 BC–c. 183 BC) led his troops and team of elephants across Southern Europe winning dramatic victories in Italy until he was forced to return to Carthage where he was defeated by the Roman general Scipio; Julius Caesar (c. 100 BC–44 BC) had conquests in present-day France and Egypt, and defeated various opponents in Greece, Northern Africa, and Hispania.

<sup>455</sup>*ligh*] of small account (*OED* adj.<sup>1</sup> III 13 c).

and ought not to be injured,<sup>456</sup> but when they are, their injurers are to be severely punished, and Heaven forbid we should be so unjust, to cast out all Heroick action, and warring Heroes; no, we cast out onely those that make warre unjustly, vain-gloriously or covetously;

Then *Mars* askt if *Tamburlaine*<sup>457</sup> should be cast out?

*Jove* said yes, for he had no right to the Turks Empire:

Then he askt if *Scanderbeg*<sup>458</sup> should be thrown out?

*Jove* said no, for it is lawfull for any to get their own, and to maintain their right by what force soever, and that *Scanderbeg* had reason to fight for, and to maintain by force his own inheritance.

Then he asked if the Records of the Jewes Heroes, and their Heroick actions in the land of *Canaan*<sup>459</sup> should be cast out?

*Jove* said no, for that Land was given them by the Gods:

Then they came to Romances, where *Jove* said, all Romances should be cast out but *Don Quixot*, by reason he hath so wittily abused all other Romances, wherefore he shall be kept, and also have his Books writ in golden letters.

Then *Cupid* spoke in their behalf, and intreated *Jove*, that they might not be cast out, for, said *Cupid*, Romances work as great effects upon the hearts of Mortalls, as my Arrows tipt with gold doth, besides they are my Mother *Venus* Looking- Glasses.

*Jove* said, they did corrupt Mortalls thoughts, and made them neglect their divine Worship, causing them to spend their time, vainly, idly and sinfully:

Then *Cupid* desired *Jove*, but to spare *Amadis de Gaule*: but *Jove* said, that should be the first that should be cast out, by reason it was the originall of all the rest: Likewise, said

---

<sup>456</sup>The relatively recent beheading of Charles I (January 30, 1649) may be the inspiration for these comments.

<sup>457</sup>Christopher Marlowe's play *Tamburlaine the Great* chronicles the violent excesses of Timur, a 14th-century Mongol conqueror, as he rises to power.

<sup>458</sup>Scanderbeg (1405-1468) - Albanian nobleman who led a successful revolt against the Turks, 1443-68, and who was renowned for his daring military strategy (*OED* n.).

<sup>459</sup>The biblical Book of Exodus recounts the story of Moses leading the Israelites out of slavery in Egypt to the promised land of Canaan (see Gen 12:7).

*Jove*, all Fables shall be cast out, but *Esop's Fables*, which profit mankinde by his Moralls, also *Lucian* and *Rablas* shall be kept, both for their huge wit and judgment, rectifying Schollars understandings; and though some that are spitefull at their wit, calls them scoffers, yet they are not so, but teachers of truth in a pleasant style, and those that say they are Prophaners, judge presum- [360:Zz4v] ptuously, and maliciously on them: at this sentence *Mercury* joyed.

At last, they came to Judge of Poets, where *Homer*, *Pindar*, and *Anacrion*,<sup>460</sup> were preferr'd as the three first;

Then one of the Gods named *Virgil* as the fourth; *Jove* said, it was a question whether *Virgil* was a true Naturall Poet or not? by reason he was rather an imitator of *Homer*, than of Nature, and his praise was more for his Language, than either for fancy, or Naturall description, wherefore, said *Jove*, he might be questioned for a true born Naturall Poet; and since it may be doubted he is of a Bastard kinde, I will prefer *Horace* before him, who certainly is a true begotten Poeticall son of Nature: said another of the Gods, I should judge *Ovid* to be plac't before either of them both, for the sweetness of his verse & fineness of his fancy, the curious intermixing and the subtile interweaving of his severall discourses, Theams, Arguments, or Trasmigrations;<sup>461</sup> *Jove* said for his part he was no friend to *Ovid*, for divulging his severall Amours, and if it were in my power, said *Jove*, to alter the Decrees of fate, I would cast him forth, but by reason he is a right Naturall Poet, I cannot, but yet I can place him in heavens Library as I will, and therefore, he shall not be before, neither *Horace* nor *Virgil*, but he shall stand in the sixth place, in the seventh place shall stand *Martiall*;

Said *Cupid*, your God-head hath forgotten *Tibullus* and his son;

No, said *Jove*, they ought to be put out, because their verses were wanton;

---

<sup>460</sup>Pindar (c. 522 – c. 443 BC) and Anacrión (c. 582 – c. 485 BC) - Both ancient Greek lyric poets.

<sup>461</sup>*Trasmigrations*] Transmigrations.



Said *Cupid*, your God-head cannot put them out, because they are Naturall Poets.

Then let them said *Jove*, be placed in some out-corner of the Library; at which sentence *Cupid* frown'd, knowing his Mother *Venus* would grieve to have them disrespected; then was placed, the Comedian *Terence*, and *Plautus*, and the Tragedian\*<sup>462</sup> *Seneca*; and after they had given their Judgments of all the antient Poets, which were more than could be numberd in this place, they tryed the Moderns, whereof they could not find one true Naturall Poet, not amongst five hundred, for though there is an infinite company of them, yet hardly one true one amongst them all, for most of the moderns have been like a company of Ravens, that live upon dead carcasses, so they upon old Authors, and some have been like Maggots, that have been bred in their dead flesh, which is the living works of dead Authors; and some like Hornetts, and some like Bees, but very few rightly begotten from Nature, indeed so few as I am loath to set them down, so most of the Moderns were cast out; then after they had divided the Records as what to be put out, and what to be kept in, there rose a great dispute amongst the Gods, how those that were cast out should be disposed off, at last *Jove* decided the case, those that were wicked mischievous and base, should be put into hell, and those that were idle, vain, useless and foolish, should be drown'd in the river of *Stix*, but they were forc't to make new Boats to waft some to hell, and [361:*Aaa1r*] to drown others in the river, for there was such an infinite company, that *Charon* had not leisure, neither could one Boat serve their turn: but then there rose another dispute about those that go to Hell, for, said some of the Gods, the records must not be in Paper, nor Parchment, nor in Metall, nor Stone, by reason there is a Continuall and Eternall fire in Hell, which will burn the one and melt and moulder away the other, whereupon *Jove* orderd, that those that were to go into Hell should be recorded in *Salamander-stone*,<sup>463</sup> on which the fire hath no force: for the more it is burnt, the more it is

---

<sup>462</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): The asterisk directs readers to a printed marginal note which states: \*Not the Phylosopher, p. 361. Probably Seneca the elder.

<sup>463</sup>*Salamander-stone*] an incombustible mineral (*OED* C2). See also amiant(h)us (n. 1).

purified. After they had decreed this; all the Records of Tyrants, Usurpers, Invaders, Murderers, Theeves, Ravishers, Extortioners, Detractors, Licentious Mutiners, Factious, Prophane, and Rebellious, Records, with evill inventions were cast into Hell, a roome being provided as a Library, and one of the Furies with a fiery Trumpet sounded out their Reproach; and all those records that were Vain, Uselesse, Idle, Amorous, and Wanton, with all those that were Sophisterious,<sup>464</sup> Tedious, Obscure, Pedanticall, and those that were only Repetitions and false Commentaries, also those of useless Inventions, and those that were meere Rimers; were cast into the River of *Stix*, and so drown'd in oblivion.

[362:Aaa1v]

*The Eleventh Book.*

*An Epistle.*<sup>465</sup>

I Have heard, that some should say my Wit seemed as if it would over-power my Brain, especially when it works upon Philosophical Opinions. I am obliged to them for judging my Wit stronger than my Brain: but I should be sorry they should think my Wit stronger than my Reason: but I must tell them, that my Brain is stronger than my Wit, and that my Reason is as strong as the Effeminate Sex requires.

Again, I have heard some should say, that my Writings are none of my own, because when some have visited me, though seldome I receive visits, they have not heard me speak of them, or repeat some of the Chapters or Verses: but I believe, if they should desire the best Orator to repeat his Orations or Sermons that he hath spoke *ex tempore*, he shall not do it, although but an hours discourse: for I believe, Tully, who I have heard was an eloquent Orator, yet could not repeat them over to his Auditory. The same is in Writers;

---

<sup>464</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856): 'Sophisterious' is deleted and the phrase 'full of Sophistry' is added, p. 718.

<sup>465</sup>NP 1671 (*Wing* N856) ends with 'Heavens Library'. This epistle, along with the autobiography, the epistle to be placed before 'she Anchoret', the poem which was 'to be placed next "The Tale of the Philosopher"', 'The two idle Gentlemen', 'The Lady Incognito', and 'A Complaint' do not appear in the 1671 edition.

for I do believe, *Homer*, as great and excellent Poet, as it is said he was, could not repeat his Poems by heart; nor *Virgil*, nor *Ovid*, or any other, nor *Euclid* repeat his [363:Aaa2r] Demonstrations, Numerations, and the like, without book; nor *Aristotle*, who, I have heard, was a great Philosopher, the explanations of his Opinions by heart; for I have heard that his memory failed in his writing, for that he hath sometimes contradicted himself: and my Lord, who hath written hundreds of Verses, Songs, and Theams, could not repeat three by heart; and I have heard him say, that after he hath writ them, he doth so little remember any part in them, that when they have lain a short time by, and then read them over, they are new to him: But he is not so forgetfull of other things, for he hath an extraordinary memory for received curtesies, or to do any timely good or services, not onely to Friends, but to Strangers. Also, he hath an excellent memory concerning the general Actions of and in the World; but certainly they that remember their own Wit least, have the most of it; for there is an old saying, and surely true, that the best Wits have the worst Memory, I mean, Wit-memory; for great Memories are like standing Ponds that are made with Rain; so that Memory is nothing but the showers of other mens Wits; and those Brains are muddy that have not running Springs of their own, that issue out still fresh and new. Indeed it's against Nature, for Natural Wits to remember; for it is impossible the Brain should retain and create; and we see in Nature, Death makes way for life; for if there were no Death, there would be no new Life, or Lives.

But say I were so witless I could repeat some of my Works, I do think it would seem self-conceitedness to mention them: but since that report, I have spoken more of them than otherwise I should have done, though truly I condemn my self; for it is an indiscretion, although I was forced to that indiscretion, and I repent it, both for the disfiguring of my Works, by pulling out a piece here, and a piece there, according as my memory could catch hold: Also, for troubling, or rather vexing the hearers with such discourses they delight not in.

Besides, it hath been a long and a true observation, [364:Aaa2v] that every one had rather speak than listen to what another sayes; insomuch as for the most part all Mankinde run from company to company, not to learn, but to talk, and like Bells, their Tongues as the Clappers keep a jangling noyse all at once, without method or distinction.

But I hope my indiscretion in speaking of my Works to my hearers is not beyond a pardon, for I have not spoke of them, nor parts in them, much, nor often, nor to many, but to some particularly, as those I thought did understand Poetry, or Natural Philosophy, or Moral Philosophy, though I fear not alwayes according as their capacities lay; for I have observed, some understand Commonwealths, Customes, Lawes, or the like; others, the distinguishments of Passions, and understand nothing of Law; others, Divinity, that understand nothing of Temporal Government, and so the like of many several studies; and some may have a rational capacity to most Sciences, yet conceive nothing of Natural Philosophy, as if the first Matter, or innated Matter, or Motions, or Figures, or Forms, or Infinites, or Spirits, or Essences, or the like; nay, for the most part they conceive little further than an Almanack to know the time by, of which I am ignorant, for I understand it not. And for Poetry, most laugh at it as a ridiculous thing, especially grave Statists, severe Moralists, zealous Priesthood, wrangling Lawyers, covetous Hourders, or Purloiners, or those that have mechanick natures, and many more, which for the most part account Poetry a toy, and condemn it for a vanity, an idle imployment; nor have they so much phancy of their own, as to conceive the Poetical phancies of others; for if they did, they must needs love Poetry; for Poetry is so powerfull, and hath such an attractive beauty, that those that can but view her perfectly, could not but be enamoured, her charms do so force affection. But surely those that delight not in Poetry or Musick, have no divine souls, nor harmonious thoughts.

But by those weak observations I have made, I per- [365:Aaa3r]ceive, that as most men have particular understandings, capacities, or ingenuities, and not a general; so in their

discourses, some can speak eloquently, and not learnedly; others learnedly, and not eloquently; some wittily, and neither learned nor eloquent; and some will speak neither learnedly, eloquently, wittily, or rationally. Likewise, some can speak well, but 'tis but for a time, some a longer, and some a shorter time, like several sized Candles, are longer or shorter ere they come to a snuff; where sometimes some objects or conceits, unexpected objections or questions, or the like, do prove as a small Coal got into the Tallow of their Wit, which makes it bleer<sup>466</sup> out sooner than otherwise it would do.

Also, some will speak wisely upon some subjects, and foolishly upon others.

Likewise, some will speak well as it were by chance; others in one discourse speak mixtly, now rational, then nonsensly, at least weakly or obstructedly. But they are great Masters of speech that speak clearly, as I may say, untangled, which can winde their words from off their tongue without a snarl or knot, and can keep even sense, like an even thread, or can work that thread of sense into a flourishing discourse; and they have a quick Wit that can play with, or on any subject, which doubtless some can do of those things they never heard, saw, or thought on, but just when they speak of it. And some have great capacities, as may be perceived in their discourse: but yet their speech is like those that are lame, which limp and halt, although the ground whereon they go is even, smooth, and firm. But some have such large capacities, elevated phancies, illuminated souls, and volubility of speech, that they can conceive, create, enlighten, and deliver with that abundance, curiosity, facility, and pleasure, as their conversible company is a Heaven, where all worldly delights reside.

But to return to the ground of this Epistle. I desire all my Readers and Acquaintance to believe, though [366:Aaa3v] my words run stumbling out of my mouth, and my pen draws roughly on my paper, yet my thoughts move regular in my Brain, for

---

<sup>466</sup>bleer] become dim.

the several tracks or paths that Contemplation hath made on my Brain; which paths or tracks are the several wayes my thoughts move in, are much smoother than the tongue in my mouth, from whence words flow, or the paper on which my pen writes; for I have not spoke so much as I have writ, nor writ so much as I have thought; for I must tell my Readers, that Nature, which is the best and curiosest Worker, hath paved my Brain smoother than Custome hath oiled my Tongue, or Variety hath polished my Senses, or Art hath beaten the paper whereon I write; for my phancy is quicker than the pen with which I write, insomuch as it is many times lost through the slowness of my hand, and yet I write so fast, as I stay not so long as to make perfect letters.

But if they will not believe my Books are my own, let them search the Author or Authoress: but I am very confident that they will do like *Drake*,<sup>467</sup> who went so far about, untill he came to the place he first set out at. But for the sake of after-Ages, which I hope will be more just to me than the present, I will write the true Relation of my Birth, Breeding, and to this part of my Life, not regarding carping Tongues, or malicious Censurers, for I despise them. [367:Aaa4r]

*Margaret Newcastle.*

*A true Relation of my Birth, Breeding, and Life.*

**M**Y Father<sup>468</sup> was a Gentleman, which Title is grounded and given by Merit, not by Princes; and 'tis the act of Time, not Favour: and though my Father was not a Peer of the Realm, yet there were few Peers who had much greater Estates,<sup>469</sup> or lived

---

<sup>467</sup>Sir Francis Drake (1540–1596), an explorer, pirate, and sea captain who successfully voyaged around the world in three years, returned to England carrying great treasure, most of which belonged to the Spanish (Harry Kelsey, 'Drake, Sir Francis (1540–1596)', *DNB*). As Lisa Sarasohn points out, Drake's voyage around the earth must have sparked Cavendish's imagination. In *PF*, she envisions Drake as an 'interstellar explorer' (*Natural Philosophy*, p. 73).

<sup>468</sup>Thomas Lucas (II) (c. 1573–1625). For more on Cavendish's father, see Grant, *Margaret*, pp. 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 219; and Whitaker, pp. 7–10, 11, 12.

