

**THE LITERARY REMAINS  
OF  
CHARLES HOWARD, THIRD EARL OF CARLISLE  
(1669 – 1738)**

**A CRITICAL EDITION WITH  
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES**

**TWO VOLUMES  
with separate Appendix**

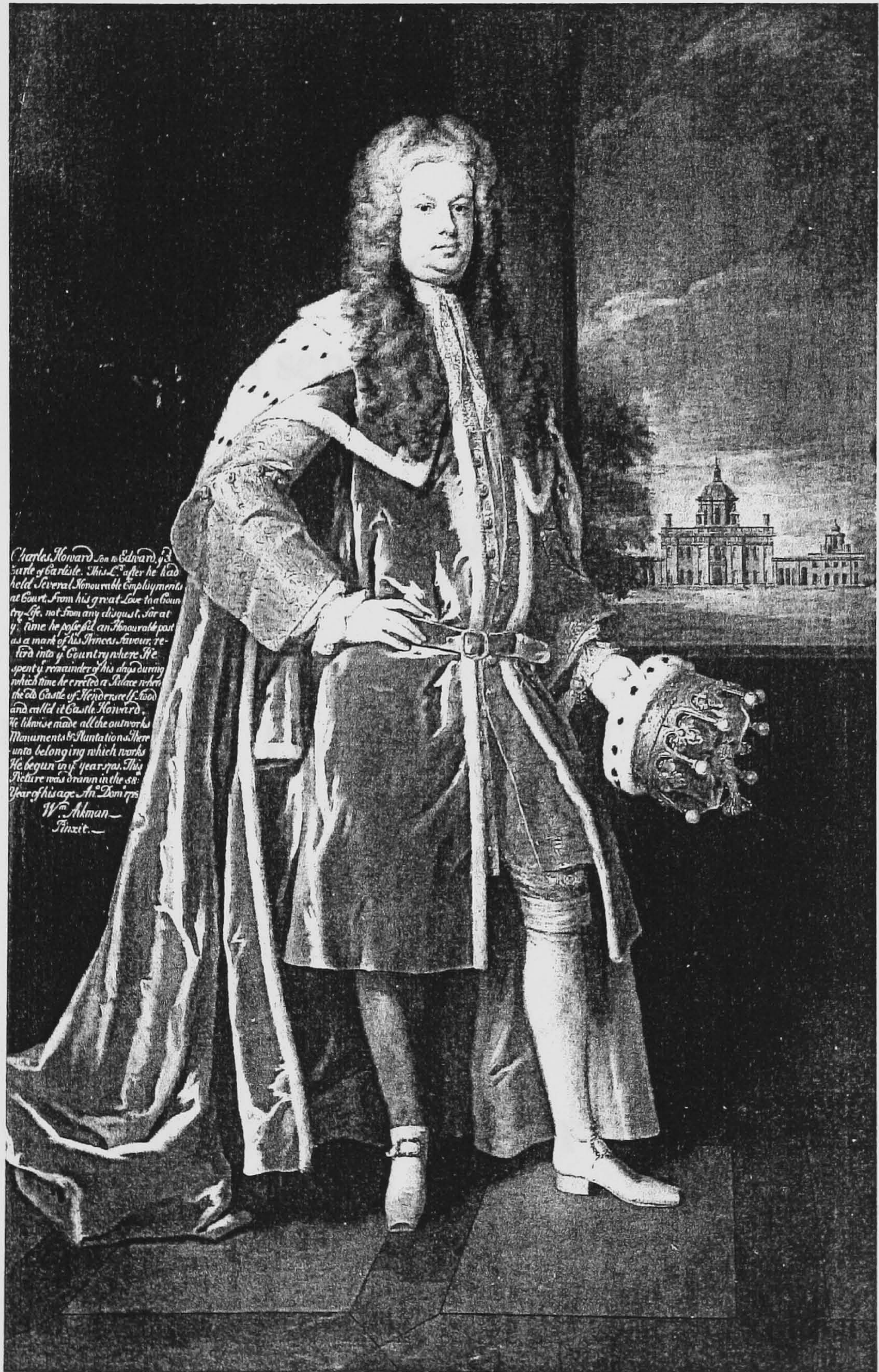
**VOLUME 1**

**QUENTIN HARCOURT WILSON**

**PHD**

**JULY 2006**

THE LIFE OF CHARLES HOWARD, THIRD EARL OF CARLISLE  
(1686-1738)



*FRONTISPIECE*  
Charles Howard, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle,  
portrayed in his Coronation robes  
by William Aikman. c.1728.

# *ABSTRACT*

The following work offers a scholarly presentation of the literary remains of Charles Howard, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle, both those preserved at Castle Howard, and one work which may now be safely ascribed to his authorship, though originally printed and published anonymously. A further letter, hitherto unpublished, but making a significant addition to our understanding of both Carlisle's political standing and the crisis of September 1720, is reproduced in a Supplement. A separate Appendix, for the convenience of those first examining the thesis, contains illustrations, watermarks, photocopies of manuscripts and transcripts of printed documents.

The first two volumes contain: first, the clear presentation of the text as the author might have wished it to be read, with any textual variants and discernable alterations made available as part of the critical apparatus; second, any necessary translations supplied, and notes on contemporary word usage, and other matters of elucidation provided in footnotes; third, the description of each document terms of its physical appearance and condition, offering as much information as possible through written means that might otherwise only be gained by personal inspection of the original; fourth, presenting the materials in a broadly chronological order, so that they might both inform, and in turn be informed by, the life of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl with whom they are associated; and finally, introductory information is given to contextualize these remains, acknowledging scholarly comment already made, and indicating where fresh assessment and conclusions might appropriately be urged.

The purpose of the work is fourfold: first, as a preliminary exercise in conservation, describing these various documents in the fullest detail practicable; second, to present the documents in such a way that in their light the life, aspirations and achievements of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl might be better understood; third, to make these documents more readily available to other scholars whose interests may be differently focussed, but for whom some part of this material may prove relevant; finally, and closely related to the last point, it is hoped that making these documents available in this way will stimulate interest without overburdening the archivists at Castle Howard.

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# ***ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS***

My thanks are due, first, to the Hon. Simon Howard and the Trustees of Castle Howard for access to the manuscripts and other materials and for permission to reproduce them in this form; to Dr Christopher Ridgway, the Archivist at Castle Howard for his help and advice; to his assistant, Alison Brisby for her interest and willingness to photocopy a considerable number of eighteenth-century manuscripts for me; to my supervisors, Dr Jack Donovan and Professor John Barrell, and at an earlier stage, Dr Natasha Glaisyer, for their commitment to the venture; to the Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies and the Department of English and Related Studies – staff and fellow students alike – who have fanned my interest in this period, and to the University for a generous bursary which eased the cost of my studies at an earlier stage; to Librarians and Archivists at York, Cambridge and Yale Universities, and at County Record Offices in Kendal, Carlisle and Westminster; and finally, but by no means least, to my wife Anne, without whose special support and encouragement nothing could have been begun, let alone finished.

## *DECLARATION*

Except where specifically acknowledged by accepted academic conventions, the work presented in this thesis is original work of my own. It is, however, necessary to point out that much of the material forming Chapter 6 has already been submitted to the University of York as a Dissertation for the Degree of M.A. Further research has considerably modified my thinking about those particular manuscripts and their history, but nonetheless much of the material is substantially the same. Interest in Castle Howard, and especially in its iconography, similarly formed the basis of one assessed course-work module for that degree, and a number of ideas explored there reappear at different points in this present work.

It is also necessary to acknowledge my indebtedness to my supervisor, Dr Jack Donovan, Charlotte Holden of Burnley, and Lucy Beckett of Rievaulx for specialist help with eighteenth-century Italian, French and Latin – languages in which, even in their more contemporary presentation, I could claim but little familiarity.



# ***ABBREVIATIONS***

<i>AV</i>	Authorised Version of the Bible (“King James” 1611)
BCH	<i>The Building of Castle Howard</i> . Charles Saumarez Smith, (London: Pimlico, 1997).
<i>BCP</i>	Book of Common Prayer
BL	British Library
CH	Castle Howard MSS.
CROC	Cumbria County Record Office, Carlisle
CROK	Cumbria County Record Office, Kendal
CULA	Cambridge University Library and Archive
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports
M	An editorial identifier for the Manuscripts contained in CH J8/35/15-17 – the “Essays”
<i>OED</i>	Oxford English Dictionary
<i>RSV</i>	Revised Standard Version of the Bible (1952)
YCBA	Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut
YM	York Minster Library