<sup>469</sup>In 1548, Margaret's great grandfather, John Lucas, purchased St John's Abbey, located outside Colchester. 'The purchase included over 200 acres of farmland, woods, and marshes, two dovecotes, three orchards, twenty gardens and some town houses in Colchester'. Margaret's grandfather, Thomas Lucas,

more noble therewith: yet at that time great Titles were to be sold,<sup>470</sup> and not at so high rates, but that his Estate might have easily purchased, and was prest for to take; but my Father did not esteem Titles, unless they were gained by Heroick Actions; and the Kingdome being in a happy Peace with all other Nations, and in it self being governed by a wise King, King *James*, there was no employments for Heroick Spirits; and towards the latter end of Queen *Elizabeths* reign, as soon as he came to Mans estate, he unfortunately fortunately kill'd one Mr. *Brooks*<sup>471</sup> in a single Duel; for my Father by the Laws of Honour could do no less than call him to the Field to question him for an injury he did him, where their Swords were to dispute, and one or both of their lives to decide the argument, wherein my Father had the better;<sup>472</sup> and though my Father by Honour challeng'd him, with Valour fought him, and in Justice kill'd him, yet he suffered more than any Person of Quality usually doth in cases of Honour;<sup>473</sup> for though the Laws be rigorous, yet the present Princes most commonly are gracious in those misfortunes, especially to the injured: but my Father found it not, for his exile was from the time of [368:*Aaa4v*] his misfortunes to Queen *Elizabeths* death;<sup>474</sup> for the Lord *Cobham*<sup>475</sup> being then a great Man with Queen *Elizabeth*, and this Gentleman Mr. *Brooks* a kinde of a Favourite, and as I take it Brother to the then L. *Cobham*, which made Queen *Elizabeth* so severe, not to pardon him: but King *James* of

---

continued to expand the family estate, and by 1611, 'the Lucases were one of the richest families in Essex, with thousands of acres of land' (Whitaker, pp. 5-6).

<sup>470</sup>The selling of titles was a significant source of income for King James. One of William Cavendish's uncles, also called William, paid 10,000 pounds 'to become Earl of Devonshire' (Geoffrey Trease, *Portrait of a Cavalier: William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle* (London: MacMillan, 1979), p. 47).

<sup>471</sup>Grant (p. 30) and Whitaker (p. 7) identify the man whom Lucas killed as Sir William Brooke, the brother of Lord Cobham. Elizabeth Leighton, Lucas's intended, was pregnant, and as Whitaker conjectures, Brooke may have slandered Elizabeth's reputation (p. 7).

<sup>472</sup>On Cavendish's attitude toward dueling, see *JL*, letter LXVIII, pp. 142-145.

<sup>473</sup>Markku Peltonen makes the case for dueling being a 'civilising process, because it decreased the level of violence: a gentleman's honour became private, individual, and he was no longer obliged to continue the old cycles of revenge' (*The Duel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 4).

<sup>474</sup>He was exiled from 1597 to 1603.

<sup>475</sup>Cobham (1564–1619) was later identified as a conspirator in the plot to kidnap and overthrow King James in 1603. He was convicted and committed to the Tower of London.

blessed memory graciously gave him his pardon,<sup>476</sup> and leave to return home to his Native Country, wherein he lived happily, and died peaceably, leaving a Wife and eight Children, three Sons, and five Daughters, I being the youngest Child he had, and an Infant when he died,

As for my breeding, it was according to my Birth, and the Nature of my Sex, for my Birth was not lost in my breeding, for as my Sisters was or had been bred, so was I in Plenty, or rather with superfluity; Likewise we were bred Vertuously, Modestly, Civilly, Honorably, and on honest principles: as for plenty, we had not only, for Necessity, Conveniency, and Decency, but for delight and pleasure to a superfluity; 'tis true, we did not riot,<sup>477</sup> but we lived orderly; for riot, even in Kings Courts, and Princes Palaces, brings ruin without content or pleasure, when order in less fortunes shall live more plentifully and deliciously than Princes, that lives in a Hurlie-Burlie,<sup>478</sup> as I may terme it, in which they are seldom well served, for disorder obstructs; besides, it doth disgust life, distract the appetites, and yield no true relish to the senses, for Pleasure, Delight, Peace and Felicitie live in method, and Temperance.

As for our garments, my Mother did not only delight to see us neat and cleanly, fine and gay, but rich and costly; maintaining us to the heighth of her Estate, but not beyond it; for we were so far from being in debt, before these warrs, as we were rather before hand with the world; buying all with ready money, not on the score,<sup>479</sup> for although after my Fathers death the Estate was divided, between my Mother and her Sonns, paying such a sum of money for Portions to her Daughters, either at the day of their marriage, or when they should come to age, yet by reason she and her children agreed [369:Bbb1r] with a mutuall consent, all their affairs were managed so well, as she lived not in a much lower

---

<sup>476</sup>On 18<sup>th</sup> March 1604, the King issued a warrant to restore the heir of St John's 'to his blood and gentry' (Appleby, p. 18; Whitaker. p. 8).

<sup>477</sup>Riot] To behave in an unrestrained way; to indulge to excess (OED v. I. 2 a).

<sup>478</sup>Hurlie-Burlie] Commotion, turmoil (formally a more serious word) (OED n. a).

<sup>479</sup>Score] on credit (OED n. II 10 b).



condition than when my father lived;<sup>480</sup> 'tis true my, Mother might have increast her daughters Portions by a thrifty sparing, yet she chose to bestow it on our breeding, honest pleasures, and harmless delights, out of an opinion, that if she bred us with needy necessitie, it might chance to create in us, sharking<sup>481</sup> qualities, mean thoughts, and base actions, which she knew my Father, as well as her self did abhor: likewise we were bred tenderly, for my Mother Naturally did strive, to please and delight her children, not to cross or torment them, terrifying them with threats, or lashing them with slavish whips, but instead of threats, reason was used to perswade us, and instead of lashes, the deformities of vices was discovered, and the graces, and vertues were presented unto us,<sup>482</sup> also we were bred with respectfull attendance, every one being severally waited upon, and all her servants in generall used the same respect to her children, (even those that were very young) as they did to her self, for she sufferd not her servants, either to be rude before us, or to domineer over us, which all vulgar servants are apt, and ofttimes which some have leave to do; likewise she never sufferd the vulgar Serving-men, to be in the Nursery amongst the Nurss Maids, lest their rude love-making might do unseemly actions, or speak unhandsome words in the presence of her children, knowing that youth is apt to take infection by ill examples, having not the reason of distinguishing good from bad, neither were we sufferd to have any familiaritie with the vulgar servants, or conversation: yet caused us to demean ourselves with an humble civillity towards them, as they with a dutifull respect to us, not because they were servants were we so reserv'd, for many Noble Persons are forc'd to serve through necessitie, but by reason the vulgar sort of servants, are as ill bred as meanly born, giving children ill examples, and worse counsel.<sup>483</sup>

---

<sup>480</sup>When he was of age and after his father's death, John Lucas, Margaret's oldest legitimate brother, and Elizabeth Lucas, Margaret's mother, managed the family's estates.

<sup>481</sup>*Sharking*] to live by borrowing or imposing on another; to sponge (*OED* adj. 1 a from 'shark' n. 2).

<sup>482</sup>See *SL*, letters LXXV (pp. 155-157) and CLII (pp. 317-318), in which Cavendish expresses her philosophy of child rearing.

<sup>483</sup>In *WO*, Margaret also discusses the harmful effects of exposing children to coarse servants ('Of Marriage', p. 79).

As for tutors, although we had for all sorts of Vertues,<sup>484</sup> as singing, dancing, playing on Musick, [370:Bbb1v] reading, writing, working, and the like, yet we were not kept strictly thereto, they were rather for formalitie than benefit,<sup>485</sup> for my Mother cared not so much for our dancing and fidling, singing and prating of severall languages; as that we should be bred vertuously, modestly, civilly, honorably, and on honest principles.

As for my Brothers, of which I had three, I know not how they were bred, first, they were bred when I was not capable to observe, or before I was born;<sup>486</sup> likewise the breeding of men were after different manner of wayes from those of women: but this I know, that they loved Virtue, endeavour'd Merit, practic'd Justice, and spoke Truth; they were constantly Loyal, and truly Valiant; two of my three Brothers were excellent Souldiers, and Martial Discipliners, being practic'd therein, for though they might have lived upon their own Estates very honourably, yet they rather chose to serve in the Wars under the States of *Holland*,<sup>487</sup> than to live idly at home in Peace, my Brother Sir *Thomas Lucas* there having a Troop of Horse, my brother the youngest Sir *Charls Lucas* serving therein: but he served the States not long, for after he had been at the siege and taking of some Towns, he returned home again; and though he had the less experience, yet he was like to have proved the better Souldier, if better could have been, for naturally he had a practick<sup>488</sup> Genius to the Warlike Arts, or Arts in War, as Natural Poets have to Poety: but his life was cut off before he could arrive to the perfection thereof,<sup>489</sup> yet he writ a Treatise of the Arts in War, but by reason it was in Characters, and the Key thereof lost, we cannot as yet

---

<sup>484</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten note in the margin to the left of 'Vertues' inserts 'virtuous', p. 370. The errata list notes the change but uses a different spelling: 'Virtuosus'.

<sup>485</sup>In *SL*, letter CLXXV, Margaret says that she 'never went to School, but only Learn'd to Read and Write at Home, Taught by an Antient Decayed Gentlewoman' (p. 367).

<sup>486</sup>Thomas (b. 1598) was twenty-five years older than Margaret, John (b. 1606) was seventeen years older, and Charles (b. 1613) was ten years older.

<sup>487</sup>The Thirty Years' War.

<sup>488</sup>*praticke*] practical; having to do with action rather than theory (*OED* adj. I. 3).

<sup>489</sup>On Charles Lucas's life, see Appleby. In 1648, Sir Charles Lucas, a Royalist commander, was executed in Colchester by a Parliamentary firing squad after defending the town from June 12 to August 27 under dire circumstances: 'the lack of supplies, the want of means to treat the wounded, the utter starvation of the mutinous civilians' (Grant, *Margaret the First*, pp. 100-101).

understand any thing therein, at least not so as to divulge it. My other Brother, the Lord *Lucas*,<sup>490</sup> who was Heir to my Fathers Estate, and as it were the Father to take care of us all, is not less Valiant than they were, although his skill in the Discipline of War was not so much, being not bred therein, yet he had more skill in the use of the Sword, and is more learned in other Arts and Sciences than they were, [371:Bbb2r] he being a great Scholar, by reason he is given much to studious contemplation.

Their practice was, when they met together, to exercise themselves with fencing, wrestling, shooting, and such like exercises, for I observed they did seldome hawk or hunt, and very seldome or never dance, or play on Musick, saying it was too effeminate for Masculine Spirits; neither had they skill, or did use to play, for ought I could hear, at Cards or Dice, or the like Games, nor given to any Vice, as I did know, unless to love a Mistris were a crime, not that I knew any they had, but what report did say, and usually reports are false, at least exceed the truth.

As for the pastimes of my Sisters when they were in the Country, it was to reade, work, walk, and discourse with each other; for though two of my three Brothers were married, my Brother the Lord *Lucas* to a virtuous and beautiful Lady, Daughter to Sir *Christopher Nevil*, Son to the Lord *Abergavenny*; and my Brother Sir *Thomas Lucas* to a virtuous Lady of an antient Family, one Sir *John Byron's* Daughter; likewise, three of my four Sisters, one married Sir *Peter Killigrew*,<sup>491</sup> the other Sir *William Walter*, the third Sir *Edmund Pye*, the fourth as yet unmarried, yet most of them lived with my Mother, especially when she was at her Country-house, living most commonly at *London* half the year, which is the Metropolitan City of *England*: but when they were at *London*, they were dispersed into

---

<sup>490</sup>John Lucas.

<sup>491</sup>When Cavendish's father died, her brother John Lucas was not of age to inherit the estate, which meant the management of the estate could have fallen under the Court of Wards. Elizabeth Lucas forestalled this eventuality by quickly acting on the Secretary of State's recommendation of Peter Killigrew as a husband for Mary, the Lucas's oldest daughter. The marriage was one desired by Charles I, and Elizabeth agreed to the arrangement on the condition that she be named John's guardian (Grant, *Margaret*, pp. 33-34 and Whitaker 11-13).

several Houses of their own, yet for the most part they met every day, feasting each other like *Job's* Children.<sup>492</sup> But this unnatural War came like a Whirlwind, which fell'd down their Houses, where some in the Wars were crusht to death, as my youngest Brother Sir *Charls Lucas*, and my Brother Sir *Thomas Lucas*; and though my Brother Sir *Thomas Lucas* died not immediatly of his Wounds, yet a Wound he received on his head in *Ireland* shortned his life.<sup>493</sup>

But to rehearse<sup>494</sup> their Recreations. Their customes were in Winter time to go sometimes to Plays, or to [372:Bbb2v] ride in their Coaches about the Streets to see the concourse and recourse of People; and in the Spring time to visit the Spring-garden,<sup>495</sup> Hide-park, and the like places; and sometimes they would have Musick, and sup in Barges upon the Water; these harmless recreations they would pass their time away with; for I observed, they did seldome make Visits, nor never went abroad with Strangers in their Company, but onely themselves in a Flock together agreeing so well, that there seemed but one Minde amongst them: And not onely my own Brothers and Sisters agreed so, but my Brothers and Sisters in Law, and their Children, although but young, had the like agreeable natures, and affectionable dispositions; for to my best remembrance I do not know that ever they did fall out, or had any angry or unkind disputes. Likewise, I did observe, that my Sisters were so far from mingling themselves with any other Company, that they had

---

<sup>492</sup>See Job 1:4: 'And his sonnes went and feasted in their houses, every one his day, and sent and called for their three sisters, to eat and to drinke with them'; and Job 1:13: 'And there was a day, when his sonnes and his daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house' (*King James Bible*, 1611). The verse continues to recount the wind's destruction of the house and the young men within. Gweno Williams points out that the 'reference to Job would have been unequivocally symbolic of loss, destruction and despair in this period', suggesting that Cavendish's intent was to show the parallels between the biblical narrative and the effect of the war on her brothers ('Margaret Cavendish, A True Relation, *A Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. by Anita Pacheco (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 171-172.

<sup>493</sup>In February [1640] he [Thomas Lucas] was appointed commissary-general of horse in Ireland. . . . He commanded a regiment in Yorkshire in July 1640, but the main theatre of his service to the king was in Ireland. He was present at the battle of Kilrush on 15 April 1642 and was badly wounded at Ross on 18 March 1643. He was a member of the Irish privy council, and participated in negotiations for the cessation of 1643 and the treaty of 1646' (Donagan, *DNB*).

<sup>494</sup>*rehearse*] describe or give an account of (*OED* v. I. 1 a).

<sup>495</sup>See 'Spring Gardens', *Survey of London: St Martin-in-the-Fields, pt III: Trafalgar Square & Neighbourhood*, vol. 20, ed. by Sir George Gater (London: London County Council, 1940), pp. 58-65.

no familiar conversation or intimate acquaintance with the Families to which each other were linkt to by Marriage, the Family of the one being as great Strangers to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, as the Family of the other.

But sometime after this War began, I knew not how they lived; for though most of them were in *Oxford*,<sup>496</sup> wherein the King was, yet after the Queen went from *Oxford*,<sup>497</sup> and so out of *England*, I was parted from them; for when the Queen was in *Oxford*, I had a great desire to be one of her Maids of Honour, hearing the Queen had not the same number she was used to have, whereupon I wooed and won my Mother to let me go, for my Mother being fond of all her Children, was desirous to please them, which made her consent to my request: But my Brothers and Sisters seem'd not very well pleas'd, by reason I had never been from home, nor seldome out of their sight; for though they knew I would not behave my self to their, or my own dishonour, yet they thought I might to my disadvantage, being unexperienced in the World, which indeed I did, for I was so bashfull when I was out of my Mothers, Brothers, [373:Bbb3r] and Sisters sight, whose presence used to give me confidence, thinking I could not do amiss whil'st any one of them were by, for I knew they would gently reform me if I did; besides, I was ambitious they should approve of my actions and behaviour, that when I was gone from them I was like one that had no Foundation to stand, or Guide to direct me, which made me afraid, lest I should wander with Ignorance out of the waies of Honour, so that I knew not how to behave my self. Besides, I had heard the World was apt to lay aspersions even on the innocent, for which I durst neither look up with my eyes, nor speak, nor be any way sociable, insomuch as I was thought a Natural Fool, indeed I had not much Wit, yet I was not an Idiot, my Wit was according to my years; and though I might have learnt more Wit, and advanced

---

<sup>496</sup>Following the Battle of Edgehill on 23 October 1642, many royalists gathered in Oxford, among them Cavendish's sisters and their husbands (Grant, p. 53).