# WATERMARKS

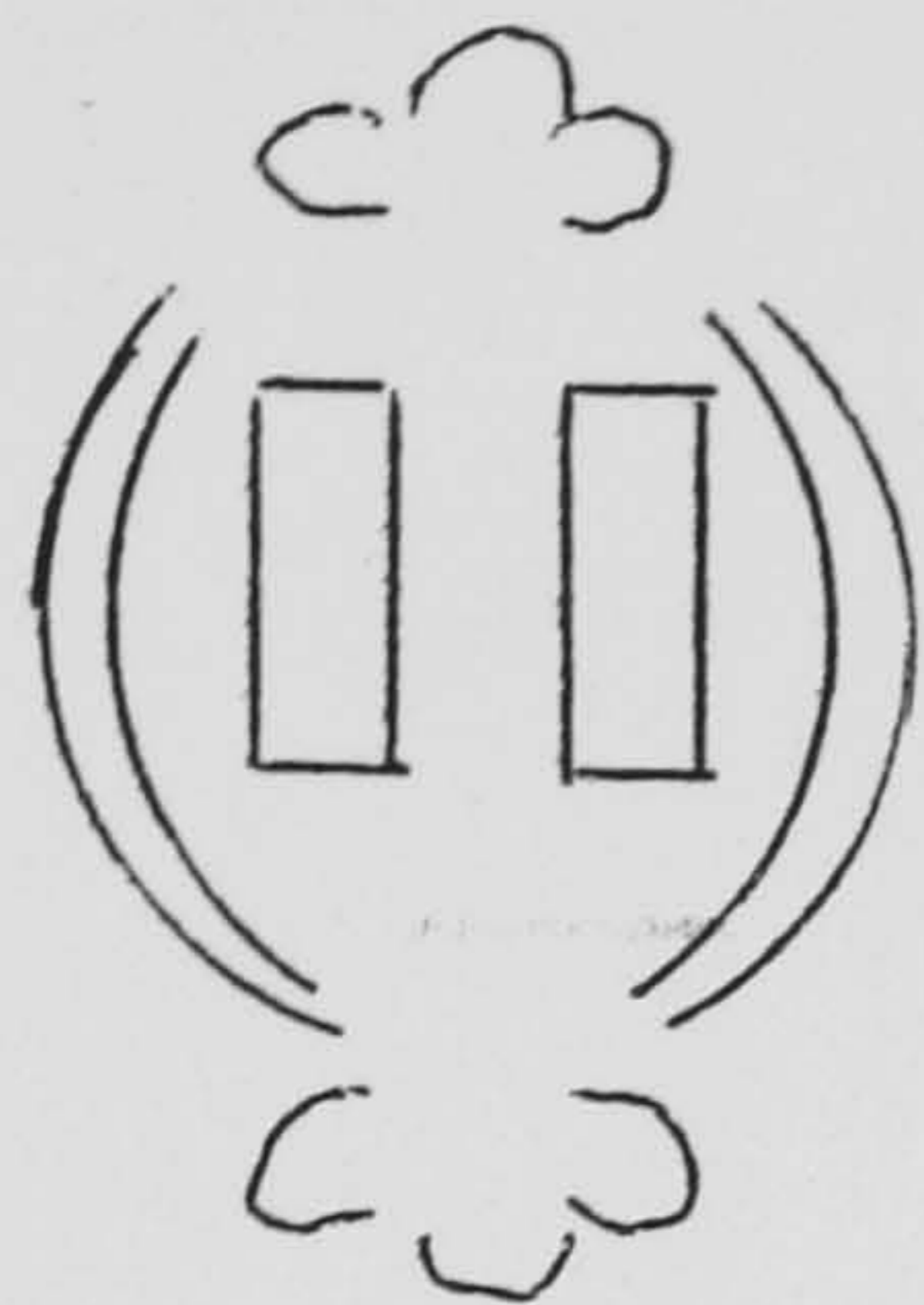


Figure 1



Figure 5



Figure 9

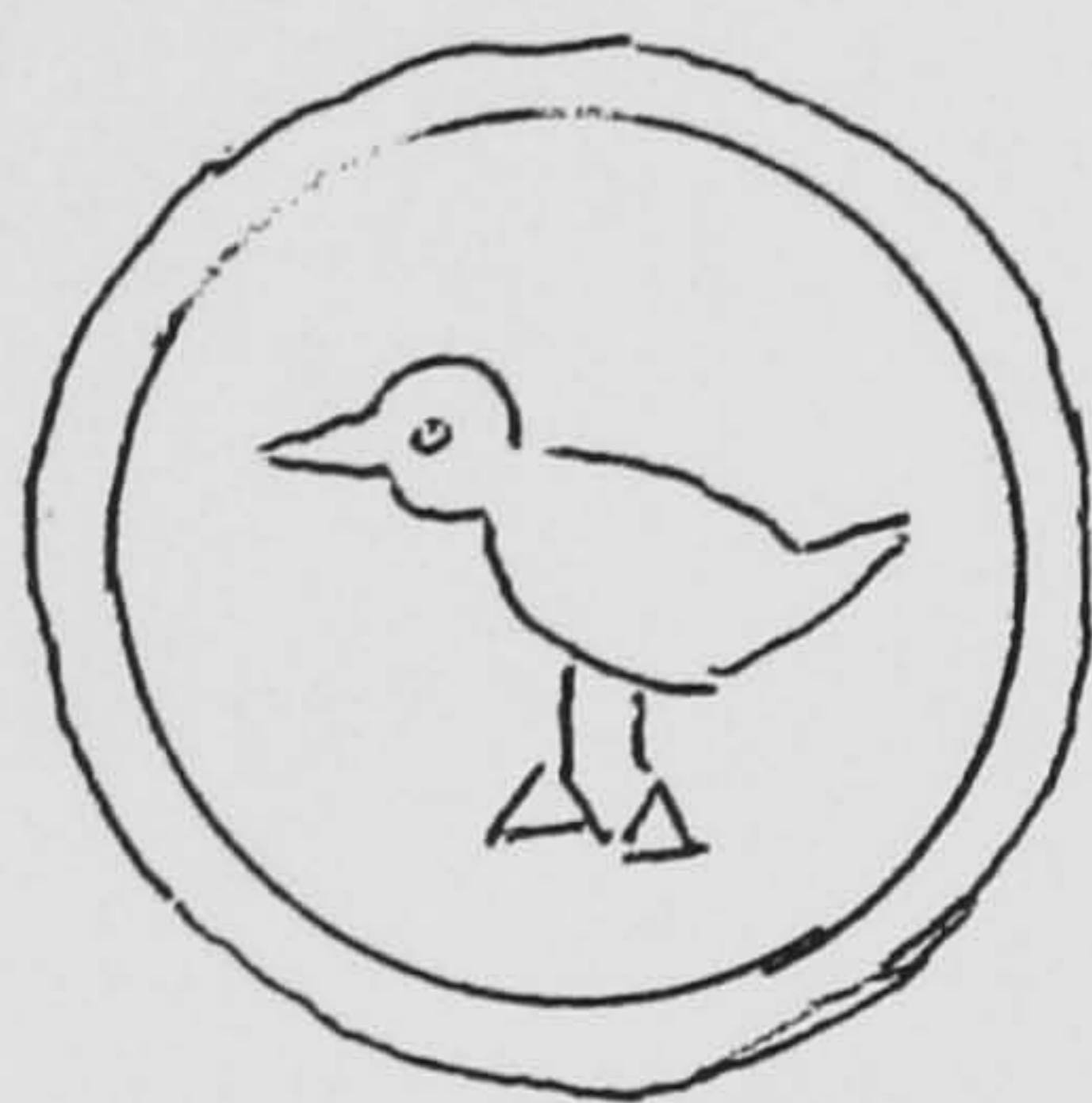


Figure 2

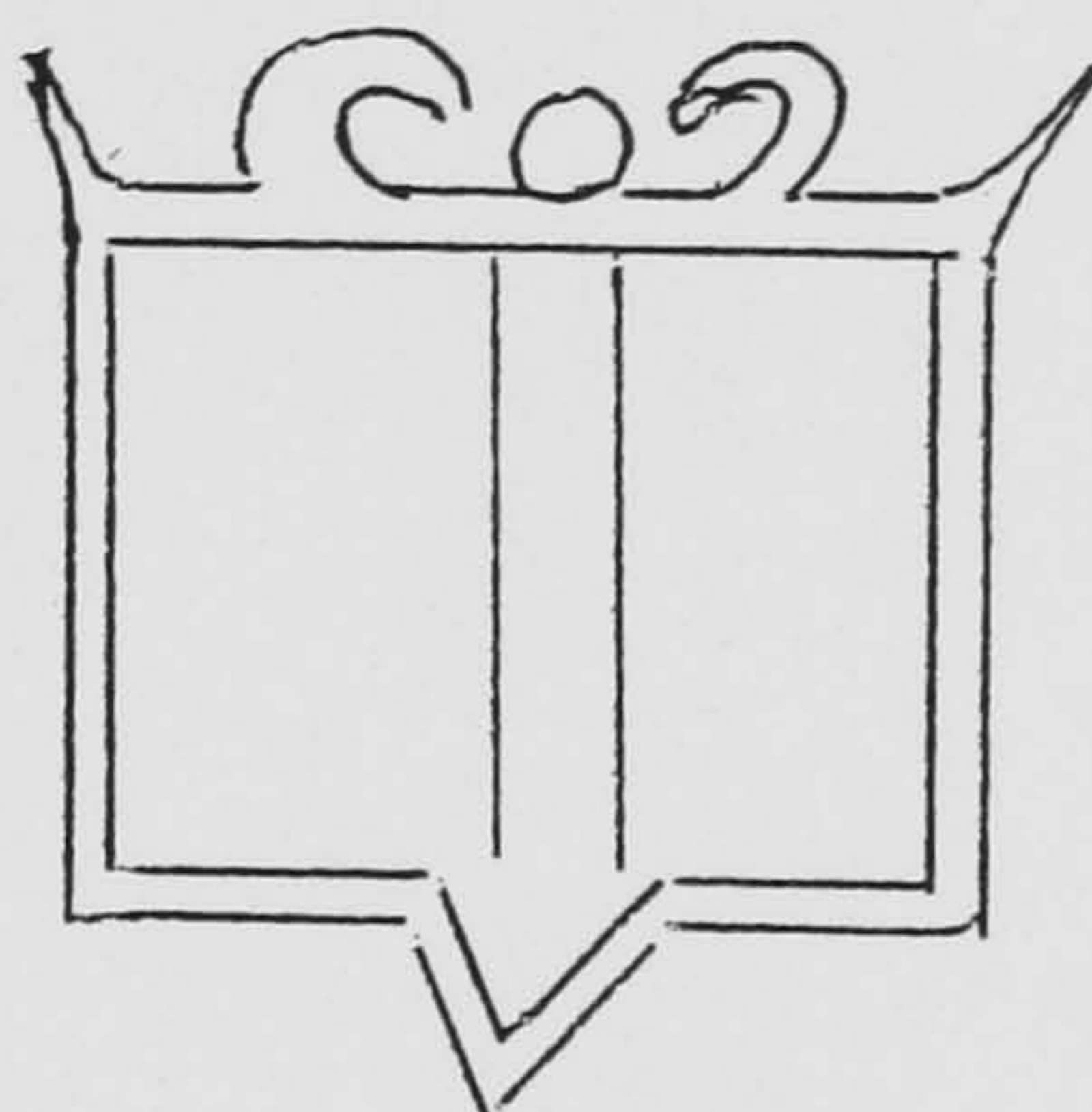


Figure 6



Figure 10



Figure 3

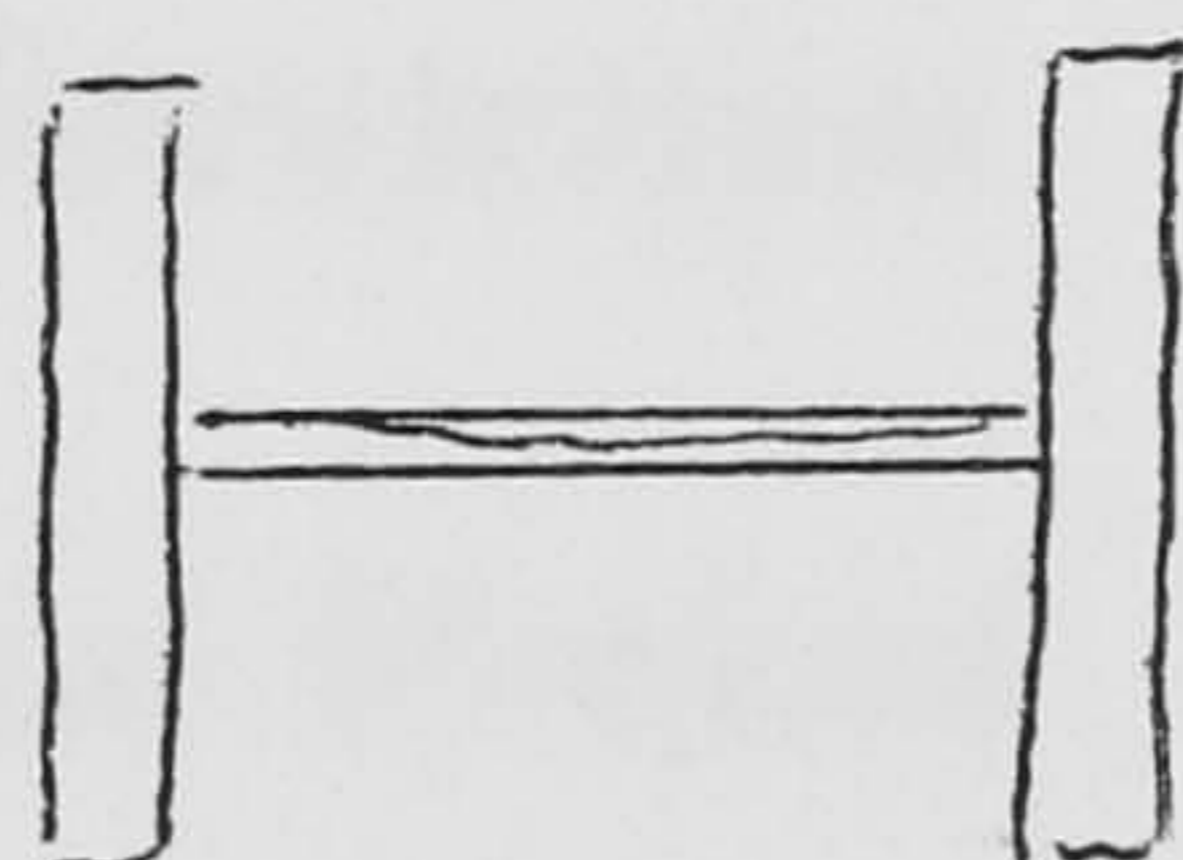


Figure 7



Figure 11

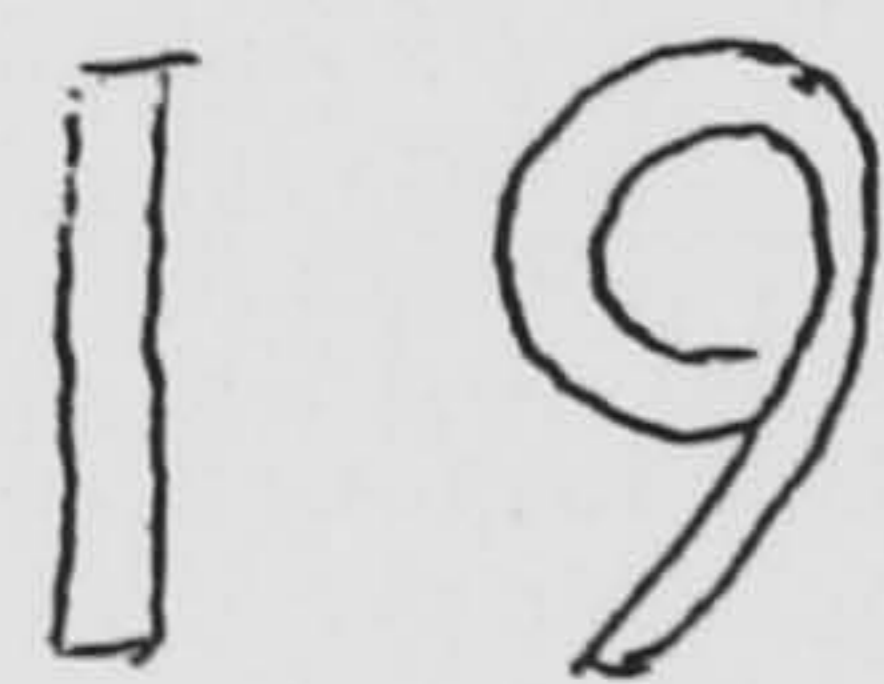


Figure 4

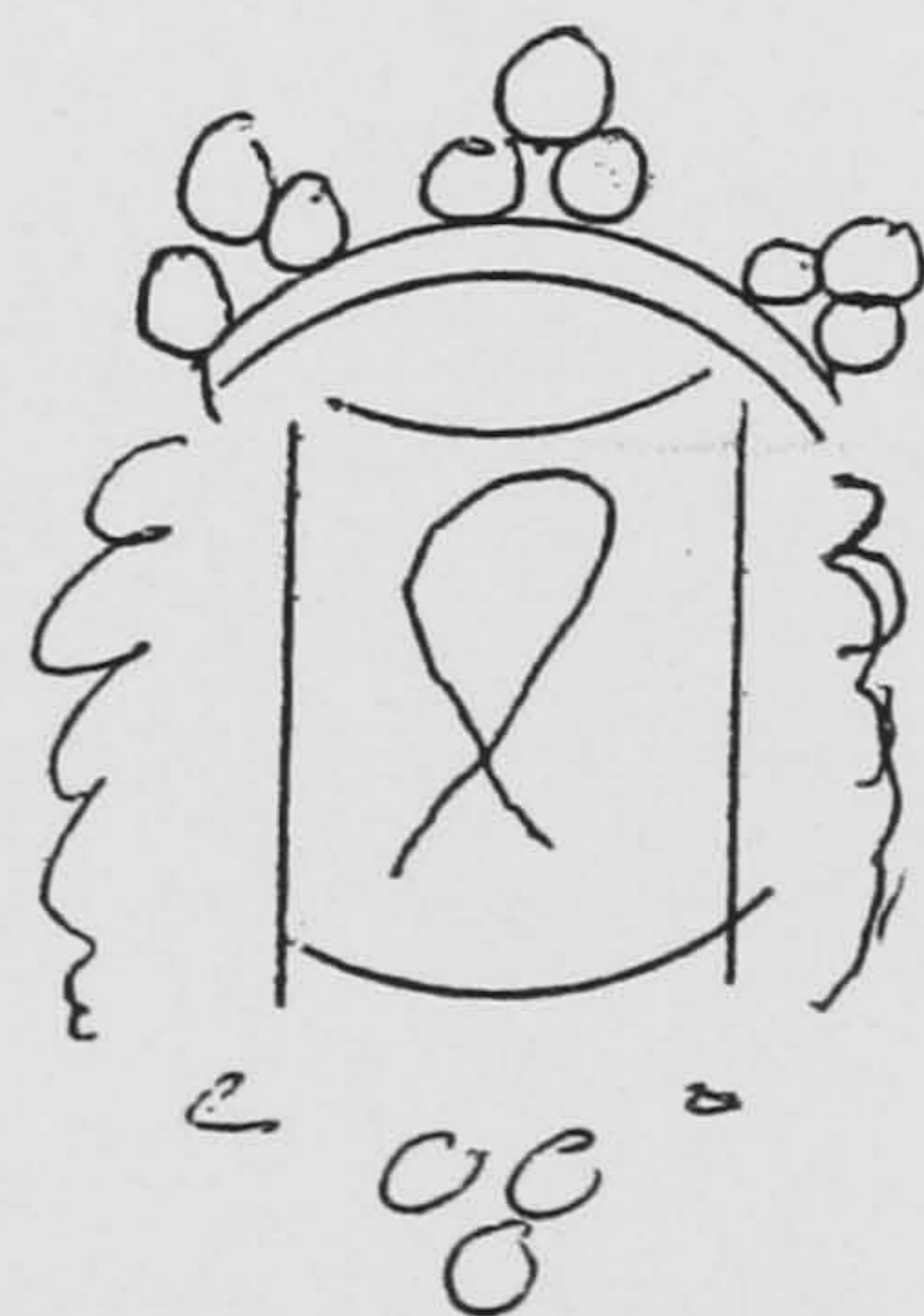


Figure 8

J WHATMAN  
TURKEY MILL  
1844

Figure 12

PLATE 1

# INTRODUCTION

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# *i* THE MANUSCRIPTS

## HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

### FIFTEENTH REPORT

#### APPENDIX Part 6

#### “The Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle preserved at Castle Howard”

(1897)

#### From the Introduction:

It is now some years since the Earl of Carlisle first gave permission for the examination of his collection of manuscripts at Castle Howard, and since the late Rev. J.A.Bennett was instructed to inspect and report upon it. Mr. Bennett proceeded so far as to select such letters and papers as he deemed to be of public interest, chiefly between the years 1780 and 1820, and they were accordingly transcribed, but he unfortunately died before the transcripts were collated and prepared for press.

Subsequently to Mr. Bennett's inspection, many bundles of earlier correspondence were discovered by Mr. Duthie, the custodian of Castle Howard, in various parts of the Castle, and were brought together by him for the first time, being added to the bundles seen by Mr. Bennett. After arranging the whole collection partly under the writers' names and partly in order of date, as circumstances required, Mr. Duthie inserted all the papers into convenient cases or letter-books, and made lists of their contents.

Lord Carlisle readily consented to the inclusion of extracts from this correspondence in the report left unfinished by Mr. Bennett, and the work of selecting and editing such of the papers at Castle Howard as might be found useful for the purposes of the Commission was placed in my hands. To facilitate the copying at length of the more interesting portion of the correspondence Lord Carlisle liberally allowed it to be sent to London and deposited for a time in the Public Record Office.

It was not thought proper to include the correspondence of the third Earl, especially with Sir John Vanbrugh, relating to the erection of the noble edifice which is now the principal seat of the family, and showing the careful attention which was bestowed on its architecture and surroundings. Other letters of Vanbrugh on more general subjects are, of course, included. Matters of purely local interest, such as Parliamentary elections in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Northumberland, have usually been omitted.

This comes from the introduction to the volume making available the historical manuscripts held at Castle Howard. It is quoted, first, because it makes clear the debt of gratitude owed to the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl, to the members of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, to Mr. Bennett, Mr. Duthie, and, finally, to Mr. R E G Kirk, the editor, for their foresight in preserving the records in their possession. It is also quoted because it describes clearly and methodically the way in which the task was undertaken; and, even though it would hardly have been the editor's intention, he makes it clear where closer scrutiny from another generation of scholars might be fruitful. This is no carping criticism: there are few areas where intervention does not have some irreversible consequence. The admission of what has been done opens up possible avenues of further enquiry and legitimate speculation in those areas where potential evidence may have been disturbed.

If these reservations appear rather theoretical than practical, it may be well to point out some evident difficulties in the methodology described in this Introduction. "Mr. Duthie discovered many bundles of manuscripts in various parts of the Castle and brought them together for the first time." He secured their preservation – for which he deserves posterity's thanks. Nevertheless, the act of moving these papers destroyed one layer at least of evidence possibly important to other enquiries. For example, the situation of manuscripts in various parts of the Castle offers evidence of the use to which parts of the Castle may have been put at different times; and moving them destroyed evidence implicit in manuscripts grouped in this or that bundle. Borrowing an archaeological analogy, this is like excavating an ancient site without recording layers of subsequent occupation.

Again, we are told that the manuscripts were “collated” and “selected” for publication – the first being an absolutely necessary procedure; the second not so necessary, but understandable. Elsewhere in the Introduction Mr. Kirk admits that some of the letters are undated, and therefore some guesswork has been necessary in their placement in an order which is at least partly chronological. Whilst entirely reasonable, Mr. Kirk adds the caveat that this was undertaken subject to constraints imposed by the practicalities of research. Admittedly, any kind of informed guesswork must always be regarded as provisional, but such an admission at the outset makes any reader concerned with the accurate transcription of these materials cautious. Where “selection” is concerned, Mr. Kirk claims that this has been made on the basis of “public interest” and “such as might be found useful for the purposes of the Commission”. “Public interest” may be conceived differently by different people in different ages. As Mr Bennett, the first editor, was a late nineteenth-century clergyman closely connected with the Howard family he may well have construed the “public interest” to exclude that which he or the family considered private and, possibly, less than edifying. While admitting that public prurience is all too often the real motive driving “public interest” it is still true that much legitimate research depends on access to the otherwise “private” and sometimes unedifying facets of human life.