<sup>497</sup>With the threat of a Parliamentary siege, the queen fled Oxford on 17 April 1644 and arrived in Paris 5 November 1644 (Whitaker, pp. 56-58).

my Understanding by living in a Court, yet being dull, fearfull, and bashfull, I neither heeded what was said or practic'd, but just what belong'd to my loyal duty, and my own honest reputation; and indeed I was so afraid to dishonour my Friends and Family by my indiscreet actions, that I rather chose to be accounted a Fool, than to be thought rude or wanton; in truth my bashfulness and fears made me repent my going from home to see the World abroad, and much I did desire to return to my Mother again, or to my Sister *Pye*, with whom I often lived when she was in *London*, and loved with a supernatural affection: but my Mother advised me there to stay, although I put her to more charges<sup>498</sup> than if she had kept me at home, and the more, by reason she and my Brothers were sequestred<sup>499</sup> from their Estates, and plundered of all their Goods, yet she maintained me so, that I was in a condition rather to lend than to borrow, which Courtiers usually are not, being always necessitated by reason of great expences Courts put them to: But my Mother said, it would be a disgrace for me to return out of the Court so soon after I was placed; so I continued almost two years, untill such time as I was married from thence; for my Lord the Marquis of *Newcastle* did ap- [374:Bbb3v] prove of those bashfull fears which many condemn'd, and would choose such a Wife as he might bring to his own humours, and not such an one as was wedded to self conceit, or one that had been temper'd to the humours of another, for which he wooed me for his Wife; and though I did dread Marriage, and shunn'd Mens companies, as much as I could, yet I could not, nor had not the power to refuse him, by reason my Affections were fix'd on him, and he was the onely Person I ever was in love with: Neither was I ashamed to own it, but gloried therein, for it was not Amorous Love,

---

<sup>498</sup>*Charges*] Expenses (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> II. 10 c).

<sup>499</sup>*Sequester*] To confiscate or take possession of (*OED* v. 2). Charles Lucas, Cavendish's youngest brother, had an 'estate in Horsey, Essex, and apparently property in Suffolk' (Barbara Donagan, 'Lucas, Sir Charles (1612/13–1648)', *DNB*). The eldest brother, Thomas Lucas, had the estate and manor at Lexden, Essex, which his father bought for him in 1612 and left to him in his will, written two days before his death in September 1625 (Barbara Donagan, 'Lucas, Sir Thomas (1597/8–1648/9)', *DNB*; Grant, p. 32). John Lucas inherited '600 acres and extensive woods within the liberties of Colchester' (John Walter, *Understanding Popular Violence in the English Revolution: The Colchester Plunderers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), n. 73, p. 99).

I never was infected therewith, it is a Disease, or a Passion, or both, I onely know by relation, not by experience; neither could Title, Wealth, Power or Person entice me to love; but my Love was honest and honourable, being placed upon Merit, which Affection joy'd at the fame of his Worth, pleas'd with delight in his Wit, proud of the respects he used to me, and triumphing in the affections he profest for me, which affections he hath confirmed to me by a deed of time, seal'd by constancy, and assigned by an unalterable decree of his promise, which makes me happy in despite of Fortunes frowns; for though Misfortunes may and do oft dissolve base, wilde, loose, and ungrounded affections, yet she hath no power of those that are united either by Merit, Justice, Gratitude, Duty, Fidelity, or the like; and though my Lord hath lost his Estate,<sup>500</sup> and banish'd out of his Country for his Loyalty to his King and Country,<sup>501</sup> yet neither despised Poverty, nor pinching Necessity could make him break the Bonds of Friendship, or weaken his Loyal Duty to his King or Country.

But not onely the Family I am linkt to is ruin'd, but the Family from which I sprung, by these unhappy Wars, which ruine my Mother lived to see, and then died, having lived a Widow many years, for she never forgot my Father so as to marry again; indeed he remain'd so lively in her memory, and her grief was so lasting, as she never mention'd his name, though she [375:Bbb4r] spoke often of him, but love and grief caused tears to flow, and tender sighs to rise, mourning in sad complaints;<sup>502</sup> she made her house her Cloyster, inclosing her self, as it were therein, for she seldom went abroad, unless to Church, but these unhappy Warrs forc't her out, by reason she and her children were loyall to the King; for which they plundered her, and my Brothers of all their Goods, Plate, Jewells, Money,

---

<sup>500</sup>William's estate included Welbeck Abbey, Bolsover Castle, Nottingham Castle, and Nottingham Park. For an in depth discussion of William's household and holdings, see Lucy Worsley, *Cavalier: A Tale of Chivalry, Passion, and Great Houses* (New York: Bloombury, 2007).

<sup>501</sup>On William's service to the king and his military qualities, see Trease; and Margaret Cavendish (Margaret Newcastle), *Life*.

<sup>502</sup>Margaret wrote several poems in which she appears to commemorate her mother. See *PF*, 'A Register of Mournful Verses' (London: 1653), *Wing* N869, pp. 193-197, especially 'An Elegy on a Widow', p. 194.

Corn, Cattle, and the like, cut down their Woods, pull'd down their Houses, and sequestred them from their Lands and Livings;<sup>503</sup> but in such misfortunes my Mother was of an Heroick Spirit, in suffering patiently where there is no remedy, or to be industrious where she thought she could help; She was of a grave Behaviour, and had such a Majestick Grandeur, as it were continually hung about her, that it would strike a kind of an awe to the beholders, and command respect from the rudest, I mean the rudest of civiliz'd people, I mean not such Barbarous people, as plundered her, and used her cruelly, for they would have pulled God out of Heaven, had they had power, as they did Royaltie out of his Throne: also her beauty was beyond the ruin of time, for she had a well favoured loveliness in her face, a pleasing sweetness in her countenance, and a well temper'd complexion, as neither too red, nor too pale, even to her dying hour, although in years, and by her dying, one might think, death was enamoured with her, for he imbraced her in a sleep, and so gently, as if he were afraid to hurt her: also she was an affectionate Mother, breeding her children with a most industrious care, and tender love, and having eight children, three sons and five daughters, there was not any one crooked, or any ways deformed, neither were they dwarfish, or of a Giant-like stature, but every ways proportionable, likewise well featured, cleer complexions, brown haire, but some lighter than others, sound teeth, sweet breaths, plain speeches, tunable voices, I mean not so much to sing as in speaking, as not stuttering, nor wharling<sup>504</sup> in the throat, or speaking through the Nose, or hoarsly, [377:Bbb4v] unless they had a cold, or squeakingly, which impediments many have: neither were their voices of too low a strain or too high, but their notes & words were tuneable and timely; I hope this Truth will not offend my Readers, and lest they should think I am a partiall Register,<sup>505</sup> I dare not commend my Sisters, as to say they were handsome,

---

<sup>503</sup>For an excellent analysis of the events at Colchester, see Walter.

<sup>504</sup>*wharling*] pronouncing the letter *r* with a throaty or glottal sound (*OED* v.). Halliwell defines this word as 'an inability in anyone to pronounce the letter R (*Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*) (as cited in Firth, note 1, pp. 292-293).

<sup>505</sup>*Register*] keeper of a written record (*OED* n.2).



although many would say they were very handsome: but this I dare say, their Beautie, if any they had, was not so lasting as my Mothers, time making suddener ruin in their faces than in hers; likewise my Mother was a good Mistriss to her servants, taking care of her servants in their sickness, not sparing any cost she was able to bestow for their recovery: neither did she exact more from them in their health than what they with ease or rather like pastime could do: she would freely pardon a fault, and forget an injury, yet sometimes she would be angry, but never with her children, the sight of them would pacify her, neither would she be angry with others, but when she had cause, as with negligent or knavish servants, that would lavishly or unnecessarily waste, or subtilly, and theevisly steal, and though she would often complain, that her family was too great for her weak Management, and often prest my Brother to take it upon him, yet I observed she took a pleasure, and some little pride in the governing thereof: she was very skilfull in Leases, and setting of Lands, and Court-keeping, ordering of Stewards, and the like affaires: also I observed, that my Mother, nor Brothers before these warrs, had ever any Law-suites, but what an Attorney dispatched in a Term with small cost, but if they had, it was more than I knew of,<sup>506</sup> but as I said, my Mother lived to see the ruin of her Children, in which was her ruin, and then dyed; my brother Sir *Thomas Lucas* soon after, my brother Sir *Charls Lucas* after him, being shot to death for his Loyall Service, for he was most constantly Loyall and Couragiously active, indeed he had a superfluity of courage; My eldest sister died<sup>507</sup> some time before my Mother, her death [377(378):*Ccc1r*] being, as I believe, hastned through grief of her onely daughter,<sup>508</sup> on which she doted, being very pretty, sweet natured, and

---

<sup>506</sup>Public records reveal evidence to the contrary. John Lucas brought a number of cases to court in 1633, ‘one over damage caused to his millpond’, another ‘over the disputed lordship of an area of the heath outside Colchester’, and yet another ‘over his assessment for purveyance’ (Walter, p. 95; see also pp. 94–98). Whitaker explains that John and Elizabeth Lucas were ‘determined to maximize the income from their estates . . . [and] insisted on every right to which they could make any legal claim; John even cut off part of the town’s water supply when he did not receive the few shillings in rent due where the pipes ran across the family’s estates’, p. 33.

<sup>507</sup>Mary Killigrew, who died in 1647.

<sup>508</sup>Margaret included two verses in *PF* to commemorate Mary and her daughter. See ‘On a Mother, that dyed for grieffe of her only Daughter, which dyed’ and ‘On a beautifull young Maid, that dyed Daughter to

had an extraordinary wit for her age, she dying of a Consumption, my sister, her Mother dyed some half a year after of the same disease, and though time is apt to waste remembrance as a consumptive body, or to wear it out like a garment into raggs, or to moulder it into dust, yet I finde the naturall affections, I have for my friends, are beyond the length, strength and power of time: for I shall lament the loss so long as I live, also the loss of my Lords Noble Brother,<sup>509</sup> which died not long after I returned from *England*, he being then sick of an Ague, whose favours and my thankfulness, ingratitude shall never disjoyne; for I will build his Monument of truth, though I can not of Marble, and hang my tears as Scutchions<sup>510</sup> on his Tombe: He was nobly generous, wisely valliant, naturally civill, honestly kind, truly loving, vertuously temperate, his promise was like a fixt decree, his words were destiny, his life was holy, his disposition milde, his behaviour courteous, his discourse pleasing, he had a ready wit and a spacious<sup>511</sup> knowledge, a settled judgement, a cleer understanding, a rationall insight, he was learned in all Arts and Sciences, but especially in the Mathematicks, in which study he spent most part of his time; and though his tongue preacht not Morall Phylsophy, yet his life taught it, indeed he was such a person, that he might have been a pattern for all Mankind to take; he loved my Lord his brother with a doting affection, as my Lord did him, for whose sake I suppose he was so nobly generous, carefully kind, and respectfull to me; for I dare not challenge his favours as to my self, having not merits to deserve them, he was for a time the preserver of my life, for

---

the grieved Mother' (pp. 194-195). On the deaths of Mary and her daughter, see Whitaker, p. 96 and Grant, p. 98. According to John Lambrick Vivian, Mary and Peter had one child, also called Peter Killigrew, who survived to adulthood (*The Visitations of Cornwall: Comprising the Heralds' Visitations of 1530, 1573, & 1620* (Exeter: William Pollard, 1887), p. 269.)

<sup>509</sup>Sir Charles Cavendish died 4 February 1654. He was esteemed as a mathematician and advocate of communication between English and European intellectuals (Donagan, 'Sir Charles Lucas, *DNB*). Margaret begins *PF* with an epistle in which she dedicates the volume to Sir Charles. See 'The Epistle Dedicatory: To Sir Charles Cavendish, My Noble Brother-in-Law' (sigs. A2r-A2v).

<sup>510</sup>*scutchions*] hatchments or funeral escutcheons; diamond or square shaped canvases displaying the armorial bearings of a deceased person (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 1). Escutcheons are symbolic of one's honour and reputation. Cavendish's tears are her way of honouring her brother-in-law.

<sup>511</sup>*spacious*] 'characterized by largeness, breadth, or comprehensiveness of views or sympathies' (*OED* adj. A 6).

after I was married some two or three years, my Lord travell'd out of *France*, from the City of *Paris*, in which City he resided the time he was there, so went into *Holland*, to a Town called *Rotterdam*, [378(379):*Ccc1v*] in which place he stayed some six months, from thence he returned to *Brabant*, unto the City of *Antwerpe*, which Citie we past through, when we went into *Holland*, and in that City my Lord settled himself and Family, choosing it for the most pleasantest, and quietest place to retire himself and ruined fortunes in; but after we had remained sometime therein, we grew extremely necessitated, Tradesmen being there not so rich, as to trust my Lord for so much, or so long, as those in *France*: yet they were so civill, kind and charitable, as to trust him, for as much as they were able; but at last necessity inforced me to return into *England*, to seek for reliefe; for I hearing my Lords Estate amongst the rest of many more estates, was to be sold, and that the wives of the owners should have an allowance there from, it gave me hopes I should receive a benefit thereby; so being accompanied with my Lords onely brother Sir *Charles Cavendish*, who was commanded to return,<sup>512</sup> to live therein, or to lose his Estate, which Estate he was forc't to buy with a great Composition,<sup>513</sup> before he could enjoy any part thereof; so over I went, but when I came there, I found their hearts as hard as my fortunes, and their Natures as cruell as my miseries, for they sold all my Lords Estate, which was a very great one, and gave me not any part thereof, or any allowance thereout, which few or no other was so hardly dealt withall; indeed I did not stand as a beggar at the Parliament doore, for I never was at the Parliament-House, nor stood I ever at the doore, as I do know, or can remember, I am sure, not as a Petitioner, neither did I haunt the Committees, for I never was at any, as a Petitioner, but one in my life, which was called Gold-smiths-Hall, but I received neither

---

<sup>512</sup>Sir Charles had previously petitioned the committee for compounding and paid his fine, so 'an order was made for discharging his estate'. However, in 1651, the committee was informed that Sir Charles was abroad without leave during his composition. As a result, 'the sequestration of his estates was ordered'. Sir Charles was reluctant to submit to Parliament, but William Cavendish, his brother, pressed Edward Hyde to convince Charles to submit because his family needed the revenue (Donagan, 'Sir Charles Lucas, *DNB*).

<sup>513</sup>*Composition*] 'an agreement for the payment of a sum of money . . . by which a creditor accepts a certain proportion of a debt, in satisfaction, from an insolvent debtor. The fines paid by Royalists under the Commonwealth were called Compositions of Delinquents' (*OED* n. III. 25).

gold nor silver from them, only an absolute refusall, I should have no share of my Lords Estate; for my brother, the Lord *Lucas*<sup>514</sup> did claim in my behalf, such a part of my Lords Estate, as wives had allowed them, but they told him, that by reason I was married since my Lord was made a Delinquent,<sup>515</sup> I could have nothing, [379(380):*Ccc2r*] nor should have any thing, he being the greatest Traitor to the State, which was to be the most loyall Subject, to his King and Countrey: but I whisperingly spoke to my brother to conduct me out of that ungentlemanly place, so without speaking to them one word good or bad, I returned to my Lodgings, & as that Committee was the first, so was it the last, I ever was at as a Petitioner; 'tis true I went sometimes to Drury-House<sup>516</sup> to inquire how the land was sold, but no other ways, although some reported, I was at the Parliament-House, and at this Committee and at that Committee, and what I should say, and how I was answered; but the Customes of *England* being changed as well as the Laws, where Women become Pleaders, Attorneys, Petitioners and the like, running about with their severall Causes, complaining of their severall grievances, exclaiming against their severall enemies, bragging of their severall favours they receive from the powerfull, thus Trafficking with idle words bring in false reports, and vain discourse; for the truth is, our Sex doth nothing but justle<sup>517</sup> for the Preheminence of words, I mean not for speaking well, but speaking much,<sup>518</sup> as they do for the Preheminence of place, words rushing against words, thwarting and crossing each other, and pulling with reproches, striving to throw each other down with

---

<sup>514</sup>Cavendish's brother John Lucas, who petitioned on Margaret's behalf because she had misgivings about speaking in public (Whitaker, p. 133-134).