Significant for this present enquiry is the attention paid to the literary remains of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl. There are three references in the index, two of which relate to letters received from Horatio Walpole, Cofferer to the Royal Household, and effectively Queen Caroline’s secretary, and the third refers to a catalogue-type mention on p.194 which runs as follows:

[1738]

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle

A few poems and sermons in his hand. One of the former is entitled “A Riddle made upon the Game called Quadrille that Game being made partly from Ombre and partly from Wisk did so prevail that the other two games were in a great measure laid aside.

It begins –

My Father’s birth proud Spain does claim  
 My Mother from fair England came  
 Of high renown, of ancient race,  
 Both much esteem’d in either place.

No indication is given of the number of items, their titles, or anything else of any substance. This is potentially quite alarming, for on the face of it some of the material may have gone missing. This document refers to “Sermons” – but only one is known today, and only one was known to Judith Oppenheimer, the Curator at Castle Howard who catalogued these manuscripts for the National Research Archives in 1978. Possibly a slip by an archivist with more pressing concerns, and no great expertise in eighteenth-century sermons – but it is still of concern, because neither Mr. Kirk nor Judith Oppenheimer mentioned that the existing sermon is incomplete: an observation requiring no specialist training or expertise beyond basic care – qualities one cannot conceive lacking in either. It seems sad that manuscripts may have been mislaid, their disappearance unnoticed, because they were first consigned to one of Mr. Kirk’s convenient cases with a title which did not specify their precise contents.

Nevertheless, with these caveats, the published transcripts remain an indispensable resource in unravelling some of Lord Carlisle’s personal history, and it seems regrettable that greater prominence was not given to the remaining items when these were first placed in the public domain.

Charles Saumarez Smith<sup>1</sup> recognised the potential importance of the literary works of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl as he worked on the correspondence relating to the building of Castle Howard - laid to one side by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1897. Without that recognition and the publication of some modest extracts the present study might never have been undertaken. These documents require further study, for what emerged in *The Building of Castle Howard* does not exhaust the religious, historical, political or literary interest they possess.

Apart from making these documents more readily available to scholars with different academic interests, this study releases and co-ordinates more material to illuminate an interesting and significant – but little-known - life and achievement. Careful attention to what is already available has enabled one significant attribution to be made in Carlisle's authorship of a pamphlet in support of the Ministry after the Excise Crisis of 1733. A more complete biography of a fascinating man might be the eventual result, though beyond the scope of the present volume. Nevertheless it will have achieved its aim if it assembles and collates some of the resources on which such an undertaking might draw.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Saumarez Smith, *The Building of Castle Howard* (London: Pimlico, 1997)



## *ii* EDITORIAL METHOD

If an editor serves to bring reader and text together, then the more self-effacing the better. But it is always difficult to decide whether, for example, the relative freedom of eighteenth-century spelling and punctuation presents a difficulty or a valuable authentic feature grounding the text in its time. Here the approach has been one of minimal interference for reasons justified by the particular circumstances surrounding the publication of these texts.

The material is presented as clearly as the author's intentions allow, retaining his idiosyncrasies and those of his age in spelling, contractions and punctuation. The characteristic use of the ampersand has been retained, although for practical reasons the difficulty of reproducing the long "S" has led to its replacement by the short form. No attempt has been made to modernise capitalization, or to impose consistency on the author's own practices. However, the author's reliance on a comma to indicate almost every modern punctuation mark poses problems. These have been resolved by making no change in the words themselves (so far as their order may reasonably be determined); by retaining the author's punctuation, but making a larger space between one 'sentence' and the next. Where other punctuation marks seem necessary, these are supplied within editorial square brackets to make the assumed grammatical structure – and editorial intervention - transparent.

A heavier Times New Roman typeface has been employed for Carlisle's text with 1.5 line-spacing. This gives some visual distinction to the author's own words in the wider context of editorial explanation and comment.

Some texts have presented special problems. The group of texts in Chapter 1 clearly originate from the author's early years, and – so far as possible – the original, note-like style is followed. No attempt has been made to “correct” what has been committed to paper, substituting correct usage of the author's own or any later age. Since these texts involve considerable use of eighteenth-century French and Italian, not to mention the Latin quotations and references that were common in educated writing at the time, translations have been supplied, in addition to the other critical apparatus.

In other, later texts no attempt has been made to follow original pagination. However, in the case of poetry, line numbers are introduced; while in the case of extended prose works, authorial page numbers are indicated within round brackets and editorial indications of original page divisions are given within square brackets.

Each group of texts gathered together within a Chapter has a unifying rationale implied in the Chapter title. For the most part the method followed has been chronological, determined by such internal and external evidence that may be available. In addition, each text is given a specific introduction to indicate those physical and historical characteristics that belong to that text alone, and any other matters which may affect its interpretation.

With the *Essay on God and His Prophets* (J8/35/15-17) a number of different problems are encountered. These are specifically addressed in the introduction to these documents.

Watermarks in each manuscript are described in the commentary and illustrated in the prefatory material on Plate 1. Some may be profitably compared with watermarks in W.A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England and France in the XVIIth & XVIIIth Centuries* [Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1935]. These watermarks are most helpful in distinguishing the manuscripts written on Carlisle's usual paper of the mid-1720s and 1730s – a quality laid paper watermarked with a Strasbourg and countermark "IV". The simple Strasbourg lily was used by Bernadus Cramer, who had a paper mill at Ootmarsum, now Berghuiser Papierfabriek at Hattem in the Netherlands from 1711. "IV" represent the initials of Jean Villedary. Papermakers of this name worked for Dutch manufacturers in the area from 1668 until 1812, producing papers of outstanding quality. While this paper was made by a Jean Villedary, it is also possible that his initials were borrowed by the manufacturer as a hall-mark of quality.

Except for the early Notebooks, where the ink has faded to a brown colour, the ink Carlisle used was of good quality, retaining its colour well across three centuries. It is of a ferro-tannic composition, which reacts chemically with the paper over time in such a way that "stare-through" occurs.

Part of the challenge of this enquiry has been the partial attention given to these papers, even in their conservation. Though the notebooks identified as 'Juvenilia' are catalogued as items 1-4, there is little consistency, thematic or chronological, in further numbering. The "Book of Coates and Crests" clearly originates in 1699 – yet is catalogued as J8/35/13. Naturally, close inspection has often suggested a more logical sequence, but such a methodology occasionally runs the risk of constructing a

circular argument. Where internal evidence is unambiguous, there is little difficulty. But where, as with some poetry, the finished nature of the text suggests a later date, the original spark which brought the poem into being belongs to an earlier period. Similarly in the 'Sermon', where conclusive evidence is unavailable, dating can only be provisional.

The aim of this thesis is to allow the 'life to inform the texts, and the texts to inform the life'. The inherent difficulties have not ignored: indeed, the excitement of this enquiry lies in the problems such diverse documents present, and developing strategies to address them. Recourse has been had, not simply to literature, but the general history, political, cultural and social, of the period. At points areas within other disciplines are identified where further, detailed work might prove rewarding. How portraits might be inscribed, and for what purpose, is one area where Professor Kate Retford has kindly made her own pioneering work available; and the Librarian of Lambeth Palace has been helpful with available sources for the little-researched area of national days of fasting and humiliation. The interdisciplinary approach of the Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies at King's Manor in the University of York encourages developing such strategies. No apology is offered for including texts which invite a "non-literary" reading: interpreted in different ways, these develop a multi-dimensional view of the third Earl of Carlisle, his life and his world.

Finally, as a courtesy to those who first examined this thesis, the illustrations and water-marks appearing in the body of Volumes 1 and 2, together with photocopies of original documents have been presented in a separate Appendix. Copies of this Appendix have been deposited with the University Library.

### iii THE AUTHOR

The principal details of Charles Howard, third Earl of Carlisle, are given here in tabular form, together with the putative dates of his writings. Detailed, referenced discussion of important issues may be found in the introductory matter provided with the transcripts of the texts.

1669		Charles Howard born. Eldest son of Edward Howard (1646-1692), 2 <sup>nd</sup> Earl of Carlisle, and Elizabeth (1646-1696) daughter of Sir William Uvedale of Wickham, Hants., and widow of Sir William Berkeley. Grandson of Charles Howard, (1628-1685), 1 <sup>st</sup> Earl of Carlisle. No details of birth, date, baptism or place survive, though the family seat was at Naworth, near Carlisle. Education uncertain, though it is alleged that he attended Morpeth Grammar School.
1685	6 February	Death of Charles II: Accession of James II.
	24 February	Death of grandfather. Charles Howard assumes courtesy title as Viscount Morpeth.
	June	Monmouth's Rebellion.
1688	25 July	Marries Anne Capel, (13) daughter of Arthur, first Earl of Essex, who died in the Tower of London in 1683 after arrest in wake of Rye House plot. They do not cohabit.
	5 November	William of Orange lands at Torquay. The Glorious Revolution begins.
	17 November	Embarks on Grand Tour.
1689	13 February	Accession of William and Mary <i>Remarks out of several Books</i> <i>Observations on Meddails</i> <i>Notes on Italy</i> <i>Notes on Principal Families in Rome</i>
1691	February	Returns to England. MP for Morpeth.
1692	23 April	Succeeds father as 3 <sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle.
1693	1 March	Governor of Carlisle Castle.
1694	28 June	Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmorland. Vice-admiral of Cumberland.
	October	Birth of Henry Howard. First son and heir.
1695		Active in Parliamentary elections in Cumberland and Westmorland, arousing local hostility. Moves to 20a, Soho Square. Birth of Mary, eldest daughter.
1696	30 December	Death of mother, Elizabeth, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Countess of Carlisle.
1697	27 January	Execution of Sir John Fenwick after attainder for treason. Birth of Anne, second daughter.
1698	June	Rumours of marriage breakdown. Incident with Lady Anne Popham at grandmother's house. Parallel rumours about the 3 <sup>rd</sup> Countess and an affair with Lord Portland (or Albemarle).
	July	Visits Henderskelfe, a family estate in Yorkshire.

- 1698 31 October Leases Henderskelfe from grandmother with intention to build.
- 1699 Birth of Catherine, third daughter. (d. 1703)  
New Plans drawn for Castle Howard with John Vanbrugh.  
*A Book of Coates of Armes.*
- 1700 23 June Gentleman of the Bedchamber.  
Work on construction of Castle Howard's East wing begins.
- 1701 8 May (Deputy) Earl Marshal of England (Until 26 August 1706)  
Birth of Elizabeth, fourth daughter.
- 1702 30 December First Commissioner of the Treasury (until 6 May 1702)  
8 March Death of William III: Accession of Queen Anne.  
23 April Queen Anne's Coronation: Carlisle Earl Marshal.  
6 May Carlisle dismissed as First Commissioner of the Treasury.
- 1703 Birth of Harriet (Stillborn?)  
4 September Burial of grandmother, Anne, 1<sup>st</sup> Countess of Carlisle at York Minster.
- 1704 10 March Burial of Catherine, third daughter, at York Minster.  
14 December Bishop of Carlisle hears of the Earl and Countess establishing separate households.
- 1705 Birth of Charles, second son.  
Separation from Countess confirmed.
- 1706 10 April Commissioner for the Union with Scotland.  
(Flirtation with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu?)  
Central and Eastern blocks of Castle Howard complete.
- 1707 1 May Act of Union with Scotland.
- 1709 West Wing of Garden front of Castle Howard complete.  
Pellegrini begins murals.
- 1711 31 December Marlborough dismissed as Captain-General.
- 1712 17 January Walpole censured by Commons for alleged peculation.  
24 January Marlborough also censured by Commons.  
29 April Dismissed as Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmorland.  
October Marlborough leaves England in self-imposed exile.
- 1713 September Whigs heavily defeated in General Election.
- 1714 January Vanbrugh draws up plans for Obelisk to Marlborough.  
*Draft Inscription for the Obelisk*  
1 August Death of Queen Anne: Accession of George I. Carlisle appointed one of the Lords Justice until George I's arrival.  
9 October Reappointed Lord Lieutenant for Cumberland and Westmorland.
- 1715 23 May Appointed First Commissioner of the Treasury.  
11 October Relinquishes Treasury Appointment assuming responsibilities in the North during the Jacobite Rebellion.  
16 October Appointed Constable of the Tower of London.  
Jacobite Rebellion.  
12 November Present at relief of Preston and defeat of Jacobite rebels.  
*Copy of a Sermon made by the Earl of Carlisle*  
Birth of bastard daughter (exact year unknown).
- 1717 12 July Lord Lieutenant of Tower Hamlets.

- 1717 23 September Approach from the Duke of Kingston to become President of the Council.  
 13 November Approach from the Earl of Sunderland to become President of the Council.  
 27 November Marriage of elder son and heir to Frances, daughter of Charles Spencer, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Sunderland, First Commissioner of the Treasury.  
 Breach between George I and Prince of Wales complete.  
 Walpole leads secession from Stanhope/Sunderland Ministry.  
*Introduction to an Epistle from Antiochus to Stratonice*
- 1718 December Marriage of second daughter, Anne, to Rich, Viscount Irwin.  
 December? First meeting with prominent Quaker, Thomas Story, in London.
- 1719 Marriage of third surviving daughter, Elizabeth, to Nicholas Lechmere.  
*The Seven Wise Men of England (ascribed to Lady Irwin)*  
 Minor Jacobite Rebellion.  
 Work begins on Roman-style walls at Castle Howard.
- 1720 September South Sea Bubble bursts.  
 28 September Writes to Lord Sunderland as the South Sea Crisis breaks.  
 Walpole and Townshend return to support the Ministry.
- 1721 5 February Death of Stanhope.  
 10 April Rich Viscount Irwin dies: Lady Irwin widowed.  
 25 August Nicholas Lechmere created 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Lechmere.
- 1722 19 April Death of Sunderland. Walpole & Townshend head Ministry.  
 25 June Receives receipt for discharge of his South Sea debt. (Carlisle was fortunate in losing only about £1000: his son-in-law, Lord Irwin, had been virtually ruined.)  
 25 August – 29 October Receives instructions to take into custody successively the Bishop of Rochester, the Earl of Orrery, Lord North and Grey and the Duke of Norfolk on charges of treason after the abortive Jacobite invasion of 1722.  
 Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson appointed Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower, incurring Carlisle's displeasure for insubordination.
- 29 December Carlisle dismissed from Offices as Constable of the Tower and Lord Lieutenant of Tower Hamlets.  
 Work completed on Roman walls at Castle Howard.
- 1723 1 June Constable of Windsor Castle and Warden of Windsor Forest.
- 1725 11 June Second meeting with Thomas Story at Castle Howard.  
 September Lady Lechmere loses heavily at cards in Bath.
- 1726 February Lady Lechmere takes an overdose of laudanum.  
*A Milk White Heifer.*
- 1727 11 June Death of George I: Accession of George II.  
 18 June Nicholas, Lord Lechmere, dies: Lady Lechmere widowed.
- 1728 28 March Appointed a Privy Councillor.  
 25 October Lady Lechmere marries (Sir) Thomas Robinson.  
*Draft Inscription for the Pyramid.*
- 1730 May Exchanges offices for Master of the foxhounds.

- 1730 *Draft Inscriptions for the Portraits.*
- 1732 Third meeting with Thomas Story at Castle Howard  
Lady Anne Irwin publishes her poem *Castle-Howard*.
- 1733 September *Some Observations upon a Paper* Published anonymously.
- 1734 *A Riddle upon a Game called Quadrille.*  
*An Essay upon God and His Prophet.*  
*An Essay on Man and Nature.*  
*An Essay on God, Man and Reason.*  
*(Remaining Manuscripts relating to the Essays).*  
*Reason a Goddess.*
- 1735 Thomas Gent publishes a version of Carlisle's  
*Advice to his Son* in his *Annales Regioduni Hullini*.
- 1736 12 July Lady Anne Irwin appointed Lady of the Bedchamber to  
Princess Augusta.
- 1737 11 June Lady Irwin marries Col. William Douglas.  
August A poem honouring Carlisle called *Holy Rood Day*, probably  
by Thomas Gent, is printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.
- 1738 1 May Carlisle dies in Bath.  
A second version of *Advice to his Son* is issued, as though  
from the death-bed.
- 14 May Buried temporarily in Bulmer Parish Church.
- September Thomas Gent reprints *Advice to his Son* in his *Pater Patriae*.
- 1739 August *Advice to his Son* appears in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.
- 1745 28 June Remains moved to completed Mausoleum at Castle Howard.