<sup>515</sup>*Delinquent*] 'The Parliamentary party's name for 'those who assisted Charles I or Charles II, by arms, money, or personal service, in levying war, 1642–1660. The term was exhaustively defined by an Order of 27 March, 1643. As it practically included all Royalists, it became in common parlance almost synonymous with *Cavalier*' (*OED* n. B 2).

<sup>516</sup>The London home of Sir Robert Drury (1575–1615), 'assigned to the use of the trustees of estates confiscated for treason. Here the trustees (who soon became known as the Drury House Committee) transacted their business until the restoration' (R. C. Bald, *Donne and the Drurys* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 109).

<sup>517</sup>*Justle*] 'To vie or struggle with some one for some advantage' (*OED* v. I 2 b).

<sup>518</sup>Margaret often describes women as being naturally incapable of controlling their speech. See *SL*, letters XLVIII (97-98), CIII (pp. 207-209), CXLVII (p. 306), and CCVII (p. 442-443); and *WO*, 'Of Women, p. 72-73.

disgrace, thinking to advance themselves thereby, but if our Sex would but well consider, and rationally ponder, they will perceive and finde, that it is neither words nor place that can advance them, but worth and merit: nor can words or place disgrace them, but inconstancy and boldness: for an honest Heart, a noble Soul, a chaste Life, and a true speaking Tongue, is the Throne, Scepter, Crown and Footstool, that advances them to an honorable renown, I mean not Noble, Vertuous, Discreet, and worthy Persons, whom necessity did enforce to submit, comply and follow their own suites, but such as had nothing to lose, but made it their trade to sollicite; but I despairing being positively denied at Goldsmiths-Hall,<sup>519</sup> besides I had a firm faith, or strong opinion, that the pains was more [380(381):Ccc2v] than the gains, and being unpractised in publick Employments, unlearned in their uncouth Ways, ignorant of the Humours, and Dispositions of those persons to whom I was to address my suit, and not knowing where the Power lay, and being not a good flatterer, I did not trouble my self or petition my enemies; besides I am naturally Bashfull, not that I am ashamed of my minde or body, my Birth or Breeding, my Actions or Fortunes, for my Bashfulness, is my Nature, not for any crime, and though I have strived and reasoned with my self, yet that which is inbred, I find is difficult to root out, but I do not find that my Bashfulness is concern'd with the Qualities of the Persons, but the number, for were I to enter amongst a company of Lazarouses,<sup>520</sup> I should be as much out of countenance, as if they were all *Cesars* or *Alexanders*, *Cleopatras*<sup>521</sup> or Queen *Didoes*,<sup>522</sup> neither do I find my Bashfulness riseth so often in Blushes; as contracts my Spirits to a

---

<sup>519</sup>Firth explains that the purpose of the committee at Goldsmith's Hall was to compound with delinquents (see *Life of William Cavendish*, p. 297-298, n1).

<sup>520</sup>*Lazarouses*] plural of Lazarus: a beggar (*OED* n.).

<sup>521</sup>Cleopatra, as Lisa Hopkins and Barbara MacMahon point out, was 'a figure of great interest' to the Cavendish family. In *The Concealed Fancy*, Jane Cavendish and Elizabeth Brackley draw 'specifically on the idea of Cleopatra' and Bess of Harwick, the girls' grandmother and Margaret's mother-in-law, 'is known to have had embroidered a hanging of her which once formed part of the set of five *Noble Women of the Ancient World*' (Lisa Hopkins, and Barbara MacMahon, "'Come, what, a siege?': Metarepresentation in Lady Jane Cavendish and Lady Elizabeth Brackley's *The Concealed Fancies*", *Early Modern Literary Studies* 16: 2 (2013), pp. 4 and 5. 1-20).

<sup>522</sup>Dido is the Queen of Carthage whose ill-fated love for Aeneas results in her stabbing herself atop a funeral pyre. She appears in the first and fourth books of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

chill paleness, but the best of it is, most commonly it soon vanisheth away, and many times before it can be perceived, and the more foolish, or unworthy, I conceive the company to be, the worse I am, and the best remedy I ever found was, is to perswade my self, that all those Persons I meet, are wise and vertuous: the reason I take to be is, that the wise and vertuous censure lest, excuse most, praise best, esteem rightly, judge justly, behave themselves civilly, demeans themselves respectfully and speaks modestly when fools or unworthy persons are apt to commit absurdities, as to be bold, rude, uncivill both in words and actions, forgetting or not well understanding themselves, or the company they are with, and though I never met such sorts of ill bred creatures, yet Naturally I have such an Aversion to such kinde of people, as I am afraid to meet them, as children are afraid, of spirits, or those that are afraid to see or meet Devills; which makes me think this Naturall defect in me, if it be a defect, is rather a fear than a bashfulness, but whatsoever it is, I find it troublesome, for it hath many times obstructed the passage of my speech, and perturbed my [381(382):Ccc3r] Naturall actions, forcing a constrainedness or unusuall motions, but however, since it is rather a fear of others, than a bashfull distrust of my self, I despaire of a perfect cure, unless Nature as well as Human governments could be civilized, and brought into a Methodicall order, ruling the words and actions with a supreme power of reason, and the authority of discretion: but a rude nature is worse than a brute nature, by so much more as man is better than beast, but those that are of civill natures and gentle dispositions, are as much neerer to celestiaall creatures, as those that are of rude or cruell are to Devills: but in fine after I had been in England a year, and half,<sup>523</sup> in which time I gave some half a score, visits and went with my Lords Brother to hear Musick in one Mr *Lawes*<sup>524</sup> his House, three or four times, as also some three or four times to Hide Park with

---

<sup>523</sup>November 1651-May 1653.

<sup>524</sup>Henry Lawes, singer, songwriter, and composer who wrote the music for and performed in Milton's *Comus*. He composed songs and plays for the king and queen's entertainment at Oxford, and tutored such notables as Mary Herbert (Ian Spink, 'Lawes, Henry (*bap.* 1596, *d.* 1662)', *DNB*). See also the poem by

my sisters, to take the aire, else I never stirr'd out of my lodgings, unles to see my Brothers, and Sisters, nor seldom did I dress my self, as taking no delight to adorn my self, since he I onely desired to please was absent, although report did dress me in a hundred several fashions: 'tis true when I did dress my self, I did endeavour to do it to my best becoming, both in respect to my self, and those I went to visit, or chanc't to meet, but after I had been in England a year and a half, part of which time I writ a Book of Poems,<sup>525</sup> and a little Book called my Phylosophicall Fancies,<sup>526</sup> to which I have writ a large addition, since I returned out of England, besides this Book and one other:<sup>527</sup> as for my Book intituled the *Worlds Ollio*, I writ most part of it before I went into England, but being not of a merry, although not of a froward or peevish disposition, became very Melancholy, by reason I was from my Lord, which made my mind so restless, as it did break my sleeps, and distemper my health, with which growing impatient of a longer delay, I resolved to return, although I was grieved to leave Sir *Charles*, my Lords Brother, he being sick of an ague, of which sickness he died: for though his ague was cur'd, his life was decayed, [382(383):Ccc3v] he being not of a strong constitution could not, as it did prove, recover his health, for the dreggs of his Ague did put out the Lamp of his life, yet Heaven knows, I did not think his life was so neer to an end, for his Doctor had great hopes of his perfect recovery, and by reason he was to go into the Country for change of aire, where I should have been a trouble, rather than any ways serviceable, besides, more charge the longer I stayd, for which I made the more hast to return to my Lord, with whom I had rather be as a poor begger, than to be Mistriss of the world absented from him; yet, Heaven hitherto hath kept us, and though Fortune hath been cross, yet we do submit, and are both content with what is, and

---

Katherine Philips, 'To Mr. Henry Lawes', *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, ed. by George Saintbury, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. 518-519.

<sup>525</sup>PF, 1653.

<sup>526</sup>Published in 1653 and expanded into *Philosophical Opinions*. See Charles Firth, ed., *Memoirs of William Cavendish Duke of Newcastle and Margaret His Wife* (New York: Scribner and Welford, 1886), p. 305, n2.

<sup>527</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855) and PPO.

cannot be mended, and are so prepared, that the worst of fortunes shall not afflict our minds, so as to make us unhappy, howsoever it doth pinch our lives with poverty: for if Tranquillity lives in an honest mind, the mind lives in Peace, although the body suffer: but Patience hath armed us, and Misery hath tried us, and finds us Fortune-proof, for the truth is, my Lord is a person, whose Humour is neither extravagantly merry, nor unnecessarily sad, his Minde is above his Fortune, as his Generosity is above his purse, his Courage above danger, his Justice above bribes, his Friendship above self-interest, his Truth too firm for falshood, his Temperance beyond temptation; his Conversation is pleasing and affable, his Wit is quick, and his Judgment is strong, distinguishing cleerly without clouds of mistakes, dissecting truth, so as it justly admit not of disputes:<sup>528</sup> his discourse is always new uopn<sup>529</sup> the occasion, without troubling the hearers with old Historicall relations, nor stuff with useless sentences, his behavior is manly without formallity, and free without constraint, and his minde hath the same freedom: his Nature is noble, and his Disposition sweet, his Loyaltie is proved by his publick service for his King and Countrey, by his often hazarding of his life, by the losse of his Estate,<sup>530</sup> and the banishment of his Person, by his necessitated Condition, and his constant and patient suffering; but howsoever [383(384):Ccc4r] our fortunes are, we are both content, spending our time harmlesly, for my Lord pleaseth himself with the Management of some few Horses,<sup>531</sup> and exercises himself with the use of the Sword; which two Arts he hath brought by his studious

---

<sup>528</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): A handwritten correction changes this clause to read ‘so as it justly admit not of disputes’, p. 383. The errata, however, alters the end of the sentence to ‘as they justly’.

<sup>529</sup>uopn] upon.

<sup>530</sup>In William’s biography, Margaret says, ‘Of eight Parks, which my Lord had before the Wars, there was but one left that was not quite destroyed, viz. Welbeck-Park of about four miles compass; for my Lord’s Brother Sir Charles Cavendish, who bought out the life of my Lord in that Lordship, saved most part of it from being cut down; and in Blore-Park there were some few Deer left: The rest of the Parks were totally defaced and destroyed, both Wood, Pales and Deer; amongst which was also Clipston-Park of seven miles compass, wherein my Lord had taken much delight formerly, it being rich of Wood, and containing the greatest and tallest Timber-trees of all the Woods he had’ (*Life*, p. 92). She claims his total losses as being £941,303 (p. 102).

<sup>531</sup>William was famous for his ability to train horses for the manège. While Margaret was in England, he wrote *La Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de Dresser les Chevaux*, a book on training, breeding, buying, and caring for horses (Whitaker, p. 202). The book was published in 1658.



thoughts, rationally experience, and industrious practice to an absolute perfection: and though he hath taken as much pains in those arts, both by study and practice, as Chimists, for the Philosophers Stone, yet he hath this advantage of them, that he hath found the right and the truth thereof and therein, which Chimists never found in their Art, and I believe never will: also he recreates himself with his pen, writing what his Wit dictates to him, but I pass my time rather with scribbling than writing, with words than wit, not that I speak much, because I am addicted to contemplation, unless I am with my Lord, yet then I rather attentively listen to what he says, than impertinently speak, yet when I am writing any sad fain'd Stories, or serious humours or melancholy passions, I am forc'd many times to express them with the tongue before I can write them with the pen, by reason those thoughts that are sad, serious and melancholy, are apt to contract and to draw too much back, which oppression doth as it were over-power or smother the conception in the brain, but when some of those thoughts are sent out in words, they give the rest more liberty to place themselves, in a more methodicall order, marching more regularly with my pen, on the ground of white paper, but my letters seem rather as a ragged rout, than a well armed body, for the brain being quicker in creating, than the hand in writing, or the memory in retaining, many fancies are lost, by reason they oft times out-run the pen, where I, to keep speed in the Race, write so fast as I stay not so long as to write my letters plain, insomuch as some have taken my hand-writing for some strange character, & being accustomed so to do: I cannot now write very plain, when I strive to write my best, indeed my ordinary hand-writing is so bad as few can read it, so as to write it fair for the Press, but however that little wit I have, it delights [384(385):Ccc4v] me to scribble it out, and desperse it about, for I being addicted from my childhood, to contemplation rather than conversation, to solitariness rather than society, to melancholy rather than mirth, to write with the pen than to work with a needle, passing my time with harmless fancies, their company being pleasing, their conversation innocent, in which I take such pleasure, as I neglect my health,

for it is as great a grief to leave their society, as a joy to be in their company, my only trouble is, lest my brain should grow barren, or that the root of my fancies should become insipid,<sup>532</sup> withering into a dull stupidity for want of maturing subjects to write on: for I being of a lazy nature, and not of an active disposition, as some are that love to journey from town to town, from place to place, from house to house, delighting in variety of company, making still one where the greatest number is; likewise in playing at Cardes, or any other Games, in which I neither have practised, nor have I any skill therein: as for Dancing, although it be a gracefull art, and becometh unmarried persons well, yet for those that are married, it is too light an action, disagreeing with the gravity thereof; and for Revelling, I am of too dull a nature, to make one in a merry societie; as for Feasting, it would neither agree with my humour or constitution, for my diet is for the most part sparing, as a little boyld chickin, or the like, my drink most commonly water, for though I have an indifferent good appetite, yet I do often fast, out of an opinion that if I should eat much, and exercise little, which I do, onely walking a slow pace in my chamber, whilst my thoughts run apace in my brain, so that the motions of my minde hinders the active exercises of my body: for should I Dance or Run, or Walk apace, I should Dance my Thoughts out of Measure, Run my Fancies out of Breath, and Tread out the Feet of my Numbers, but because I would not bury my self quite from the sight of the world, I go sometimes abroad, seldome to visit, but only in my Coach about the Town, or about some of the streets, which we call [385(386):Ddd1r] here a *Tour*, where all the chief of the Town goe to see and to be seen, likewise all strangers of what quallity soever, as all great Princes or Queens that make any short stay: for this Town,<sup>533</sup> being a passage or thorough-fare to most parts, causeth many times persons of great quallity to be here, though not as inhabitants, yet to lodge for some short time; and all such as I said, take a delight, or at least

---

<sup>532</sup>*insipid*] lifeless (*OED* adj. A 2).

<sup>533</sup>Antwerp.

goe to see the custome thereof, which most Cities of note in Europe for all I can hear, hath such like recreations for the effeminate Sex, although for my part I had rather sit at home and write, or walk, as I said, in my chamber and contemplate; but I hold necessary sometimes to appear abroad, besides I do find, that severall objects do bring new materialls for my thoughts and fancies to build upon, yet I must say this in the behalf of my thoughts, that I never found them idle; for if the senses brings no work in, they will work of themselves, like silk-wormes that spins out of their own bowels; Neither can I say I think the time tedious, when I am alone, so I be neer my Lord, and know he is well: But now I have declared to my Readers, my Birth, Breeding, and Actions, to this part of my Life, I mean the materiall parts, for should I write every particular, as my childish sports and the like, it would be ridiculous and tedious; but I have been honorably born and Nobly matcht, I have been bred to elevated thoughts, not to a dejected spirit, my life hath been ruled with Honesty, attended by Modesty, and directed by Truth: but since I have writ in generall thus far of my life; I think it fit, I should speak something of my Humour, particular Practise and Disposition, as for my humour, I was from my childhood given to contemplation, being more taken or delighted with thoughts than in conversation with a society, in so much as I would walk two or three houres, and never rest, in a musing, considering, contemplating manner, reasoning with my self of every thing my senses did present, but when I was in the company of my Naturall friends,<sup>534</sup> I was very attentive of what they said, or did; but for strangers I regarded not [386(387):Ddd1v] much what they said, but many times I did observe their actions, whereupon my Reason as Judge, and my Thoughts as Accusers, or excusers, or approvers and commenders, did plead, or appeale to accuse, or complain thereto; also I never took delight in closets,<sup>535</sup> or cabinets of toys, but in the

---

<sup>534</sup>[Naturall friends] family.