# CHAPTER 1

## *JUVENILIA*

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Figure 1

*Charles Howard, third Earl of Carlisle, by Sir Godfrey Kneller c. 1705. A "Kit-Cat" Portrait held in the National Portrait Gallery. (3197)*

Figure 2

*Anne Howard, third Countess of Carlisle, by Enoch Seeman. Held in Cassiobury House - now Watford Museum.*



*i*

**Document 1**

**REMARKS OUT OF SEVERAL  
BOOKS**

**J8/35/4**

***[c.1688-1690]***

## INTRODUCTION

Manuscript J8/35/4 (item 1 in the typewritten Catalogue) consists of nine pieces of paper, each 11½” x 8”. (The first, originally 23” x 8”, is folded to double thickness to form a cover). With the remaining eight, folded and stitched twice through the spine, a 36-page booklet is formed, measuring 5¾” x 8”. The paper is quality, laid, with wire-marks and watermark evident (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figure 1, p.x.). The ink has browned, with little stare-through. The nib was fine; the hand rounded and open, yielding few ambiguities. There are few corrections: such as there are seem authorial, and are noted in footnotes.

The front cover bears the authorial title *Remarks out of several / Books. in Latin / French, & English.*, with the Archive mark in the top right hand corner. Originally unnumbered, the pages reproduced here bear a number in square editorial brackets. Counting the front cover as page [1], pages [2] and [36] are blank.

Dating this document – c.1688-1690 – is tentative, resting on assumptions (i) that it broadly contemporary with the *Notes on Italy*, *Notes on the Principal Families in Rome* and *Observations on Meddails*, with which this has similarities; (ii) that it relates to the Grand Tour, and (iii) that it is unlikely that William would be described as Prince of Orange after February 1689.

Viscount Morpeth’s Grand Tour began in late 1688 in the company of a tutor, Alexander Rasigad, and personal servants.<sup>1</sup> Despite searches through alumni lists of

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<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) 1687-1689*, p.356.

English, Scottish and Irish Universities, it has not been possible to discover more about Alexander Rasigad. A tutor for a Grand Tour occupied a position of considerable trust. As Saumarez Smith has noted, this was a convenient time to be out of the country, as William of Orange had just landed at Brixham.<sup>1</sup> Given the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl's political involvement, the timing of Morpeth's marriage and Tour were scarcely fortuitous. We know little about the route or time spent at any point before Italy. Saumarez Smith is practical in suggesting the party travelled down the German Principalities to Vienna, avoiding military consequences of the Nine Years War, crossing the Alps for Venice and Padua, and ultimately Rome. Whether time was spent in Holland is unknown. These booklets suggest considerable time was spent in Northern Italy, then Rome. The entry in the Padua visitors' book "on ye first day of ye Year 1690"<sup>2</sup> may not mark arrival in Italy: it could mark any part of the journey that culminated in Rome. The available evidence of these journeys is contained in these four books - which conclude with the homeward crossing in February 1691.<sup>3</sup>

The author had access to good writing materials, and these documents have been written with care – although some may be fair copies of earlier jottings. Though the subject-matter is occasionally duplicated, internal evidence suggests while the first two were begun early, the second two had been written consecutively in the latter stages of the Tour.

The first book is not clearly structured, consisting of various anecdotes concerning famous painters and sculptors, interspersed with short Latin proverbs, and the

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<sup>1</sup> BCH p.2.

<sup>2</sup> BCH p.3. quoting H.F. Brown, *Inglese e Scozzesi all'Università di Padova* (Venice, 1921), p.36.

<sup>3</sup> HMC Finch Mss III. p.2. Letter from Lord Nottingham to Captain Newton at the Hague on 8 February [29 January] 1691, directing him to take Lord Morpeth and his party to England.

occasional improving thought in English. There are four love-letters in French. Representing only the woman's correspondence they may be copies of letters from someone he met on his Tour.<sup>1</sup> Already married to the 13-year-old Anne Capel (although not yet cohabiting) the question arises whether part of the Grand Tour was intended to introduce "polite" sexual relationships: those which promoted social graces, or, indeed, in an age of widespread sexual licence, those of physical nature. The brief encounter represented here; the specificity of "étrennes", and mentioning verses written by the recipient, suggest substance to such an encounter, though details remain elusive.

Several Latin quotations are derived from Jeremy Taylor's *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living and Holy Dying*<sup>2</sup> – a devotional work Morpeth's tutor might have encouraged him to read. (A copy – unfortunately undated – is listed in the 1716 Catalogue.) As isolated Latin tags these make less sense than as footnotes to Taylor's text. One of the three quotations from Taylor's English text is concerned with the wonder of Divine Providence in preserving the young through adolescence. As the Latin quotations account for about one third of the total, it would be interesting to discover whether others were copied from similar works: and, if so, which. Such citations attributable to Taylor's books are indicated by an editorial mark [†] for the first and [\*] for the second.

The middle and latter sections of *Remarks* reflect Morpeth's interest in heraldry and numismatics – continued in *Observations* and in *Notes on Italy*.

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<sup>1</sup> Or which he might wish to receive.

<sup>2</sup> Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Living and Holy Dying*, edited by P. G. Stanwood (London: Oxford University Press, 1989)

The title, *Remarks out of several Books*, needs consideration. Little is drawn from published books. Indeed, the first items consist of anecdotes recounted either by, or in the company of “Mr Patin” owning pieces by da Vinci and Holbein. The quotations from Jeremy Taylor have already been noted. Some of the other Latin quotations have been drawn from Tacitus, whose clear accessible Latin combined with useful historical narrative made his *Annals* a natural choice for Morpeth’s reading. But as these materials follow no significant order, and as only the Latin saws and the three English quotations from Jeremy Taylor are unquestionably from printed sources, “*taken from several books*” suggests that what is gathered here is a distillation of notes made elsewhere. As with *Observations*, few internal indications prove conclusively when this booklet was written. Two which might be advanced are: (i) if the French “Love-letters” are copies of letters received, it is easier to understand the incident occurring while Morpeth was on his Grand Tour; and (ii) referring to William of Orange suggests a date before February 1689 when he became William III of England. Though inconclusive these are not without weight. The similarities in booklet-production, and the Latin quotations, combine in suggesting this booklet belongs with the *Observations* to the Grand Tour.

How far these texts are affected by the obvious influence of tutors is difficult to know. However, on the basis of these four texts it is not difficult to discern “the child the father of the man.” Here we see clear signs of that interest in family pedigree, political institutions, Roman History and myth, heraldry, advances in religion and science, and above all, the importance of personal, public and private “virtue” which were to find fuller expression in his later life and writings.

**J8/35/4**

**REMARKS OUT OF SEVERAL  
BOOKS.**

**TEXT**

***[c.1688-1690]***



[1]

CASTLE HOWARD

J8/35/4

**Remarks out of several  
Books. in Latin  
French, & English.**

[Page 2 *blank*] [3] The Pope<sup>1</sup> Paul 3 of Parme, upon ye finishing of his Palace at Rome, sent for several Peinters, to adorne it according to ye Italien manner, amongst ye rest Leonard d'AVinci<sup>2</sup> Florentine, who, out of depit,<sup>3</sup> becaus he was not prefered before Raphael,<sup>4</sup> who contested ye employment with him, retired himself into France, where being very well received of François Premier,<sup>5</sup> he hath<sup>6</sup> left several excellent<sup>7</sup> peices of his workmanship; but at last falling sick, ye King, who had a particular estime for him, went to see him; ye poor man being amazed at ye favour [4] yt François showed him, rose up in his bed, & going to imbrase ye King, fell dead in his arms.-

Mr. Patin<sup>8</sup> has one of his peaces yt he esteems<sup>9</sup> at a hundred pounds starling – which was ye occasion of our discourse upon this subject.-

Olbens<sup>10</sup> a natife of Bale,<sup>11</sup> a poor man, but very excellent in ye art of painting. he happened to be recommended to Erasmus,<sup>12</sup> who after

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<sup>1</sup> *The Pope* LH margin addition. Paul III (Alessandro Farnese), (1468-1549), became Pope in 1534. He was, in fact, a Roman, though he developed close links with Parma. Clearly this attribution is mistaken, since both Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael had died long before his pontificate began. Probably Pope Julius II is intended: he certainly did employ both these painters amongst others in 1508.

<sup>2</sup> *d'Avinci*: The final letter is far from clear, and could have been an *e* with either an acute accent, or, as presented here, the dot over an *i*. Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) had been born in Florence.

<sup>3</sup> *depit* French for “vexation” or “pique.”

<sup>4</sup> *Raphael*: Raphael Sanzio (1480-1520) a celebrated painter had been born in Urbino.

<sup>5</sup> *François Premier*: Francis I, (1494-1547): crowned King of France in 1515.

<sup>6</sup> *hath* Interlinear addition.

<sup>7</sup> *excellent* RH margin addition with insertion-mark after *several*.

<sup>8</sup> *Mr. Patin*: This man's identity is not clear, though the context suggests that he is either a *virtuoso* and collector, or possibly a dealer. The nature of his stories about da Vinci and Holbein suggest the former is more likely. He may be Charles Patin, the author of *Familiae Romanae*, a work on numismatics published in Paris in 1663 found in Carlisle's Catalogues of 1698 & 1716.

<sup>9</sup> Originally *estems*. The additional *e* is an interlinear addition without insertion-mark.

<sup>10</sup> *Olbens*: Hans Holbein (the Younger) 1497-1543. Born in Augsburg, he migrated to Basle in 1515. He illustrated Erasmus' *Encomium Moriae* and Martin Luther's translation of the Bible. It was on Erasmus' recommendation that Holbein was introduced to Sir Thomas More's circle, and found employment as Court Painter to Henry VIII in England.

<sup>11</sup> *Bale* i.e. Basle, Switzerland.

<sup>12</sup> *Erasmus*: Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466-1536) the Dutch humanist and scholar of the “New Learning” had already established himself in England before settling in Basle where he could write with relative freedom from the contending parties in the Reformation controversies.

having asked him several questions, adviced him to go into England,<sup>1</sup> & gave him letters of recommendations to ye Bishop of Anvers<sup>2</sup> to forward him in his journey. upon his arrival at Anvers he went to ye Bishops [5] to whom Erasmus had given notice of before his coming. ye Bishop immediatly asked him if he had no letters for him. ye poor man answered, yt he had had some, but unfortunately, he had lost them. upon which ye Bishop asked what acquaintance he had in England, to whom he designed to go, & whithere he had iny money, or no. Olbens told him for money, & acquaintance he had none, but yt there was an english man of quality, yt had passed by Bale, about 8 years ago,<sup>3</sup> to whom he designed to adress himself. ye Bishop asked who this English man of quality was, what was his name, [6] or how he would know him again, Olbens answered, yt he knew no more of him; but immediatly takeing a Bran<sup>4</sup> out of ye fire, he drew him his picture upon ye wall. ye Bishop presently conceived, yt ye Earle of Arandel<sup>5</sup> most be ye persone. to whom he sent him over with letters of recommendation. My Lord, after having imployed him some time in his house, presented him to Henry ye 8<sup>th</sup>.<sup>6</sup> who was so taken with his work, yt upon a petition yt a certain Comte made him<sup>7</sup> to put Olbens to death upon some high offence yt he had given him, he<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Holbein settled in England in 1526.

<sup>2</sup> *Bishop of Anvers*: Though there was a bishopric of Anvers (Antwerp), Erasmus had been Latin Secretary to the Bishop of Cambrai, the influential Henri of Bergen, who happened to live in Antwerp.

<sup>3</sup> According to this story, this would be c.1518.

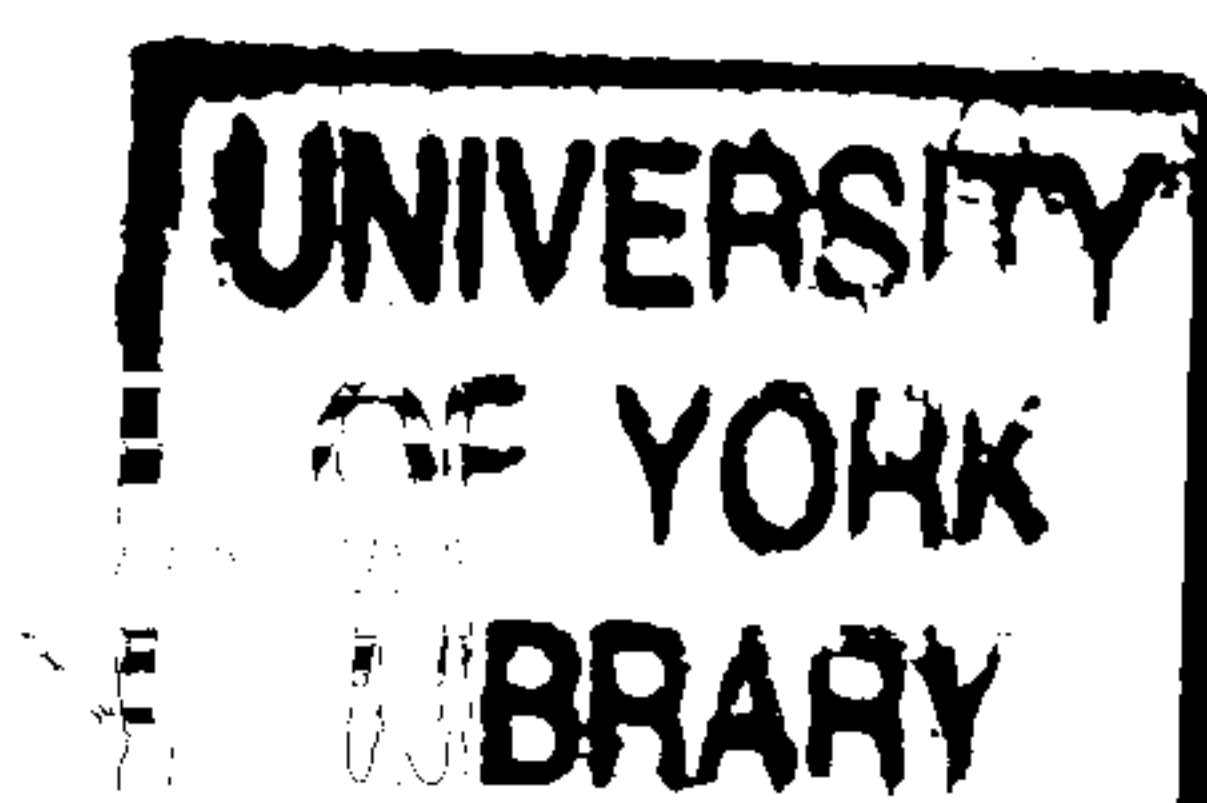
<sup>4</sup> *Bran* i.e. brand: a piece of burning or smouldering wood. *OED*

<sup>5</sup> *Earl of Arandel*: In 1526 this would have been William Fitzalan, 1476-1544, 18<sup>th</sup> Earl of Arundel. He succeeded to the title in 1524, being known before this by the courtesy title of Lord Mautravers. The Arundel connection is more likely to have been the result of the avid collecting of Holbein portraits by Thomas Howard, restored from attainder as Earl of Arundel and Surrey in 1604. The portraits of members of the Howard family had probably been undertaken as a result of his position as Court Painter to Henry VIII during the years of the Howards' ascendancy when Anne Boleyn (related to the Howards) and later Kathryn Howard, had been Queen – rather than commissions undertaken before his royal appointment.

<sup>6</sup> *Henry ye 8<sup>th</sup>*: Henry VIII (1491-1547) King of England from 1509.

<sup>7</sup> *him* Interlinear substitution for erased *ye King*.

<sup>8</sup> *he* An unaltered and distinct *y* at the beginning of this word suggests a redundant *yt* altered immediately to *he*.



answered, yt he could make a dousin<sup>1</sup> Comtes in an hours time, but [7] not one Olbens in his whool life.-<sup>2</sup>

One of his peaces was also ye occasion of this relation.<sup>3</sup>

Iuvenes mori possunt, senes diu vivere non possunt. Sen:

[\*] To preserve a man alive in ye midst of ye many<sup>4</sup> chances, & hostilities of ye world, is as great a miracle, as to create him; to preserve him from rushing into nothing, & at first to draw him from nothing, were equally ye issues of an almighty power. - Taylor<sup>5</sup>

[\*] Rape, congere, aufer, posside; reliquendum est. Martial<sup>6</sup>

[\*] Annos omnes prodegit, ut ex eo annus unus numeratur, & per [8] mille indignitates laboravit in titulum sepulchri. - Senec.

[\*] Quid sit futurum cras fuge quærere, & quem fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro Appone. - Horace.

Young men die: old men [just] stop living.

Seneca: *Epistulae Moralium ad Lucilium*

Steal, gather, carry off, possess: - all must be left behind.

Martial: *Epigrammatica* VII.14.9.

He wasted all the years so that just one year out of his life might be counted, and he worked through a thousand shameful deeds for the inscription on his tomb. Seneca

Forbear to ask what tomorrow might bring, and count as gain whatever today's luck may give.

Horace *Carmina* I.9.13.

<sup>1</sup> *dousin* Originally written *dausin*.

<sup>2</sup> A version of the story may be found in Carel van Mander, *Schilder-Boeck, (Painter-Book)*, 1604, referred to in John North, *The Ambassadors' Secret* (London: Phoenix, 2004), pp.35-36 and p.392 n39.

<sup>3</sup> *relation* i.e. narrative. An anecdote rather than extract from a book?

<sup>4</sup> *of ye many* This has been written twice – the second struck through.

<sup>5</sup> *Taylor*: Jeremy Taylor (1613-67) Anglican Divine and Bishop of Down & Connor from 1661, and the author of devotional works *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*. In controversy he was thought to sacrifice theological exactitude for religious unity, and to reduce the Gospel to morality (a characteristic of Carlisle's later *Essay*). This quotation is taken from *Holy Dying* [Chapter 1. Section 1.] referring to Providence in preserving the young from dangers of youth and inexperience.

<sup>6</sup> The first Latin quotation taken from Taylor's *Holy Dying*. This, (and each reference from the same source) is prefaced in the main text by an asterisk within square editorial brackets thus: [\*]. Those from *Holy Living* are prefaced by [†].

**Billets Galans d'une Amante a un Amant.<sup>1</sup> –**

**Si votre coeur est a donner je vous demande mes estraines,<sup>2</sup> & de vous je ne scaurois recevoir un autre present; s'il est en votre disposition, envoyez le moy, ou me l'aportez, & soyez assuré, que je n'ay riens, je dis rien, que je croye devoir refuser a la recompense d'un don, qui me seroit si cher rendez moi ce billet a la premiere veu.-**

**[9] Au meme –**

**Je fus bien fachée hier de ne m'estre trouvée icy, lorsque vous y vintes; c'est fort mal profiter du premier temoignage d'amitié, que vous m'avez donné, & si vous m'aimez un peu, vous devez m'en scavoir mauvais gré, Je meurs d'envie de vous en faire mes excuses, & ce ne sera jamais si tot que je le souhaite, si ce n'est que vous me veniez voir apres diner.-**

Love Letters from a Lover to her Beloved. –

If your heart is free I should ask [it of] you for my New Year's gift, and I would not wish to receive another present from you. If it is yours to give, send it to me, or bring it to me; and be assured that I have nothing – I say nothing – that I believe I could refuse in return for a gift that would be so precious to me. Send this letter back to me as soon as you have seen it.-

Au meme-

Yesterday I was really devastated not to be here when you came; this is to take no advantage of the declaration of friendship you have given me; and if you love me a little, you must not be grateful at all to me. I burn with desire to explain myself to you, and it could never be as soon as I might wish except you come and see me after dinner.-

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<sup>1</sup> *Love Letters from a Lover to her Beloved.* See the Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> The word used here is understood as a variant of "étrennes" = "New Year's gift."

**Au meme –**

**Je ne sçaurois plus escrire, depuis que vous m'avez dit, que je fesois assez bien une lettre, il y a plus d'un quart d'heure, que je songe á celle cy, & plus je m'efforce de meriter la louange que vous m'avez donnée, plus je decouvre, que je ne la merite pas. [10] ce que je vous dis la est pourtant assez joly, & je continuerois, si je n'avois a vous faire sçavoir, que mon voyage est rompú. ne m'enagez point d'obligation, car c'est pure fortune, & je seray assez satisfaite, si vous en avez seulement de la joye; mandez moy le sentiment, que vous en avez, & m'envoyez aussi ces vers, que j'ay fort dans la tête. Je les aime comme si vous les aviez faits pour moy, parce que celle, pour qui ils sont, ne si connoit pas assez pour en faire l'estime, que j'enfais. Adieu**

**Au meme.**

**Je pars demain matin avec le regret seul de vous quitter, la persone, qui je vay trouver ne m'en consolera pas, & si j'ay quelque plaiser dans mon voyage – [11] je le deuray a vos soins, & a votre assidue. adieu, souvenez vous de moy, ou ne vous souvenez plus de ce que je vous ay promis.-**

To the same –

I could write no more, since you told me that I made a letter rather well. It is more than a quarter of an hour since I've been thinking of this one, and the more I make myself justify the praise you have given me, the more I discover that I do not deserve it. What I told you then was rather pretty, and I would go on if I hadn't to make known to you that my tour has been interrupted. Do not put me under an obligation, for it is pure fortune, and I will be perfectly content so long as you are only happy; let me know your feelings, and send me those verses which I keep firmly in my mind. I love them as if you had composed them for me, because she to whom they belong has not the experience to value them as I do. Farewell.-

To the same –

I leave tomorrow morning with the sole regret of leaving you, the person whom I am going to find will not be able to comfort me, and if I have any pleasure on my journey I will owe this to your care and attention. Farewell. Remember me, or no longer remember what I promised you.

**Henry 8<sup>th</sup> Roy d'Angleterre fit graver une medaille d'ou sortoit une main d'une nuée tenant une balance en Equilibre, dont les bassins marquoient l'Espagne, & la France avec les mots. Celuy l'emporte pour qui je suis. –**

**une devise.**

**2 Palmiers courbant leurs rameaux, l'un vers l'autre. Flexit amor, petuit vis nulla.**

**Philippe 2<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>1</sup> succedant au gouvernement<sup>2</sup> par la demission volontaire de Charles 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>3</sup> son pere prit pour devise un Hercule charge du [12] monde avec ces mots, ut quiescat Atlas.**

**Une medaille faite sur le  
prise de Bonn.**

**Bono redivit omine Bonna.-**

Henry VIII, King of England, had a medal struck showing a hand emerging from a cloud holding scales in balance, the panners of which represented Spain and France with the words "He who wins is the one I am for."

A Motto.

2 palm trees bending their branches, the one towards the other, [with the words] "Love has bent what no Force moved."

Philip II, taking over the government on the voluntary abdication of Charles V, his father, took as a motto a Hercules carrying the world with the words: "So Atlas may rest."

A medal struck at the taking of Bonn:

Bonn restored through good fortune.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Philip II (1526-98). King of Naples & Sicily 1554-58. King of Spain from 1556.

<sup>2</sup> *gouvernement* Originally spelt *government* with the missing *e* an interlinear addition.

<sup>3</sup> Charles V (1500 -58) King of Spain & Holy Roman Emperor. Abdicated in favour of his son 1556.

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus *Hist* 4.19; 5.22

## la devise de Guillaume Prince d'Orange<sup>1</sup>

Un Alcion batissant son nid sur la mere. avec ces mots.

saevis tranquillus in undis.-

**Aristocratie. c'est un gouvernement qui est entre les Principeaux Citoyens d'une ville. Il y a deux sortes d'Aristocratie, l'une, ou les seuls Nobles gouvernent par le droit de leur naissance; & tell est le gouvernement des Republics de Venise, de Gennes, & de Luques, ou il suffit de naitre de race<sup>2</sup> Patricienne pour avoir part a [13] l'Administration Civile. Au lieu que dans l'autre sorte d'Aristocratie tout depend de l'election & du merite, comme autrefois en Lacedomonie ou l'on ne regardoit qu'a la vertu. les Historiens Latins semblent nous marquer ces deux especes d'Aristocratie par les termes de Primores, & Optimates, Primores, ce sont veritablement les Nobles. & Optimates ce sont les gens choisis, & appelez aux charges publiques seulement a cause de leur merite, sans avoir nul egard a leur extraction.<sup>3</sup>**

The motto of William, Prince of Orange: A Halcyon building his nest on the sea, with the words:  
"At peace amongst the raging waves."

Aristocracy is a government which is [exercised] between the leading citizens of a city. There are two kinds of Aristocracy: one, where the nobles govern alone by right of birth; and such is the government of the Republics of Venice, Genoa and Lucca, where it is enough to be born of Patrician stock to have a part in the Civil Administration. Instead, in the other kind of Aristocracy everything depends on election and merit, as formerly in Sparta, where virtue only was taken into account. Latin historians seem to point out to us the two species of Aristocracy by the names "Primores" and "Optimates." The Primores are those who are indeed titled, and the Optimates are the kind chosen and given public office solely on their merit without having any regard to their lineage.