<sup>535</sup>close] 'a private repository of valuables or (esp. in later use) curiosities' (OED n. 3 a).

variety of fine clothes,<sup>536</sup> and such toys as onely were to adorn my person: likewise I had a naturall stupidity towards the learning of any other Language, than my native tongue, for I could sooner and with more facility understand the sense, than remember the words, and for want of such memory, makes me so unlearned in forraigne Languages as I am:<sup>537</sup> as for my practise,<sup>538</sup> I was never very active, by reason I was given so much to contemplation; besides my brothers and sisters, were for the most part serious, and stayed<sup>539</sup> in their actions, not given to sport nor play, nor dance about, whose copany<sup>540</sup> I keeping, made me so too: but I observed that although their actions were stay'd, yet they would be very merry amongst themselves, delighting in each others company: also they would in their Discourse express the generall actions of the world, judging, condemning, approving, commending, as they thought good, and with those that were innocently harmless, they would make themselves merry therewith; as for my studie of books it was little, yet I chose rather to read, than to imploy my time in any other work, or practise, and when I read what I understood not, I would ask my brother the Lord *Lucas*, he being learned, the sense or meaning thereof, but my serious study could not be much, by reason I took great delight in attiring, fine dressing and fashions, especially such fashions as I did invent my self, not taking that pleasure in such fashions as was invented by others: also I did dislike any should follow my Fashions, for I always took delight in a singularity, even in acoutrements<sup>541</sup> of habits, but whatsoever I was addicted to, either in fashions of Cloths, contemplation of

---

<sup>536</sup>In *WO*, Margaret says, 'Dressing is the Poetry of Women, in shewing the Fancies' ('Of Painting', p. 87). See also *SL*, letter CXCVIII, in which Margaret not only offers her opinion on fine clothing and fashion but also attacks seemingly wise men (most likely Puritans) who claim it is artificial for women to dress well and curl their hair (pp. 411-417).

<sup>537</sup>Firth notes in his edition of the Margaret's and William's biographies: 'In the preface to her *Philosophical Letters* Margaret says, "The authors whose opinions I mention I have read, as I found them printed, in my native language, except Des Cartes, who being in Latin, I had some few places translated to me out of his works." And again, in the same place: "My error was I began to write so early, that I had not lived so long as to be able to read many authors"' (p. 311, n1).

<sup>538</sup>*practice*] regular exercise or physical activity.

<sup>539</sup>*stayed*] *staid*; serious, dignified (*OED* adj. 2 a).

<sup>540</sup>*copany*] company; tilde over the 'o' indicates the missing 'm'.

<sup>541</sup>*Acoutrements*] 'Additional pieces of dress' (*OED* n. 1 a). On Margaret's eccentricity in dress, see Firth, pp. 312-31, n1.

Thoughts, actions of Life, they were Lawfull, Honest, Honorable and Modest, of which I can avouch to the world with a [387(388):Ddd2r] great confidence, because it is a pure Truth: as for my Disposition, it is more inclining to be melancholy than merry, but not crabbed<sup>542</sup> or peevishly melancholy, but soft melting solitary, and contemplating melancholy; and I am apt to weep rather than laugh, not that I do often either of them; also I am tender natured, for it troubles my Conscience to kill a fly, and the groans of a dying Beast strike my Soul: also where I place a particular affection, I love extraordinarily, and constantly, yet not fondly<sup>543</sup> but soberly, and observingly, not to hang about them as a trouble, but to wait upon them as a servant, but this affection will take no root, but where I think or find merit, and have leave both from Divine and Morall Laws, yet I find this passion so troublesome, as it is the only torment to my life, for fear any evill misfortune or accident, or sickness, or death should come unto them, insomuch, as I am never freely at rest: Likewise I am gratefull, for I never received a curtesie but I am impatient, and troubled untill I can return it, also I am Chast, both by Nature and Education, insomuch as I do abhorre an unchast thought: likewise I am seldom angry, as my servants may witness for me, for I rather chose to suffer some inconveniences, than disturbe my thoughts, which makes me winke many times at their faults; but when I am angry, I am very angry, but yet it is soon over, and I am easily pacified, if it be not such an injury as may create a hate; neither am I apt to be exceptionous<sup>544</sup> or jealous, but if I have the lest symptome of this passion, I declare it to those it concerns, for I never let it ly smothering in my breast to breed a malignant disease in the minde, which might break out into extravagant passions, or railing speeches, or indiscreet actions; but I examin moderately, reason soberly, and plead gently in my own behalf, through a desire to keep those affections I had, or at least thought to have, and truly I am so vain, as to be so self-conceited, or so naturally partiall,

---

<sup>542</sup>*crabbed*] contrary or fractious (*OED* adj. 1 a).

<sup>543</sup>*fondly*] foolishly (*OED* adv. 1).

<sup>544</sup>*exceptionous*] 'disposed to make objections' (*OED* adj.).

to think my friends, have as much reason to love me as another, since none can love more sincerely than I, and it were an injustice to prefer [388(389):Ddd2v] a fainter affection, or to esteem the Body more than the Minde, likewise I am neither spitefull, envious, nor malicious, I repine not at the gifts that Nature, or Fortune bestows upon others, yet I am a great Emulator; for though I wish none worse than they are, nor fear any should be better than they are, yet it is lawfull for me to wish my self the best, and to do my honest endeavour thereunto, for I think it no crime to wish my self the exactest of Natures works, my thred of life the longest, my Chain of Destinie<sup>545</sup> the strongest, my minde the peaceablest; my life the pleasantest, my death the easiest, and the greatest Saint in Heaven; also to do my endeavour, so far as honour and honesty doth allow of, to be the highest on Fortunes Wheele, and to hold the wheele from turning, if I can, and if it be comendable to wish anothers good, it were a sin not to wish my own; for as Envie is a vice, so Emulation is a Vertue, but Emulation is in the way to Ambition, or indeed it is a Noble Ambition, but I fear my Ambition inclines to vain-glory, for I am very ambitious, yet 'tis neither for Beauty, Wit, Titles, Wealth or Power, but as they are steps to raise me to Fames Tower, which is to live by remembrance in after-ages:<sup>546</sup> likewise I am, that the vulgar calls, proud, not out of a self-conceit, or to slight or condemn any, but scorning to do a base or a mean act, and disdaining rude or unworthy persons, insomuch that if I should find any that were rude, or too bold, I should be apt to be so passionate, as to affront them, if I can, unless discretion should get betwixt my passion, and their boldness, which sometimes perchance it might, if discretion should croud hard for place; for though I am naturally

---

<sup>545</sup>*Chain of Destinie*] This phrase is probably derived from Stoic philosophy. The Stoics believed that destiny was the result of a chain of causes and that 'the aim of human life [was] . . . to live in accordance with nature. . . . The stoics variously developed this to include life in accordance with universal nature, with human nature, and with our individual natures and human capacities' (Miriam T. Griffin, *Seneca on Society: A Guide to De Beneficiis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 247-248).

<sup>546</sup>Cavendish often speaks of her desire for fame as the driving force behind her writing and believes fame brings a kind of immortality. In *WO*, she says, 'to die for fame, is to live longer in the memory of other men, then he knows he shall live in the life of his own body' (p. 7). See also *WO*, p. 2; Jean Gagen, 'Honor and Fame in the Works of the Duchess of Newcastle', *Studies in Philology* 56 (1959): 519-538; and Hero Chalmers, *Royalist Women Writers, 1650-1689* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), p. 17.

bashfull, yet in such a cause my Spirits would be all on fire, otherwise I am so well bred, as to be civill to all persons, of all degrees, or qualities: likewise I am so proud, or rather just to my Lord, as to abate nothing of the qualitie of his Wife, for if Honour be the marke of Merit, and his Masters Royall favour, who will favour none but those that have Merit to deserve, it were [389(390):Ddd3r] a baseness for me to neglect the Ceremony thereof; Also in some cases I am naturally a Coward, and in other cases very valiant; as for example, if any of my neerest friends were in danger, I should never consider my life in striving to help them, though I were sure to do them no good, and would willingly, nay cheerfully, resign my life for their sakes: likewise I should not spare my Life, if Honour bids me dye; but in a danger, where my Friends or my Honour is not concerned, or ingaged, but only my Life to be unprofitably lost, I am the veriest coward in Nature, as upon the Sea, or any dangerous places, or of Theeves or fire, or the like, Nay the shooting of a gun, although but a Pot-gun,<sup>547</sup> will make me start, and stop my hearing, much less have I courage to discharge one; or if a sword should be held against me, although but in jest, I am afraid: also as I am not covetours,<sup>548</sup> so I am not prodigall, but of the two I am inclining to be prodigall, yet I cannot say to a vain prodigallity, because I imagine it is to a profitable end, for perceiving the world is given, or apt to honour the outside more than the inside, worshipping show more than substance; and I am so vain, if it be a Vanity, as to endeavour to be worshipt, rather than not to be regarded; yet I shall never be so prodigall as to impoverish my friends, or go beyond the limits or facilitie of our Estate, and though I desire to appear at the best advantage, whilst I live in the view of the publick World, yet I could most willingly exclude my self, so as Never to see the face of any creature, but my Lord, as long as I live, inclosing my self like an Anchoret, wearing a Frize-gown,<sup>549</sup> tied with a cord about my waste: but I hope my Readers, will not think me vain for writing my

---

<sup>547</sup>*Pot-gun*] probably 'pop-gun'.

<sup>548</sup>covetous.

<sup>549</sup>*Frize-gown*] a gown made of coarse wool cloth.

life, since there have been many that have done the like, as *Cesar*, *Ovid*, and many more, both men and women, and I know no reason I may not do as well as they: but I verily believe some censuring Readers will scornfully say, why hath this Ladie writ her own Life? since none cares to know whose daughter she was, or whose wife she is, or how she was bred, or what fortunes she [390(391):Ddd3v] had, or how she lived, or what humour or disposition she was of? I answer that it is true, that 'tis to no purpose, to the Readers, but it is to the Authoress, because I write it for my own sake, not theirs; neither did I intend this piece for to delight, but to divulge, not to please the fancy, but to tell the truth, lest after-Ages should mistake, in not knowing I was daughter to one Master *Lucas* of St. *John's* neer *Colchester* in *Essex*, second Wife to the Lord Marquis of *Newcastle*, for my Lord having had two Wives, I might easily have been mistaken, especially if I should dye, and my Lord Marry again. [391-392(392-393):Ddd4r,Ddd4v]

*An Epistle, to be placed before my she Anchoret.*

I Shall intreat those Readers that reade this feigned Story of my she Anchoret, that when they reade those parts or places which treat of the Rational and Sensitive Spirits, that they will compare those to my Book of Philosophical and Physical Opinions, being parts that should be added thereto; but by reason they were thought of after my Book of Philosophical and Physical Opinions was printed, wherein they should be placed, I put them into this Book, being some of my Conceptions which were brought forth the time I was writing this part of this Book. [393-394(394-395):Eee1r,Eee1v]

*This is to be placed next the Tale of the Philosopher, which my Lord writ.*

A young Youth said, Philosophers were wise,  
 And Nature view'd with understanding eyes;  
 They trace her wayes with Reason, seek about



To finde the truth, and causes of things out;  
 When vulgar Brains consider not, but lyes  
 Asleep in Ignorance, untill Life dyes;  
 Or lets their Appetites and Passions sway,  
 Which blinds them so, as leads them the wrong way;  
 Unless that Wisdome guides them to the best,  
 They dye in follies, and with life's opprest.

*Love, in the Spring of Youth, and Garden of my Life, did plant a Tree, under whose melancholy shade my Thoughts a musing sate, the whilst Clouds gather'd in my Eyes, from whence Tears pouring fell: but in this Shower wise Pallas came, and on my head she laid her Shield:*

*Then bid my Thoughts to rise,  
 And follow her, and she would make them wise.*

But *Venus* met them in the way,  
 And bid them not with *Pallas* stay,  
 But follow her, and she would guide  
 Them to a place where did abide  
 Pleasures, wherein the Senses most delights,  
 And Banquets which to Nature Man invites;  
 Where all the Appetites do merry make,  
 And every Appetite doth Freedome take;  
 And every Sense is there with Pleasure fill'd,  
 For there no Sense by Nature back is held;  
 And all the Thoughts do dance, and sport, and play,  
 With joyous mirth do pass the time away:  
 But if that you with *Pallas* stay, she'll binde  
 Your Liberty, set rules within your Minde

To keep out Natures freedome, and will set  
 A Guard on every Sense, which will not let  
 A Pleasure pass, but beats them back, then schools  
 The Appetites, and makes the Passions fools.  
 When *Pallas* heard how *Venus* did advise,  
 And did perswade me from her counsel wise, [395(396):Eee2r]  
 She said, that *Venus* had a tempting tongue,  
 And all her words on silken strings were strung;  
 Her voyce, like *Circes* wand,<sup>550</sup> each Sense did charm,  
 Yet though it sounded sweet, at length did harm  
 To Soul and Body, and the Thoughts torments,  
 For being restless, lives in discontents;  
 There's none that follow *Venus*, or the Sun,  
 But in the end they're utterly undone;  
 Either in their Health, Wealth, Peace, and Quiet,  
 Pleasure brings Pain, and Trouble lives in Riot.

*The two idle Gentlemen.*

*This is to come after the Matrimonial Agreement.*

**T**Here were two Gentlemen,<sup>551</sup> and being idle, having no employment, said the one to the other, Prithee *Tom*, now we have nothing to do, let's go and visit some Ladies.<sup>552</sup>

<sup>550</sup>*Circes wand*] In book X of *The Odyssey*, Odysseus and his men encounter the enchantress Circe. The men hear her singing as they approach her house, which is surrounded by docile lions and wolves. They hear her singing as they approach the house; her beautiful voice seemingly has the power to charm both animals and men. She subsequently poisons the men and then turns them into swine using her wand.

<sup>551</sup>NP 1656 (*Wing* N855): This tale from book 11 does not appear in NP 1671 (*Wing* N856).

<sup>552</sup>Writers of conduct manuals often referenced the biblical injunction against idleness. Brathwaite quotes the invective in Timothy 5:13: 'but being idle, they learne to goe about from house to house: yea, they are not only idle, but also praters and busie bodies, speaking things which are not comely' (p. 107). See also Lodowick Lloyd, 'Of Idleness', *The Pilgrimage of Princes, Penned out of Sundry Greeke and Latine Aucthours* (London: 1573), *STC* 16624, p. 167v-168rv and 165rv-166r. For a discussion of the term 'idleness', see

Said the other, that were to trouble our selves, which is worse than Idleness; besides, let me tell you as a secret, there is nothing more hatefull to me than an impertinent Woman.

Said the other, you have reason to desire it should be a secret, lest you should be more troubled with their railings than their foolish and unprofitable discourse; but, said he, all Women do not talk impertinently, some speak wisely.

Faith, said the other, so few, as I know not where they are, neither will I take the pains to search them out: but if you will tell me where I should go and borrow money, I will thank you.

The other Gentleman laughing, said, Faith *Tom* 'tis a sign you are not acquainted with Women; for if you were, you would finde it were easier to borrow money from a Burger,<sup>553</sup> or such like monied Men, by the favour of their Wives, than from an old Usurer; for though you must give Interest, you need not mortgage your land, for it is but kissing the Lady, and the Use<sup>554</sup> is paid, and many times the Principal.

Answered the other, I had rather mortgage my land, than be troubled to court their Wives.

Said the other, If you knew but the right way of courting, you would finde it so far from a trouble, as you would take a delight and pleasure in it; therefore, dear *Tom*, let me perswade thee, and I will carry thee to a rich Man, who hath married a fair Woman, which Woman, because she is not married according to her Beauty, although she is married according to her Dignity, despiseth her Husband, and is never pleased in his company, nor in her own, if they be both alone, for then she is alwayes sick, complaining, sighing, and

---

Unhae Langis, 'Leisure, Idleness, and Virtuous Activity in Shakespearean Drama', *Selected Papers of the Ohio Valley Shakespeare Conference*, vol. II: 2008. On the conduct of gentlemen, see Ann Wagner, 'Idleness and the Ideal of the Gentlemen', *History of Education Quarterly*, 25.1/2 (Spring-Summer, 1985), pp. 41-55.

<sup>553</sup>*Burger*] burgess; formerly denoted a member of Parliament (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 1 b).

<sup>554</sup>*Use*] use-money; interest (*OED* n.)

growning, and is so peevish, that her Husband can please her no manner of wayes.

[396(397):Eee2v]

And would you carry me, said the other, to this sick, froward Woman?

Yes, answered the other, for when we come in, she will be in perfect health, and in an excellent good humour.

Well, said he, *Jack*, thou shalt perswade me for this one time; so away they went; where they were entertain'd so well, that the adverse Man two dayes after came to his Friend to intreat him to go along with him again to the same place.

Said his Friend, this is a strange humour in you to be in such extreame, as but two dayes since you did hate to visit Women, and now you are impatient to stay from them.

Said the other, Prithee *Jack* mistake me not, for I am no more in love with the company of Women than I was, and hate as much their impertinent talk as I did; but I am in love with their hospitable entertainment, and take delight in their Sack and Sugar,<sup>555</sup> Rhenish wine and Neats<sup>556</sup> tongues, Claret wine and Oysters, and such good things; I go not to admire their Beauties, but to feed on their Banquets.<sup>557</sup>

Said the other, O thou luxurious<sup>558</sup> Man, art not thou onely ashamed to gormundize, but to cozen kinde and self-loving Ladies, who imagine thou comest for the love of their Persons, and to admire their Beauties, when thou goest meerly out of love to their Feast.<sup>559</sup>

---

<sup>555</sup>*Sack and Sugar*] Sack, from the French word *sec*, meaning 'dry', is a sweet wine to which sugar was added to give it a lively flavour. In Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part 1*, Edward Poins refers to Falstaff as 'Sir John Sack and Sugar' (I.ii.113-14). The phrase connotes a lack of restraint.

<sup>556</sup>*Neats*] of cows (*OED* adj. from n.<sup>1</sup>)

<sup>557</sup>For the dishes that may have been present at such banquets, see Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife: Containing the Inward and Outward Virtues Which Ought to Be in a Complete Woman; As Her Skill in Physic, Cookery, Banqueting-Stuff, Distillation, Perfumes, Wool, Hemp, Flax, Dairies, Brewing, Baking, and All Other Things*, ed. by Michael R. Best (Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998); Joseph Cooper (cook to Charles I), *The Art of Cookery Refin'd and Augmented* (London: 1654), *Wing* C6055; and *A Ladies Companion* (London: 1653), *Wing* L152. For specifics on the dining habits of William and Margaret, see Worsley, pp. 91-93, 112-113, 143, and 210-213.

<sup>558</sup>*luxurious*] self-indulgent (*OED* adj. 3 a).

<sup>559</sup>Cavendish chastises the wealthy, saying, 'The Splene is a Disease which is onely amongst the Noble and Rich, whose Wealth makes them Idle, and their Idleness begets an appetite to Variety of Diets, Clothes, and Company' (*SL*, letter XXXIV, p. 72).

Why, answerd the other, if the Ladies do verily believe I come for the love of their Person and Beauty, and not for the love of their good chear, they are as much pleased as if I really did so, in which I please my self and them to, and therefore let us go.

*The Lady Incognito.*

**T**Here was a Lady went to visit another Lady, her Friend, hearing she was going a Journey; where after some dicourse, Madam, said she, I hear you are going to travel to see Forreign Countryes.

Yes, answered the other Lady, but I mean to travel as all great Persons do now adayes, *Incognito*.

How is that, said the first Lady, in State?

No, said the second, it is to travel unknown.

Said the first, that cannot be, unless you had the Ring that *Orlando Furioso*<sup>560</sup> mentions, and that could conceal none but themselves, not their Train; and they will never venture the danger to travel alone, or at least the inconvenience in not having attendance.

The second said, they are concealed in their attendant Train, for they cause the meanest of their Train to act the part of the Chief.

Said the first, that's a dispreposterous<sup>561</sup> travelling for the Tail to be in the place of the Head, like as a Horse should travel with his Breech forward. Besides, if that shift conceals their Persons, it conceals not their Dignities, for they never travel with so few, [397(398):Eee3r] but there are enow<sup>562</sup> to cause an enquiry as they travel along, and it is impossible it should be kept as a secret, because there are more than themselves in their company; for as there is not one Man amongst a thousand, nor one Woman amongst ten thousand, that can keep their own counsel, how is it possible that a Secret should be kept

---

<sup>560</sup>The magic ring featured in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* can ward off a necromancer's spells, and when placed between one's lips, one disappears. See Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, trans. by John Hoole, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 5 vols. (London: 1785), pp. 109, 110, 117-119, 219.

<sup>561</sup>*Dispreposterous* 'Inverted in position' (*OED preposterous* adj. 1 a).

<sup>562</sup>*enow* enough.

close, when in their Train there are so many mouths, like so many doors, ready to let it out. Besides, it makes a Noble Person hail fellow, well met<sup>563</sup> with his Groom, for being as Fellow-servants, they become Comrades; and though the Lord takes again the state of his Dignity, the Groom or such like persons seldome lay down their familiarity, at least not their boldness; wherefore I dislike this mode travelling, and let me perswade you not to follow the fashion, for Great Noble Persons, as Lords, Ladies, Queens, Kings, and Princes, should be every one like the Sun, which never draws back his resplendent rayes, but shoots them forth as far as strength permits; and if black Clouds oppose or obscure his glorious light, he strives with all his heat to dissipate those sullen Clouds, that his bright shining Beams might to all Eyes be seen, and World be known, and as he passeth have a reverence shewn, and not Snail-like to pull in their head and horns under a cover; wherefore travel according to your Dignity, or stay at home.

Said the second, why, many Noble Persons are forced to travel out of necessity.

Said the first, that's not travelling, but running away, or hiding themselves from their cruel and over-powerfull Enemies; and though Fortune may obscure a Noble Person under a Veil of Misery, yet no Noble Person ought to obscure their Dignity under a vain Curiosity, or foolish Jollity, or idle Inconstancy, but in spite of Fortune shine through her cloudy brows. And let me tell you, Madam, it is very dangerous for Women, especially young fair Ladies, to travel *Incognito*, for they may chance to cuckold their Husbands *Incognito*, which many do; for they think it is not, nor will not be known, when it is divulged by whisp'ring tongues into listning ears, and so spread as by several echoes all about. The same for Maids or Widows, they will lose their own reputations, if they have no Husbands to dishonour, and all *Incognito*. [398(399):Eee3v]

---

<sup>563</sup>*hail fellow, well met* over familiar or intimate (OED adj. A a and b).

*A Complaint and Request to the Noble and Learned Readers of my several  
Works, especially my Philosophical and Physical Opinions.*

*Noble Readers,*

I Cannot choose but complain, through the affection I have to my Books, and lament their and my own misfortune in their being so cruelly disfigured by ill printing; for Misprinting doth alter and destroy Sense & Reason more, than the small Pox doth a young beautifull face, obscuring the pleasing rayes the well temper'd minde or soul sends forth: But I must tell you, as the Friends or Parents of those that have been spoyled with the small Pox, that they were handsome; so let me tell you, that before the Printer spoyled my Book, named my Philosophical Opinions, it was good, the Opinions being rational, probable, and naturally rational.

Besides, they are, if well understood, beneficial to and for the life of Man, being a tract of the life of Nature: but the deformity of which Book grieves me more than the deformity of my other Books, not onely [399(400):*EeeAr*] because it is more disfigured than the rest, but it is the Darling in my affection; for though it hath put me to more study, and harder labour than my other Works, yet being of a more ingenious nature, I love it best. Besides, it hath such qualities, that the more it is known, the better it is liked; and if it were not my own, I would say it was worthy of esteem: but because it is mine, if I should commend it much, the World being ill natured, censuring still to the worst, would say I were vain-glorious, and self-opinionated; for the World, or the most part, judge not according to truth and right, but condemn according to malice and spight: but when Time hath rotted the teeth of spight, and blunted the edges of malice, it may gain an applause, although not so many doting Lovers as *Aristotle's* Works hath gained; yet his is onely what the vulgar Senses have brought in, not what the subtil Conceptions have found out; his

Knowledge was got by untimely Deaths, and cruel Dissections,<sup>564</sup> not by deep and serious Contemplations, at least his Contemplation followed his Dissectings: but had *Aristotle* studied the Motions of Nature, or Natural Motions, as he did the Parts of Nature, or Natural Parts, he would have been far more learned than he was, and his Scholars would have profited more thereby: but his study was more easy, as all Dissectors or Anatomists [400(401:Eee4v)] are; for it is not so great a matter, nor so difficult a thing to conceive what the Senses present, but to present to the Senses what the Brain conceives, making the Senses the Servants and Scouts to seek and search by Industry and Experiments, to finde the truth of Rational Opinions. Not that I do discommend<sup>565</sup> *Aristotle*, for I onely speak of him as I have heard of him and his Works, not as I do learnedly know either: But by what I have heard of him, I do perceive and understand so much, that certianly he was such a Person, that Nature produced not the like in many Ages; therefore he is to be esteemed as a choyce Master-piece of Natures Works, indeed such a Person as Nature did create for an Overseer, as to view the rest of her Works, or a Magistrate to order them.

But as good Magistrates should study to know the Natures, Humours, and Dispositions of the People, as well as the Laws; so a good Natural Philosopher, or Physician, should study the motions, as their tracts,<sup>566</sup> their various changes, and their degrees, their regularities, their irregularities, their sympathies, their antipathies, their compoundings,<sup>567</sup> their conjunctions, their disjoyning, as well as each Figure, or several parts of Figures; for how is it possible we should understand each part well, when we conceive not the Motions that make it, maintain it, or dissolve it. [401(402):Fff1r]

---

<sup>564</sup>Aristotle, in addition to being theoretical philosopher and logician, was also an anatomist. From his works, such as *The History of Animals*, scholars infer 'he consulted with bee-keepers, fishermen and sponge divers, that he performed a great many dissections on a wide variety of animals, [and] that there were at least some diagrams based on these dissections' (James Lennox, 'Aristotle's Biology', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2017 Edition), ed. by Edward N. Zalta).

<sup>565</sup>*discommend*] disapprove of (*OED* v. 1 a).

<sup>566</sup>*tracts*] courses or manners of proceeding (*OED* n.<sup>3</sup> IV 9).

<sup>567</sup>*Compoundings*] combinations; mixtures of (*OED* n.<sup>1</sup> 1).



But to return to my Book of Philosophical and Physical Opinions, that although I have taken what care I can to have all corrected by the written hand, yet there are so many Faults left uncorrected, as to mend them all, it would be rather a written Book, than a printed Book; for there are not onely misprinted words, as for *utterly unknown, naturally unknown, infinite* for *finite*, *exterior* for *interiour*, and *interiour motions* for *interiour figures*, and *exteriour figures* for *interiour figures*, and *reins* for *veins*, and *godliness* for *beauty*; for although all devout souls are beartifull, yet all beautifull faces or persons are not godly: but they have printed false Orthography, as *Cupe* for *Cube*, and many the like; and I suppose it belongs more to the Corrector of the Press to spell right, than to the Writer; for I confess I cannot spell right, neither will I take the pains to learn it, yet I think those that writ out the Copies for the Press spelt better than they are printed.

Another error is, that they have not made full points, nor right points, but half points, and false points, pointing where they should not point, and not point where they should. Also, some words they have double printed, and some they have left out, as in the Chapters, in the Title of Burning Feavers, they have left out Hecktick Feavers.

But my Readers cannot justly think it my [402(403):Fff1v] fault by the sense of my Book, unless maliciously they will strive to throw durt at it.

But I have a request to the understanding Readers of that Work, that if any person or persons takes particular Chapters or words out of that Work, named my Philosophical Opinions, to dispute against them, leaving out the foundation or ground of my Philosophy, upon which I build my several Discourses, I desire them, if they will take so much pains to judge, to be so just to me, as to consider, and then they will perceive it was done more out of Malice than Learning, or through Ignorance for want of understanding. But the uniform'st Work that is may be disfigured or misformed, by taking out some pieces, or adding mishapen parts thereto, or blind Ignorance may not perceive that Uniformity, or

Composure<sup>568</sup> thereof. But I am so ill natured to wish, that all such spightfull persons may fail in their mischief, although not in my Books ruine, and Ignorance may break their heads against the Ground, the Ground being Matter, Figure, and Motion.

Also, I desire my Readers, that if they cannot readily conceive my Philosophy, for Natural Philosophy lyes obscure untill it be put into Practice, or Arts; for what is more obscure, untill it be put into practice, than the tracts, and works, or working of Nature, that they will be pleased to reade it [387(404):Fff2r] aloud, that is, to speak what they reade, that not onely the Eye, but the Ear may present to the Brain, so to the Understanding, these Opinions I have writ; wherein they will not onely advance their own knowledge, but oblige me the Authoress

MARGARET NEWCASTLE.

**B**UT say that Book should not in this Age take,  
 Another Age of great esteem may make;  
 If not the second, then a third may raise  
 It from the Dust, and give it wondrous praise.  
 For who can tell but my poor Book may have  
 Honour'd renown, when I am in the Grave?  
 And when I dye, my Blessing I will give,  
 And pray it may in after Ages live. [390(405):Fff2v]

F I N I S .

---

<sup>568</sup>*composure*] arrangement or order (*OED* n. II 6 a and 7).

## Bibliography

## Primary sources:

- BACON, FRANCIS, *The Essays, or Councils, Civil and Moral, of Sir Francis Bacon* (London: 1696), *Wing* B296
- BACON, FRANCIS, *Sylva Sylvarum or A Natural History in Ten Centuries* (London: 1627). *STC* 1168
- BARBE, SIMON, *The French Perfumer* (London: 1696), *Wing* B689A
- BARKER, JANE, *Poetical Recreations Consisting of Original Poems, Songs, Odes, &c. with Several New Translations* (London: 1688), *Wing* B770
- BRATHWAITE, RICHARD, *The English Gentleman Containing Sundry Excellent Rules or Exquisite Observations, Tending to Direction of Every Gentleman, of Selecter Rank and Quality; how to Demean or Accommodate Himselfe in the Manage of Publike or Private Affaires* (London: 1630), *STC* 3563
- BULSTRODE, WHITELOCKE, *An Essay of Transmigration in Defence of Pythagoras* (London: 1693), *Wing* B5451
- CAVENDISH, MARGARET (NEWCASTLE, MARGARET), *CCXI Sociable Letters* (London: 1664), *Wing* N872
- *The Description of a New World Called a Blazing-World* (London: 1668), *Wing* N850
- *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince William Cavendishe, Duke, Marquess and Earl of Newcastle* (London: 1667), *Wing* N853
- *Natures Pictures Drawn by Fancy's Pencil to the Life* (London: 1656), *Wing* N855
- *Natures Picture Drawn by Fancy's Pencil to the Life* (London: 1671), *Wing* N856
- *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy To Which is Added the Description of a New Blazing World* (London: 1666), *Wing* N857
- *Orations of Divers Sorts Accommodated to Divers Places* (London: 1662), *Wing* N859
- *The Philosophical and Physical Opinions* (London: 1655), *Wing* N863
- *Philosophical Letters, or, Modest Reflections upon Some Opinions in Natural Philosophy Maintained by Several Famous and Learned Authors of This Age* (London: 1664), *Wing* N866
- *Playes Written by the Thrice noble, illustrious and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle* (London: 1662), *Wing* N868
- *Poems, and Fancies* (London: 1653), *Wing* N869
- *Sociable Letters* (London: 1664), *Wing* N872
- *The Worlds Olio* (London: 1655), *Wing* N873
- A Collection of Letters and Poems Written by Several Persons of Honour and Learning, upon Divers Important Subjects, to the Late Duke and Dutchess of Newcastle* (London: 1678), *Wing* C5146
- COOPER, JOSEPH, *The Art of Cookery Refin'd and Augmented* (London: 1654), *Wing* C6055
- CULPEPER, NICHOLAS, *Culpeper's School of Physick* (London: 1659), *Wing* C7544