<sup>1</sup> William (1650-1702) became King of England in February, 1689. Strictly, were this written after 1689 there would have been no *lèse majesté* here as the motto was his as Prince of Orange, not King. This, however, would seem rather forced.

<sup>2</sup> An erased *de* stands here.

<sup>3</sup> It is instructive to compare this notion of government with contemporary 'Whig' ideas of constitutional government which steered a mean course between democratic republicanism on the one hand and absolute monarchy on the other.



**Miremur periisse homines? Monumenta fatiscunt,  
Mors etiam saxi, nominibusque venit. Ausonius.**

**[14] Quid sepulcrorum monumenta, quid elogia, quid ceremoniæ  
significant. Cicero**

**Non defunctorum causâ, sed vivorum, inventa est sepultura - Seneca**

**[\*] Aut fuit, aut veniet, nihil est presentis in illa<sup>1</sup>  
Morsq: minus poenæ, quam mora mortis habet.**

**[\*] Virtutem incolumen odimus, sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.  
Hor:**

**[\*] Et<sup>2</sup> laudas nullos nisi mortuos poetas Mar:**

**He yt is master of ye sea is master of ye land.**

**To show ye verity of this expression, ye Romans, upon ye return of  
Duilius<sup>3</sup> to Rome, from having [15] conquered ye Carthaginians in a  
sea fight, it being ye first yt ye Romans ever gained of them upon yt  
element, offered him not only a triumph, & ye othere rewards  
usually given upon those occasions, but they told him, Duilius, ye  
Senat would know what thou desirest most, aske<sup>4</sup> it, & it shall be  
granted thee. an expression yt fully shows of what consequence they  
judged ye being masters of ye sea.**

Should we wonder that men die? Monuments perish:

Death comes even to stones as it does to those named on stones. Ausonius [*Epitaphia* 31. lines 9/10]

What do inscriptions on graves, funeral orations, or ceremonies signify?

Cicero

Tombs were devised, not for the dead, but for the living.

Seneca

Either it was, or it will come; at this moment death is nothing:

Death has less pain than the wait for death.

[Ovid *Heroides* II.X.83]

We resent unsullied virtue, but miss it sorely when taken from our sight. Horace [*Carmina* 3.24.31/32]

You praise no poets but those who are dead.

Martial [*Epigrammatica* VIII.49.2]

<sup>1</sup> *Aut fuit...in illa.* Though forming no part of the following line from Ovid, it is quoted as such in Taylor. (The line may originate in Estienne de la Boetie *Satires*.)

<sup>2</sup> *Et* Taylor quotes Martial in this form, though most texts give *Nec*.

<sup>3</sup> Gaius Duilius (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) Victor of naval battle of Mylae over the Carthaginian fleet in the First Punic War. He was awarded a triumph, which featured the prows of the captured enemy ships. This later gave the distinctive form to the *Corona Navalis*.

<sup>4</sup> A final *d* has been struck through.

**Henry 3<sup>rd</sup>. Roy de France &<sup>1</sup> de P:<sup>2</sup> pour marque<sup>3</sup> de pieté, & de graces, qu'il avoit receues de Dieu, le jour de la mission du St Esprit, ayant esté eleu R de Poligne, succede au Royaume de France par la mort de [16] Charles 9<sup>e</sup> son frere,<sup>4</sup> & pris naissance en meme jour. Il institua l'ordre du St Esprit lan 1579 le premier de jan: a Paris en l'eglise des Hermites de St Augustin.<sup>5</sup>**

**L'ordre de la toison d'or fondé par Philipe le Bon Duc de Bourgogne<sup>6</sup> fut institué a Bruges<sup>7</sup> en 1429 durant les solennites de son mariage avec Isabelle de Portugal. c'est ordre est composé de 31 Chevaliers, ils portent un mouton ou<sup>8</sup> toison d'or avec cette devise. pretium non vile laborum.**

Henri III, King of France and of Poland, to illustrate his piety and the gifts he had been given by God, on the day of Pentecost after being elected King of Poland , succeeded to the Kingdom of France through the death of Charles 9<sup>th</sup> his brother, and began to reign the same day. He instituted the Order of the Holy Spirit in the year 1579 on the first of January in Paris in the Church of the Canons of St. Augustine.

The Order of the Golden Fleece founded by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, was instituted at Bruges in 1429 during the celebrations of his marriage with Isabella of Portugal. This Order is composed of 31 Knights. They display a ram with a golden fleece with this motto: "This reward for effort is not worthless."

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<sup>1</sup> & Interlinear addition.

<sup>2</sup> P: i.e. *Pologne* or Poland. Henri III (1551-89) had been elected King of Poland in 1574, and succeeded his elder brother as King of France from 1574-89.

<sup>3</sup> A final letter (*r* ?) now erased stood here.

<sup>4</sup> *Charles 9<sup>e</sup>*: (1550-74) King of France.

<sup>5</sup> This Order was apparently instituted in imitation of the older English Order of the Garter, and with its limited membership became the most prestigious of the pre-Revolution French orders of chivalry.

<sup>6</sup> *Philip le Bon*: (1396-1467) The third Duke of Burgundy.

<sup>7</sup> Philip and Isabella are buried in the Church of our Lady in Bruges.

<sup>8</sup> Though the manuscript is clear *au* might be the intended reading.

**l'ordre de la jarretiere fut institué par Edouard 3<sup>rd</sup> en [17] lan 1350 en faveur de la Countesse de Salisbury,<sup>1</sup> dont il avoit levé en dansant la garretiere bleüi.**

**L'ordre de Calatrava fut institué sous Sance 3<sup>rd</sup>. R. de Castille apres qu'il eut conquis le Chateau de Calatrava sur les Maures en lan 1158.<sup>2</sup>**

**L'ordre du poirier, ou d'Alcantara dans l'Estrama d'oure sur le Tage a esté institué par Gomez Fernand en 1170 sous la Regle de St. Benoit Ils portent une croix verte ou de sinople fleur de lisée.<sup>3</sup>**

**[18] Raphael d'Urbain, excellent peintre<sup>4</sup> du 16 siecle. on luy donne cet eloge, qu'il a surpassé tous ceux, qui l'ont precedé, & qu'il n'a point eu d'egal parmy tous ceux, qui l'ont suivy. il eut pour pere Jean de Santi<sup>5</sup> Peintre de Profession, qui le mit avec Pierre Perugin,<sup>6</sup> qui etoit alors en grande estime.**

The Order of the Garter was instituted by Edward III in the year 1350 in honour of the Countess of Salisbury, whose blue garter he had picked up whilst dancing.

The Order of Calatrava was founded under Sanchez III, King of Castile, after he had taken the Chateau of Calatrava from the Moors in the year 1158.

The Order of the Pear Tree, or of Alacantara in the Plain of Extremadura on the Tagus had been instituted by Gomez Ferdinand in 1170 under the Rule of St Benedict. They bear a green cross or green fleur-de-lys.

Raphael of Urbino was an excellent artist of the sixteenth century. The world gives him this commendation, that he had surpassed all who had gone before him, and that he has had no equal amongst all those who followed him. . He had as his father Jean de Santi, a painter by profession who placed him with Pierre Perugino, then held in high esteem.

<sup>1</sup> *Countess of Salisbury*. Traditionally thought to have been Joan, the "Fair Maid of Kent;" it is now thought more likely to have been Joan's mother-in-law by her earlier marriage.

<sup>2</sup> Unlike the preceding Orders of Chivalry, this was a military/monastic Order.

<sup>3</sup> This was again a military/monastic Order.

<sup>4</sup> Originally *peinture* the redundant *u* has been struck through.

<sup>5</sup> *Jean de Santi*: (c.1430/40-94) Giovanni Santi, a painter and chronicler of C15th artists.

<sup>6</sup> *Pierre Perugin*: (1446-1523) Pietro Perugino, a leading painter of the 'Umbrian' School.

depuis il se perfectionna par l'imitation des Ouvrages de Michel Ange.<sup>1</sup> Le Pape Jule 2, & apres luy Leon 10 l'employerent a Rome pour ces peintures, qui font<sup>2</sup> le tresor, & l'admiration des curieux. C'est un tres grand malheur, qu'un si grand homme n'ait recu que 37 ans. on attribue la [19] cause de sa mort a une debauche de femme.

**Michel Ange Bonarota peintre & sculpteur tres celebre, etoit fils de Louis Buanarruoti Simoni de l'ancienne maison des Comtes de Canosse. il avoit une si forte inclination pour les desseins, que ses parents furent obligés de le mettre en apprentissage chez Dominique Ghirlandajo a Florence. á l'age de 16 ans il se mit a tailler des figures de marbre, qui surprirent tous ceux qui les virent. il fut aimé & recherché par les Papes Jules 2. Leon 10 Clement 7 Paul 3 Jule 3 & Paul 4.**

Since then he improved himself through copying the works of Michelangelo. Pope Julius II, and after him Leo X employed him in Rome for the paintings which are the treasure and the admiration of connoisseurs. It is a great pity that such a great man was granted no more than 37 years. People generally give the cause of his death as a debauch with a woman.

Michelangelo Buanarroti, a most celebrated painter and sculptor, was the son of Louis Buanarroti Simoni of the ancient house of the Counts of Canosse. He had such a strong leaning towards drawing that his parents were obliged to apprentice him to Domenico Ghirlandaio in Florence. At the age of sixteen he began to carve marble figures which amazed all who saw them. He was admired and sought after by Pope Julius II, Leo X, Clement VII, Paul III, Julius III and Paul IV.

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<sup>1</sup> *Michel Ange*: (1475-1564) Michelangelo Buanarroti. By common consent the greatest artist of his age, working in painting, sculpture and architecture. Born at Caprese, he returned with his family to Florence. After working with Domenico Ghirlandaio Michelangelo worked for a succession of Popes, producing such varied master-pieces as the Sistine frescoes, the Pietà and the Tomb of Julius II.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript is unambiguous here, but *sont* is almost certainly intended. See p. 53 n2. for a similar example.

**il fut estimé par le Roy François I [20] par l'Empereur Charles V. par Cosme de Medicis, des Venetiens & meme de Soliman Empereur des Turcs & de tout ce qu'il y avoit de Princes, & de grand Seigneurs en Europe. Ce grand homme mourut a Rome en 1564 âge de quatre vingt ans. onze mois.-**

**Titien Vecelli Peintre fameux<sup>1</sup> connu ordinairement sous le nom de Titien, estoit de la Pieve de Cadore dans l'etat de Venise, ou il vint au monde en 1477. on trouva dans ces pieces<sup>2</sup> cette douceur charmante, cette beauté<sup>3</sup> exquise, & cette grande neteté qui les rendent des Chefs d'oeuvres de l'art. l'Empereur Charles V voulut etre peint de ses propres mains, [21] & il le crea Chevalier & Comte Palatin, le Roy Henry 3 passant a Venise se donna la peine de l'aller visiter. il mourut de peste en 1576.-**

He was admired by the Emperor Charles V, by Cosmo de Medici, the Venetians and also Suliman, the Emperor of the Turks, and Princes and every noble ruler in Europe. This great man died in Rome in 1564 at the age of eighty years, eleven months.

Titian Vecelli, the famous artist ordinarily known under the name of Titian, came from the Pieve of Cadore in the State of Venice, where he entered the world in 1477. In his works was found that charming sweetness, that exquisite beauty, and that great clarity which makes them masterpieces of art. The Emperor Charles V wanted to be painted by his own hands, and he made him a knight and Count Palatine. King Henry III passing through Venice went to the trouble of visiting him. He died of the Plague in 1576.

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<sup>1</sup> *fameux* Originally *famoux* with the *e* an interlinear correction.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *peices*? The letters have been altered in the text, but the result remains ambiguous.

<sup>3</sup> Originally *bauté*, the *e* an interlinear correction with insertion-mark beneath.