- *Galen's Art of Physick* (London: 1657), *Wing* (2nd ed.) G159A
- DONNE, JOHN, *Poems by J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death* (London: 1635), *STC* 7046
- ELYOT, THOMAS, *The castell of health, corrected, and in some places augmented by the first author thereof, Sir Thomas Elyot Knight* (London: 1595), *STC* 7656
- FILMER, ROBERT, *The Necessity of the Absolute power of all Kings: and in Particular, of the King of England* (London: 1648), *Wing* F917
- GARDEN, ALEXANDER, *Characters and Essays* (1625), *STC* 11595
- GOUGE, WILLIAM, *Of Domesticall Duties* (London: 1622), *STC* 12119
- HALL, JOSEPH, *Characters of Vertues and Vices in Two Books* (London: 1608), *STC* 12648
- HEALEY, JOSEPH, *Epictetus Manuall. Cebes Table. Theophrastus Characters* (London: 1636), *STC* 10427
- HEYWOOD, THOMAS, *A Curtain Lecture* (London: 1637), *STC* 13312
- HOBBS, THOMAS, *Leviathan, or, The Matter, Forme, and Power of a Common Wealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civil* (London: 1651), *Wing* H2246
- HOBBS, THOMAS, trans., *Eight Bookees of the Peloponnesian Warre Written by Thucydides* (London: 1629), *STC* 1039:17
- JONSON, BEN, *The Comicall Satyre of Euery Man out of his Humor* (London: 1600), *STC* 14767
- KING, HENRY, 'An Elegy on Sir Charls Lucas, and Sir George Lisle', *Poems, Elegies, Paradoxes, And Sonets* (London: 1664), *Wing* K502
- The Ladies Companion* (London: 1653), *Wing* L152
- LILLY, WILLIAM, *A short introduction of grammar generally to be used compiled and set forth for the bringing up of all those that intend to attain to the knowledge of the Latine tongue* (Cambridge: 1695, *Wing* L2301)
- LLOYD, LODOWICK, *The Pilgrimage of Princes, Penned out of Sundry Greeke and Latine Authours* (London: 1573), *STC* 16624
- LOVELACE, RICHARD, 'To Lucasta, Going to the Warrs', *Lucasta Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, &c. To Which is Added Aramantha* (London: 1649), *Wing* L3240I
- MAYNWARING, ROGER, *Religion and Alegiance in two Sermons Preached before the Kings Maiestie* (London: 1627), *STC* 17751.5
- M. R., *The Mothers Counsell; or, Live within Compasse. Being the Last Will and Testament to her Dearest Daughter* (London: 1630), *STC* 20583
- NORTH, THOMAS, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romains* (London: 1631), *Wing* 20070
- OVERBURY, THOMAS, *His Wife, With New Elegies Upon His (Now Knowne) Untimely Death* (London: 1616), *STC* 18909
- Poor Robin's True Character of a Scold* (London: 1678), *Wing* W3077
- RALEIGH, WALTER, *The History of the World* (London: 1617), *STC* 20638
- ROGERS, THOMAS, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, Professed and Protected in the Realme of England, and Dominions of the Same. Expressed in thirty nine articles* (London: 1629), *STC* (2nd ed.) 21231

- RYVES, BRUNO, *Mercurius Rusticus or, The Country's Complaint of the Barbarous Outrages Committed by the Sectaries of this Late Flourishing Kingdom* (London: 1685), Wing R2450
- SANDYS, GEORGE, trans. *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished by George Sandys* (London: 1632), Internet Archive Online
- The Scolding Wives Vindication: or, An Answer to the Cuckold's Complaint* (London: 1689), Wing S935
- A Scourge for Poor Robin, or, The Exact Picture of a Bad Husband Drawn to the Life, by an Experienc'd Female-hand, to Revenge her Injured Sex, for the Abusive Truth of the Late Character of a Scold* (London: 1678), Wing S2106
- SIDNEY, PHILLIP, *The Defence of Poesie* (London: 1595), STC 22535
- STANLEY, THOMAS, trans., *Claudius AELianus: His Various History* (London: 1666), Wing A680
- SWETNAM, JOSEPH, *The Schoole of the Noble and Worthy Science of Defence* (London: 1617), STC (2nd ed.) 23543
- TAYLOR, JOHN, *The World Runnes on Wheeles: or Oddes, Betwixt Carts and Coaches* (London: 1623), STC 23816
- TRUNDLE, JOHN, *Keepe within Compasse; or, The Worthy Legacy of a Wise Father to his Beloved Sonne* (London: 1619), STC 14898.5
- WYLSON, THOMAS, *The three Orations of Demosthenes chiefe Orator among the Grecians* (London: 1570) STC 284:04
- VIVES, JUAN LUIS, *A Verie Fruitfull and Pleasant Booke, Called the Instruction of a Christian Woman*, trans. by Richard Hyrde (London: 1585), STC 24862

#### Secondary sources:

- The Aeneid of Vergil*. Trans. Sarah Ruden (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2008)
- AMUSSEN, SUSAN DWYER, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1988)
- ANKERS, NEIL, 'Paradigms and Politics: Hobbes and Cavendish Contrasted', *A Princely Brave Woman: Essays on Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle*, ed. by Stephen Clucas (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 243-254.
- APPLEBY, DAVID, *Our Fall Our Fame: The Life and Times of Sir Charles Lucas 1613-1648* (Newtown: Jacobus Publications, 1996)
- ARDILA, J. A. G., ed. *The Cervantean Heritage* (London: Legenda/Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2009)
- ARIOSTO, LUDOVICO, *Orlando Furioso*, trans. by John Hoole, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 5 vols. (London: 1785)
- ARISTOTLE, *Meteorologica*, Trans. by H. D. P. Lee. Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1952)
- BACON, JON LANCE, 'Wives, Widows, and Writings in Restoration Comedy', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 31.3 (1991), pp. 427-443
- BALD, R. C., *Donne and the Drury's* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959)

- BALDWIN, EDWARD CHAUNCEY, 'The Relation of the English "Character" to Its Greek Prototype', *PMLA*, 18.3 (1903), pp. 412-423
- BALL, WILLIAM WALTER ROUSE, *A Short History of Mathematics* (London: Macmillan, 1935)
- BATTIGELLI, ANNA, *Margaret Cavendish and the Exiles of the Mind* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1998)
- BENNETT, ALEXANDRA, ed., *Bell in Campo & The Sociable Companions* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Literary Texts, 2002)
- BENSON, PAMELA JOSEPH, *The Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992)
- BEVINGTON, DAVID, LARS ENGLE, KATHARINE EISAMAN MAUS, ERIC RASMUSSEN, eds., *English Renaissance Drama* (New York: Norton & Company, 2002)
- BLUM, CLARA M., *Old World Lace* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1920)
- BOBZIEN, SUSANNE, *Determinism and Freedom in Stoic Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)
- BOOY, DAVID, ed., *Personal Disclosures: An Anthology of Self-Writings from the Seventeenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002)
- BOWERBANK, SYLVIA, 'The Spider's Delight: Margaret Cavendish and the "Female" Imagination', *English Literary Renaissance*, 14.3 (1984), pp. 392-408
- *Speaking for Nature: Women and Ecologies of Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004)
- BOWERBANK, SYLVIA, and Sara Mendelson, eds., *Paper Bodies: A Margaret Cavendish Reader* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2000)
- BOYLE, DEBORAH, 'Fame, Virtue, and Government: Margaret Cavendish on Ethics and Politics', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 67.2 (2006), pp. 251-290
- BRACKNEY, WILLIAM H., *Historical Dictionary of Radical Christianity* (Lanham, UK: Scarecrow Press, 2012)
- BROAD, JACQUELINE, 'Margaret Cavendish and Joseph Glanvill: Science, Religion, and Witchcraft', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 38 (2007), pp. 493-505
- BROSTER, JOHN, *History of the Siege of Chester, during the Civil Wars in the Time of King Charles I* (London: 1800)
- BROWN, PAMELA ALLEN, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003)
- BROWNLEY, MARTINE WATSON, AND ALLISON B. KIMMICH, eds., *Women and Autobiography* (Wilmington, NC: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999)
- BRUMBLE, DAVID, *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998)
- BRYDGES, EGERTON, ed., *A True Relation of the Birth, Breeding, and Life, of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle written by herself with a Critical Preface by Sir Egerton Brydges* (Kent: Johnson and Warwick, 1814)

- BULLARD, REBECCA, 'Gatherings in Exile: Interpreting the Bibliographical Structure of *Natures Pictures Drawn by Fancies Pencil to the Life* (1656)', *English Studies*, 92.7 (2011), pp. 786-805
- BURTON, ROBERT, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. by A. R. Shilleto, 3 vols. (London: 1926-1927)
- CADMAN, DAVID, AND ANDREW DUXFIELD, 'Introduction: Rome and Home: The Cultural Uses Of Rome In Early Modern English Literature', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, ed. by David Cadman, Andrew Duxfield, and Lisa Hopkins, special issue, vol. 19.1 (2016), Online
- CARPANETO, GIKSEPE M. AND MAURO CRISTALDI, 'Dormice and Man: A Review of Past and Present Relations', *Hystrix: The Italian Journal of Mammalogy*, 6.1-2 (1994)
- CARR, GILLIAN, 'Woad, Tattooing and Identity in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 24.3 (August, 2005), pp. 273-292
- CAVALLO, SANDRA, AND LYNDON WARNER, eds, *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Longman, 1999)
- CERASANO, S. P., AND MARION WYNNE-DAVIES, eds., *Readings in Renaissance Women's Drama: Criticism, History, and Performance 1594-1998* (London: Routledge, 1998)
- CHALMERS, HERO, *Royalist Women Writers, 1650-1689* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004)
- CHAPMAN, ALLAN, 'A New Perceived Reality: Thomas Harriot's Moon Maps', *A&G*, 50 (February 2009)
- CLARENDON, EDWARD HYDE, *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers Preserved in the Bodleian Library*, vol. II, ed. by W. Dunn Macray and H. O. Cox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869)
- CLARK, KATHARINE, 'Purgatory, Punishment, and the Discourse of Holy Widowhood in the High and Later Middle Ages', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 15.2 (May, 2002), pp. 169-203
- CLUCAS, STEPHEN, 'The Atomism of the Cavendish Circle: A Reappraisal', *The Seventeenth Century*, 9 (1994), pp. 247-273
- "A double Perception in All Creatures" Margaret Cavendish's *Philosophical Letters* and Seventeenth-Century Natural Philosophy', *God and Nature*, pp. 121-139.
- CLUCAS, STEPHEN, ed., *A Princely Brave Woman: Essays on Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003)
- A concise description of Bury St. Edmund's, and its environs* (London: Longman and Company, 1827)
- COROS, D.F. 'John Lucas', *The History of Parliament*. Online.
- COTTEGNIES, LINE, AND NANCY WEITZ, eds., *Authorial Conquests: Essays on Genre in the Writings of Margaret Cavendish* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003)
- CRESSY, DAVID, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

- CROFT, PAULINE, *King James* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)
- CRUTWELL, PATRICK, ('Physiology and Psychology in Shakespeare's Age', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 12. 1 (Jan., 1951), pp. 75-89)
- DAVIS, NATALIE ZEMON, 'Women on Top', *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 124-151
- DEARMOND, ANNA JANNEY, 'Some Aspects of Character-Writing in the Period of the Restoration', *Delaware Notes*, 16th Series (1943), pp. 55-89
- DE GRAZIA, MARGRETA, AND STANLEY WELLS, eds., *The New Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- DETFLESEN, KAREN, 'Margaret Cavendish on the Relation between God and World', *Philosophy Compass*, 4.3 (2009), pp. 421-438.
- DIGANGI, MARIO, ed., *The Winter's Tale: Texts and Contexts* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2008)
- DODDS, LARA, "'poore Donne was out": Reading and Writing Donne in the Works of Margaret Cavendish', *John Donne Journal*, 29 (2010), pp. 133-174
- DOLAN, FRANCES, ed., *The Taming of the Shrew: Texts and Contexts* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1996)
- 'Scattered Remains and Paper Bodies: Margaret Cavendish and the Seige of Colchester', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, 4 (2013), pp. 452-464
- 'Early modern Chester 1550-1762: The Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-60', *British History Online*
- ECKHARDT, JOSHUA AND DANIEL STARZA SMITH, eds., 'The Emergence of the English Miscellany', *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England* (Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014)
- Encyclopedia Perthensis or Universal Dictionary of the Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 11 (Edinburgh: 1816)
- EVELYN, JOHN, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by Austin Dobson, vol. II (London: MacMillan, 1906)
- EZELL, MARGARET, 'The Myth of Judith Shakespeare: Creating the Canon of Women's Literature', *New Literary History*, 21.3 (Spring, 1990), pp. 579-592
- *The Patriarch's Wife* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987)
- "'To Be Your Daughter in Your Pen": The Social Functions of Literature in the Writings of Lady Elizabeth Brackley and Lady Jane Cavendish', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 51.4 (Autumn, 1988), pp. 281-296
- FAULKNER, P. A., 'Haddon Hall and Bolsover Castle', *Archaeological Journal*, 118 (January 1961), pp. 188-205
- FIRTH, CHARLES, ed., *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, to which is Added the True Relation of my Birth, Breeding, and Life* (New York: Scribner and Welford, 1886)
- FITZMAURICE, JAMES, 'Fancy and the Family: Self-Characterizations of Margaret Cavendish', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 53.3 (Summer, 1990), pp. 198-209



- ‘Front Matter and the Physical Make-up of *Nature's Pictures*’, *Women's Writing*, 4.3 (1997), pp. 353-367
- ‘Historical Linguistics, Literary Interpretation, and the Romances of Margaret Cavendish’, *Methodological Issues in Historical Pragmatics*, ed. by Susan M. Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 267-284
- ‘Margaret Cavendish on Her Own Writing: Evidence from Revision and Handmade Correction’, *Bibliographical Society of America Papers*, 85 (1991), pp. 297-307
- ‘Some Problems in Editing Margaret Cavendish’, *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1993), pp. 253-261
- ‘The Intellectual and Courtship of Margaret Cavendish’, *Early Modern Literary Studies*, Special Issue 14 (2004): 7.1-16
- ‘The Life and the Literary Reputation of Margaret Cavendish’, *Quidditas Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 20 (1999), pp. 55-74
- FITZMAURICE, JAMES, ed., *Sociable Letters* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2004)
- FITZMAURICE, JAMES, JOSEPHINE A. ROBERTS, CAROL L. BARASH, EUGENE R. CUNNAR, AND NANCY A. GUTIERREZ, eds., *Major Women Writers of Seventeenth-Century England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997)
- FOYSTER, ELIZABETH, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999)
- FREDE, DORTHEA, ‘Stoic Determinism’, *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*, ed. by Brad Inwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- FRIEDMAN, ALICE T., ‘The Influence of Humanism on the Education of Girls and Boys in Tudor England’, *History of Education Quarterly*, 25.1/2 (Spring - Summer, 1985), pp. 57-70
- GAGE, JOHN, *The History and Antiquities of Suffolk: Thingoe Hundred* (London: John Deck and Samuel Bentley, 1838)
- GAGEN, JEAN, ‘Honor and Fame in the Works of the Duchess of Newcastle’, *Studies in Philology*, 56.3 (July, 1959), pp. 519-538
- GARRETT, AARON, ‘Seventeenth-Century Moral Philosophy: Self-Help, Self-Knowledge, and the Devil's Mountain’, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)
- GATER, GEORGE, ed. ‘Spring Gardens’, *Survey of London: volume 20: St Martin-in-the-Fields, pt III: Trafalgar Square & Neighbourhood* (London: London County Council, 1940)
- GOLDBERG, JONATHAN, ‘Cellini's Vita and the Conventions of Early Autobiography’, *Modern Language Notes*, 89.1 (January, 1974), pp. 71-83
- GOODLAND, KATHARINE, *Female Mourning and Tragedy in Medieval and Renaissance English Drama: From the Raising of Lazarus to King Lear* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005)

- GRANT, DOUGLAS, *Margaret the First: A Biography of Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle 1623-1673* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957)
- ed., *The Phansies of William Cavendish Marquis of Newcastle Addressed to Margaret Lucas and her Letters in Reply* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1956)
- GRAY, JOHN HAMILTON, *Bolsover Castle*, repr. by T. Thorneley (Chesterfield, 1883)
- GREEN, THOMAS M., 'Spenser and the Epithalamic Convention', *Comparative Literature* 9.3 (Summer, 1957), pp. 215-228
- GRIFFIN, MIRIAM T., *Seneca on Society: A Guide to De Beneficiis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)
- HACKETT, HELEN, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- HALL, KIM F., ed., *Othello, The Moor of Venice: Texts and Contexts* (Boston: Bedford Books, 2007)
- HARRISON, PETER, 'Animal Souls, Metempsychosis, and Theodicy in Seventeenth-Century English Thought', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 31.4 (October 1993), pp. 519-544
- HERVEY, SYDENHAM HENRY AUGUSTUS, *Little Saxham Parish Registers: Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, with Appendices, Biographies, &c, 1559 to 1850* (Woodbridge: George Booth, Church Street, 1901)
- HIRSCHFELD, HEATHER, 'Early Modern Collaboration and Theories of Authorship', *PMLA*, 116.3 (May, 2001), pp. 609-622
- HOLMESLAND, ODDVAR, *Utopian Negotiation: Aphra Behn and Margaret Cavendish* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 2013)
- HOPKINS, LISA, 'Play Houses: Drama at Bolsover and Welbeck', *Early Theatre: A Journal Associated with the Records of Early English Drama* 2 (1999), pp. 25-44
- 'Point, Counterpoint, Needlepoint: The Tapestry in Margaret Cavendish's *The Unnatural Tragedy*', *Women's Writing*, 20:4 (2013), pp. 555-566
- HOPKINS, LISA, AND BARBARA MACMAHON, "'Come, what, a siege?': Metarepresentation in Lady Jane Cavendish and Lady Elizabeth Brackley's *The Concealed Fancies*", *Early Modern Literary Studies* 16: 2 (2013), pp. 1-20
- HORNBLOWER, SIMON, AND ANTHONY SPAWFORTH, eds., *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- HOULBROOKE, RALPH A., *The English Family 1450-1700* (London: Longman, 1984)
- HUFFMAN, CARL, 'Pythagoras', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (summer 2014 ed.), ed. by Edward N. Zalta. Online
- HULSE, LYNN ed., *Dramatic Works by William Cavendish*, from the Portland literary collection, Hallward Library, University of Nottingham (Malone Society, 1996)
- HUTTON, SARAH, 'In Dialogue with Thomas Hobbes: Margaret Cavendish's Natural Philosophy', *Women's Writing*, 4 (1997), pp. 421-432
- INGRAM, MARTIN, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)
- JAMES, SUSAN, ed., *Margaret Cavendish: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

- ‘The Philosophical Innovations of Margaret Cavendish’, *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 7.2 (1999), pp. 219-244.
- JENKINS, EDWARD, ed., *The Cavalier and his Lady. Selections from the Works of the First Duke and Duchess of Newcastle* (London: MacMillan and Company, 1872)
- JONES, KATHLEEN, *A Glorious Fame: The Life of Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle, 1623-1673* (London: Bloombury, 1988)
- JONSON, BEN, *Cynthia’s Revels, The Works of Ben Jonson: With Notes Critical and Explanatory, and a Biographical Memoir*, vol. 2, ed. by William Gifford (London: Bickers and Son, 1875)
- KAHN, VICTORIA, ‘Margaret Cavendish and the Romance of Contract’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50.2 (Summer, 1997), pp. 526-566
- *Wayward Contracts: The Crisis of Political Obligation in England, 1640-1674* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004)
- ‘Reinventing Romance, or the Surprising Effects of Sympathy’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 55.2 (Summer, 2002), pp. 625-661
- KEHLER, DOROTHEA, *Shakespeare’s Widows* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)
- KELSO, RUTH, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978)
- KRONTIRIS, TINA, *Oppositional Voices: Woman as Writers and Translators of Literature in the English Renaissance* (New York: Routledge, 1992)
- LAERTIUS, DIOGENES, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. II (Loeb Classical Library), trans. by R.D. Hicks (London: William Heinemann, 1925)
- LANGIS, UNHAE, ‘Leisure, Idleness, and Virtuous Activity in Shakespearean Drama’, *Selected Papers of the Ohio Valley Shakespeare Conference*, vol. II: 2008
- LEDUC, GUYONNE, ‘Women’s Education in Margaret Cavendish’s Plays’, *Cercles*, 4 (2002), pp. 16-38
- LENNOX, JAMES, ‘Aristotle’s Biology’, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2017 Edition), ed. by Edward N. Zalta
- LESLIE, MARINA, ‘Evading Rape and Embracing Empire in Margaret Cavendish’s “Assaulted and Pursued Chastity”’, *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie (Newark, DE: Associated University Presses, 2001), pp. 179-197
- The Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria: Including Private Correspondence with Charles*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Richard Bentley, 1857)
- LEWIS, JANE ELIZABETH, *The English Fable: Aesop and Literary Culture, 1651-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- LILLEY, KATE, ed., *Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle: The Blazing World and Other Writings* (London: Penguin Books, 2004)
- LOWER, MARK ANTHONY, ed., *The Lives of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, and of his wife, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle* (London: John Russell Smith, 1872)
- LYONS, GELLERT, *Voices of Melancholy* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1971)

- MANDELKERN, INDIA AURORA, *The Politics of the Palate: Taste and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, PhD diss., (University of California, Berkeley, 2015)
- MARKHAM, GERVAASE, *The English Housewife: Containing the Inward and Outward Virtues Which Ought to Be in a Complete Woman; As Her Skill in Physic, Cookery, Banqueting-Stuff, Distillation, Perfumes, Wool, Hemp, Flax, Dairies, Brewing, Baking, and All Other Things*, ed. by Michael R. Best (Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998)
- MARLOWE, CHRISTOPHER, 'Hero and Leander', *Christopher Marlowe: The Complete Poems and Translations*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (New York: Penguin Books, 2007), p. 6
- MENDELSON, SARA HELLER, *The Mental World of Stuart Women: Three Studies* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987)
- MICHAELIAN, KOURKEN, 'Margaret Cavendish's Epistemology', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 17(1) 2009
- MILTON, JOHN, *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. by Merritt Y Hughes (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2003)
- *Paradise Lost*, ed. by Scott Elledge (New York: Norton & Company, 1975)
- MINNS, CHRIS AND PATRICK WALLIS, 'Rules and Reality: Quantifying the Practice of Apprenticeship in Early Modern England', *The Economic History Review*, 65.2 (2012), pp. 556–579
- MORLEY, HENRY, ed., *Character Writings of the Seventeenth Century* (London: 1891)
- MULDREW, CRAIG, 'Debt, Credit, and Poverty in Early Modern England', *A Debtor World: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Debt*, ed. by Ralph Brubaker, Robert M. Lawless, and Charles J. Tabb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- NEEDHAM, GWENDOLYN, 'New Light on "Maids Leading Apes in Hell"', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 75.296 (Apr.-Jun., 1962), pp. 106-119
- NEWMAN, BARBARA, *From Virile Woman to Woman Christ: Studies in Medieval Literature and Religion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990)
- NICOL, ALEXANDER, ed., *Poems on Several Subjects, Both Comical and Serious. In Two Parts. To Which Are Added, The Experienced Gentleman, and The She Anchorit* (Edinburgh: 1766)
- NORBROOK, DAVID, 'Margaret Cavendish and Lucy Hutchinson: Identity, Ideology and Politics', *In-Between*, 9 (2000), pp. 179-203
- O'NEILL, EILEEN, ed., *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- OSBORNE, DOROTHY, *Letters from Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple 1652-54*, ed. by Edward Abbott Parry, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, 1887)
- PARTRIDGE, MARY, *Images of the Courtier in Elizabethan England*, PhD thesis, University of Birmingham (University of Birmingham eTheses Repository, 2008)
- PARKER, HOLT N., 'Why Were the Vestals Virgins? Or the Chastity of Women and the Safety of the Roman State', *The American Journal of Philology*, 125. 4 (Winter, 2004), pp. 563-601

- PEACEY, JASON, "Hot and eager in courtship": Representations of Court Life in the Parliamentary Press, 1642-9', *Early Modern Literary Studies* Special Issue 15 (August, 2007)
- PELTONEN, MARKKU, *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- PEPYS, SAMUEL, *Diary*, ed. by H. B. Wheatley, vol. VI (London: George Bell & Sons, 1895)
- PERRY, HENRY TEN EYCK, *The First Duchess of Newcastle and Her Husband As Figures In Literary History* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1918)
- PETRARCH, FRANCIS, *The Sonnets, Triumphs, and Other Poems of Petrarch, with a Life of the Poet by Thomas Campbell* (London: 1879)
- PHILLIPS, ROD, *Alcohol: A History* (Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina University Press, 2014)
- PHILLIPPY, PATRICIA, 'Sisters of Magdalen: Women's Mourning in Aemilia Lanyer's Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum', *English Literary Renaissance*, 31.1 (December, 2001), pp. 78-106
- PIZER, JOHN DAVID, 'From Jean de La Bruyère to John Aubrey and Beyond: The Development of Elias Canetti's Character Sketches', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 44.1 (2007), pp. 166-182.
- POTTER, LOIS, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing, 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- RAYLOR, TIMOTHY, "Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue": William Cavendish, Ben Jonson, and the Decorative Scheme of Bolsover Castle', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 52. 2 (Summer, 1999), pp. 402-439
- READ, SOPHIA, 'Ambergris and Early Modern Languages of Scent', *The Seventeenth Century* 28.2 (2013), pp. 221-237
- REDWINE, JAMES, D., 'Beyond Psychology: The Moral Basis of Jonson's Theory of Humour Characterization', *ELH*, 28.4 (December, 1961), pp. 316-334
- REES, EMMA, 'Heavens Library and Nature's Pictures: Platonic Paradigms and Trial by Genre', *Women's Writing*, 4.3 (1997), pp. 369-381
- *Margaret Cavendish: Gender, Genre, Exile* (Manchester: Manchester University Press and Palgrave, 2003)
- ROBERTS, JOSEPHINE, ed., *The Poems of Lady Mary Wroth* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983)
- ROGERS, JOHN, *The Matter of Revolution: Science, Poetry, and Politics in the Age of Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996)
- RONSON, ANSELL P., *The Old Physiology in English Literature* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1911)
- ROOTS, IVAN, *The Great Rebellion: 1642-1660* (London: Batsford Academic, 1966)
- ROSTENBERG, LEONA, *Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious & Legal Publishing, Printing & Bookselling in England, 1551-1700: Twelve Studies*, vol. II (New York: Burt Franklin, 1956).

- SALZMAN, PAUL, ed., *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing: 1560-1700* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- 'Contemporary References in Mary Wroth's *Urania*', *The Review of English Studies, New Series*, 29.114 (May, 1978), pp. 178–181
- SARASOHN, LISA, 'Margaret Cavendish and Patronage', *Endeavour*, 23.3 (1999), pp. 130-132
- 'Motion and Morality: Pierre Gassendi, Thomas Hobbes and the Mechanical World-View', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 46.3 (July-September, 1985), pp. 363-379
- *The Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish: Reason and Fancy during the Scientific Revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010)
- 'A Science Turned Upside Down: Feminism and the Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 47.4 (Autumn, 1984), pp. 299-307
- 'Thomas Hobbes and the Duke of Newcastle. A Study in the Mutuality of Patronage before the Establishment of the Royal Society', *Isis*, 90 (1999)
- SAWYER, EDMUND, ed., *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I*, vol. 3, collected from the original papers of Sir Ralph Winwood (London: W. B., 1725)
- SCHOLOSSER, LISE MAE, 'Mrs. Dalloway and the Duchess: Virginia Woolf Reads and Writes Margaret Cavendish', *Literature Compass*, 5.2 (2008): pp. 353-361
- SCHWARZ, KATHRYN, 'Chastity, Militant and Married: Cavendish's Romance, Milton's Masque', *PMLA*, 118.2 (March, 2003), pp. 270-285
- SCOTT, ROBERT FORSYTH, *St. John's College, Cambridge* (London: 1907)
- SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. by G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997)
- SHANLEY, MARY LYNDON, 'Marriage Contract and Social Contract in Seventeenth Century English Political Thought', *The Western Political Quarterly*, 32.1 (March, 1979), pp. 79-91
- SHAVER, ANNE, ed., *The Convent of Pleasure and Other Plays* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999)
- SHEPARD, ALEXANDRA, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (London: 1868). (See Mary Herbert, née Sidney)
- SLAUGHTER, THOMAS P., ed., *Ideology and Politics on the Eve of Restoration: Newcastle's Advice to Charles II* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984)
- SMITH, BRUCE, ED., *Twelfth Night: Texts and Contexts* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001)
- SMITH, NIGEL, ed., *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, rev. edn. (Harlow, England: Pearson Longman, 2007)
- *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640 – 1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994)

- SPRAGGON, JULIE, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press), 2004.
- SPRINGBORG, PATRICIA, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes's Leviathan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- 'Spring Gardens', *Survey of London: volume 20: St Martin-in-the-Fields, pt III: Trafalgar Square & Neighbourhood*, ed. Sir George Gater (London: London County Council, 1940)
- STAR, GABRIELLE G., 'Cavendish, Aesthetics, and the Anti-Platonic Line', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39.3 (Spring, 2006), pp. 295-308
- STARK, RYAN JOHN, 'Margaret Cavendish and Composition Style', *Rhetoric Review*, 17.2 (Spring, 1999), pp. 264-281
- STELUACK, ROBERT M. and ASGTASIOS STALKAS, 'Galen and the Humour Theory of Temperament', *Personality and Individual Differences*, 12.3 (1991)
- STEVENSON, JAY, 'The Mechanist-Vitalist Soul of Margaret Cavendish', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 36.3 (Summer, 1996), pp. 527-543
- STONE, LAWRENCE, *Road to Divorce: England 1530-1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)
- *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977)
- thorough SUZUKI, MIHOKO, 'Animals and the Political in Lucy Hutchinson and Margaret Cavendish', *The Seventeenth Century*, 30.2 (2015), pp. 229-247
- *The History of British Women's Writing, 1610-1690* (New York: Palgrave, 2011)
- 'Margaret Cavendish and the Female Satirist', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 37.3 (Summer, 1997), pp. 483-500
- THOMAS, KEITH, 'The Double Standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20.2 (April, 1959), pp. 195-216
- TODD, BARBARA, 'The Virtuous Widow in Protestant England', *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Longman, 1999)
- TRANQUILLUS, SUETONIUS, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, trans. by Alexander Thomson (Philadelphia: Gebbie, 1883)
- TRAVITSKY, BETTY, 'Reprinting Tudor History: The Case of Catharine Aragon', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50.1 (Spring, 1997), pp. 164-174
- TRAVITSKY, BETTY and ANNE LAKE PRESCOTT, *Female and Male Voices in Early Modern England: An Anthology of Renaissance Writing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000)
- TREASE, GEOFFREY, *Portrait of a Cavalier: William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle* (London: MacMillan, 1979)
- VIVES, JUAN LUIS, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-century Manual*, ed. and trans. by Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)
- VIVIAN, JOHN LAMBRICK, *The Visitations of Cornwall: Comprising the Heralds' Visitations of 1530, 1573, & 1620* (Exeter: William Pollard, 1887)
- WAGNER, ANN, 'Idleness and the Ideal of the Gentlemen', *History of Education Quarterly*, 25.1/2 (Spring-Summer, 1985), pp. 41-55

- WALLER, J. G., 'The Lords of Cobham, their Monuments and the Church', *Archaeologica Cantiana*, part 2, vol. XII (1878), pp. 113-166
- WALSH, WILLIAM S. 'Baker's Dozen', *Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1892)
- WALTER, JOHN, *Understanding Popular Violence in the English Revolution: The Colchester Plunderers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- WEAR, ANDREW, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550–1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- WEISE, WENDY, 'Recent Studies in Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (2001-2012)', *English Literary Renaissance*, 42.1 (February, 2012), pp. 146-176
- WELLS, STANLEY, 'The Once and Future King Lear', *The Division of Kingdoms*, ed. by Gary Taylor and Michael Warren (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 1-22
- WHITAKER, KATIE, *Mad Madge: The Extraordinary Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, the First Woman to Live by Her Pen* (New York: Basic Books, 2002)
- WIESNER, MERRY E., *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- WIESNER-HANKS, MERRY E., *Early Modern Europe, 1450-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- WILCOX, HELEN, 'Literature and the Household', *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, ed. by David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- WILLIAMS, GWENO, 'Margaret Cavendish, A True Relation', *A Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. by Anita Pacheco (Malden, MA: Blackwell)
- WOODWARD, DONALD, 'The Background to the Statute of Artificers: The Genesis of Labour Policy, 1558-63', *The Economic History Review*, 33.1 (Feb., 1980)
- WOOLF, D. R., 'A Feminine Past? Gender, Genre, and Historical Knowledge in England, 1500-1800', *The American Historical Review*, 102.3 (June, 1997), pp. 645-679
- WOOLF, VIRGINIA, *The Common Reader* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925)
- WOOLRYCH, AUSTIN, 'The Cromwellian Protectorate: A Military Dictatorship?' *History*, 75.244 (June 1990)
- WORSLEY, LUCY, *Cavalier: A Tale of Chivalry, Passion, and Great Houses* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2007)
- ZURCHER, AMELIA A., *Seventeenth-Century English Romance: Allegory, Ethics and Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)