**Si violendum est jus, regnandi gratiâ violandum est. Eurip.<sup>1</sup>**

**Periculosiores sunt inimicitiae juxta libertatem. Tac.**

**Romanus [fl]<sup>2</sup>ando vincit.**

**Quod inter ancipitia teterrimum est. Tac. Hist: 4**

**Neutralitas neque amicos parit neque inimicos tollit. Polyb.-**

**La Couronne Civique estoit de chesne, & on la donnait a ceux, qui avoient hazardé leur vie pour conserver celle d'une Citoyen Romain.**

**[22] La Couronne Triomphale estoit de laurier, & on la donnoit a ceux, qu'on menoit en triomfe qui l'alloient mettre aux pieds de Jupiter dans le Capitole.**

If the law is to be broken, it should be broken at the pleasure of the Prince. Eurip[ides]

Private feuds are peculiarly dangerous side by side with liberty. Tac[itus *Germania* 21.1]

The Roman conquers by bronze.

What comes at you from two sides is very nasty indeed. Tac[itus] *Hist.* 4

Neutrality neither generates friends nor removes foes. Polyb[ius]

The Civic Crown was of oak [leaves], and was given to those who have put their own lives at risk to save that of a Roman citizen. The Triumphal Crown was of Laurel [leaves], and was given to those who were led in triumph and who went to lay it at the feet of Jupiter on the Capitol.

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Cicero in *De Officiis* III.356-57.

<sup>2</sup> *Flando* The first two letters of this word are virtually illegible. The word is conjectural, based on its similarities with *Flando* on the penultimate page. Its meaning then would reflect presumably on the contrast between the bronze of the soldier's armour and the steel of his sword – a reference to the defensive *vallum* or "wall of shields" which proved so effective in Caesar's *Gallic Wars*.

**La Couronne Murale estoit de Gramen, & on la donnoit a ceux qui avoient les premiers montè a l'assaut. le general la distribuoit a un, ou deux, ou troix de ceux, qui se'stoient<sup>1</sup> signalez. La Couronne Rostrale<sup>2</sup> est faite de plusiers points de Galeres on la donnoit a ceux, qui entroient le premier dans un vaisseau ennemy, on dit, qu'il n'y a jamais eu qu'Agripa,<sup>3</sup> qui ait eu cette Couronne, qui luy fut donnée a [23] la bataille d'Actium. La Couronne Radiée<sup>4</sup> est faite comme ayant six rayons de chaque costè qui marquent les 12 mois de l'an. qui commençant toujours denotent l'immortalité, & on la donnoit a ceux, qui avoient beaucoup meritè pour marquer leur immortale gloire.**

**Auguste<sup>5</sup> avoit quantité de statuës dans son cabinet, mais personne n'en a posedé un plus grand nombre que l'Empereur Alexandre Sever, qui reservoit entre autres celles de Jesus-Christ, d'Abraham, d'Achille, d'Alexandre le grand, d'Orphèe, d'Apollonius, de Platon, & de quantité d'autres.-**

The Mural Crown was of grass, and was awarded to those who had taken part in the first charge of an assault. The General awarded it to one, two, or three of those who had distinguished themselves. The Beaked Crown is made of many ships' prows. It was awarded to those who leapt first on to an enemy vessel. It is said that none but Agrippa had it, who had been awarded it at the Battle of Actium. The Radial Crown is made as having six beams on each side which represent the twelve months of the year, which always beginning again denotes immortality, and was given to those who have well-earned their immortal fame.

Augustus had a number of statues in his cabinet, but no-one ever owned a greater number than the Emperor Alexander Severus, who had amongst others those of Jesus Christ, Abraham, Achilles, Alexander the Great, Orpheus, Apollonius, Plato and a number of others.

<sup>1</sup> *se 'stoient* The mistake is obvious, but the editorial policy adopted is to reproduce Morpeth's own text.

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise known as the *Corona Navalis*.

<sup>3</sup> *Agripa*: Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (63-12BC) Roman Statesman and General. Victor of the naval Battle of Actium in 31BC which established Augustus's sole control of the Roman Empire.

<sup>4</sup> The *i* is an interlinear correction with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>5</sup> *Auguste*: Augustus Caesar (63BC – AD14). Emperor after 31BC.

**[24] l'Histoire estoit appellée par Ciceron la messagere de l'antiquité, & la maistresse de la vie.**

**Les metaux ont donné leurs noms aux Medailles, comme le nom Latin Metalla le monstre evidemment.**

**Chez les Grecs Drachmes, Tetracines, Oboles, Mines, chez les Latins Deniers, Bigati, Quadrigati, Sesterces & en general on les appelle Monoye.**

**Le mot Clypei, ou Clypea, qui signifie des boucliers, estoit ainsi appellè, a cause qu'il y'avoit<sup>1</sup> d'ordinaire des images gravez la dedans & non pas de covere, comme veut la mauvaise subtilité des Grammairiens.<sup>2</sup>**

**[25] Le mot Numisma, que nous traduisons d'ordinaire medaille, signifie dans son origine Monoye, ou seulement un morceau de metal empraint de quelque figure particuliere.- l'etymologie du mot Pecunia se trouve dans Pline,<sup>3</sup> & dans Aule Gelle,<sup>4</sup> qui pretend dans**

History was described by Cicero as the envoy of antiquity, and the mistress of life.

Metals have given their names to coins, as the Latin name Metella plainly demonstrates.

Amongst the Greeks [there are] Drachmas, Tetracines, Oboles, Mina; and amongst the Romans Denarii Bigati, Quadragati, Sesterces; and collectively these are known as Money.

The word *Clypei* or *Clypea* which means "shield" was so named because it normally had figures carved on the inside and not on the outside, as the perverse subtlety of the Grammarians would have it.

The word "Numisma" which we ordinarily translate "medal" means in origin "Money" – or simply a piece of metal bearing a particular figure.

The etymology of the word "Pecunia" is found in Pliny and in Aulus Gellius, who maintains in

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<sup>1</sup> The *i* is an interlinear correction without insertion-mark.

<sup>2</sup> Heavy-handed humour contrasting the intentional blows made on metal discs in the mint when making coins with the marks made on a shield when warding off enemy blows.

<sup>3</sup> *Pline*: Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus) (AD23-79) Roman Historian & Grammarian.

<sup>4</sup> *Aule Gelle*: Aulus Gellius (c.AD125- after 180) Roman Historian & Grammarian.



ses problems,<sup>1</sup> que les bestes, qu'on representoit sur la Monoye, luy ont donnè leur nom, & Plutarque escrit que les plus anciennes Monoyes representoient un bœuf, un mouton, ou un pourceau. Et parce que les Caracteres, & les figures, qui sont exprimeès sur la Monoye avertissent & de son prix & de son auteur, on la appellèe Moneta a monendo.<sup>2</sup>

[26] La loy, qui est appellée par les Grecs *Nόμω*<sup>3</sup> a donnè le nom Nummus aux pieces de Monoye, qui sert d'assurance, qu'elle estoit fabriquèe suivant l'ordinance.

L'usage de la Monoye a trouvé un plaisant nom chez les anciens Grecs. ils l'appelloient *χρήμα*, & derivoient ce mot du verbe *χρή* qui signifie, il faut, pretendant que c'estoit une necessitè d'avoir de l'argent, parce qu'il satisfaisoit a toute sorte de necessitez.<sup>4</sup>

his works that the animals which are shown on coins have given them their name, and Plutarch writes that the oldest coins would show an ox, a sheep, or a pig. Because the characters and the figures which are stamped on the coins testify both to their worth and their maker they are called "Moneta" from "monendo."

That Law, which is called by the Greeks "Nόμος" has given the name "nummus" to pieces of money which carry a guarantee that they were made according to regulation.

The use of money acquired a pleasant name amongst the ancient Greeks. They termed it "χρήμα" and derived the word from the verb "χρή" which means "it is necessary," maintaining that it is necessary to have money because that will satisfy any kind of want.

<sup>1</sup> *dans ses problems* RH marginal addition. This may be a reference to Pliny's *Dubii Sermonia* or Aulus Gellius' *Adversaria*.

<sup>2</sup> *monendo* – from "moneo, -ere" i.e. to advise or instruct.

<sup>3</sup> This should be rendered *νόμος*.

<sup>4</sup> There is an etymological relationship between the Greek *χρημά* "Possessions, Wealth, Money" and *χρη* meaning "to want, lack".

- Quos aliena victoria tyrannos facit.** Ta:
- Non minus negotii est Remp[ublicam]: emendare, quam ab initio  
constituere.** Aris.
- Vitia erunt donec homines.** Tac.
- [27] Preces erant, sed quibus contradici non posset.** Tac.
- [\*]Nullius rei, quam vivere difficilior est scientia: Professores  
aliarum artium vulgo multiq: sunt.** Sen.
- [\*]Nascantes morimur, finisq: ab origine pendet.** Manil
- [†]Nemo aliena virtuti invidet qui satis confidit sua.**  
Cic. contra M. An.
- [†] Nemo malus felix.** Juv. Sat. 4.
- [\*] Tempus sed tacitum, subruit horaq: semper praeteritâ deterior  
subit.** Sen.
- [\*] Omnia crede mihi, etiam felicibus dubia sunt.** Sen.
- [\*] Nulla requies in terris  
Si sapis, utaris totis,<sup>1</sup> Coline, diebus Extremumq: tibi semper adesse  
putes.** Mar:

Where foreigners are conquered, tyrants are made. Ta[citus]

Pressure of affairs should not detract from the state (the constitution): what has been established may be amended. Aris[totle]

There will be vices so long as there are men. Tac[itus]

There were prayers, but one can never gainsay a prayer. Tac[itus]

There is nothing more difficult than knowing how to live: Professors of all other arts abound.  
Sen[eca. *De Brevitate Vitae*, vii.3]

Having been born, we die; and our ending is made certain by our beginning.  
Manil[ius. *Astronomica* iv.16]

No-one envies another's strength who has enough confidence in his own. Cic[ero] *Contra M[arcus]  
An[tonius]*

No-one who is evil can be happy. Iuv[enial] *Sat[ires* iv. 5-8]

Silent Time and the hour slip by: what remains only gets worse. Sen[eca *Hippolytus* ii.773-6]

Believe me; everything is uncertain, even for the fortunate. Se[eca *Epistolae* CI.5]

There is no peace on earth. If you are wise, Colin, you should make use of such days as you have, and always regard each that comes as your last. Mart[ial *Epigrammata* IV. liv. 3-4]

<sup>1</sup> This should read *totis*. The manuscript neglects to add the cross-bar to the *t*, and, save for the absence of a loop for the *l*, would otherwise appear to read "tolis".

**[28] Jus imaginis c'estoit un Privilege chez les Romains de faire faire les images de leurs Ancestres, & Pline dit, qu'il n'y avoit, que ceux, qui avoient merit  l'immortalit  par quelque action illustre a qui on fit cet honneur. cependant le nombre en estoit si grand des le temps de Pline mesme qu'on pouvoit compter dans Rome autant de Statu s, que de personnes vivantes, Cassiodore dit sur ce sujet, que l'art en avoit autant produit, que la nature.**

**Le droit de faire faire de la Monoye estoit bien plus r serv , il a toujours fait partie de la souverainet , & si dans l'histoire [29] on trouve<sup>1</sup> que d'autres que les Princes en ayent fait faire ce n'a pu estre que par la concession des Souverains.**

**Les Empereurs donnerent le privilege de représenter sur la monoyes les visages, ou les triomphes de leurs ancestres, a leurs Proches, ils estoient neantmoins si jaloux de cette marque de souverainet , qu'ils ne voulurent jamais permettre aux Rois, qui leur estoient alliez ou tributaires, de figurer leur visage sur de la monoye.**

The "Law concerning images" was a privilege amongst the Romans of making images of their ancestors, and Pliny says that it was only those who had deserved immortality through some notable deed to whom this honour was granted. However, the number was so great from the time of Pliny himself that one might count in Rome as many statues as living people. Cassiodore says on this matter that art had brought forth as much as nature.

The right to mint money was far more restricted. It was always exercised as an element of sovereignty, and if in history we find that those other than Princes have done so, this could not have happened without the sanction of the Sovereigns.

The Emperors gave the privilege of representing the profiles or triumphs of ancestors on coins to their relatives. They were nonetheless so jealous of this mark of sovereignty that they would never allow Kings who were their allies or tributaries to place their own profiles on the coinage.

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<sup>1</sup> *trouve* The *v* has been added as an interlinear correction.

**Quoy que les plus sçavans hommes du siecle passè ayent cru, que les Monumens Antiques, qui passent [30] sous le titre de Medailles, que c'estoient seulement des Medailles & non pas des monoyes, neantmoins il est certaine, que ces monumens n'estoient, que de simples Monoyes & qu'elles n'ont acquis le titre de Medailles, que par leur antiquité.**

**les plus anciennes medailles que nous ayons, sont sans doute les Grecques,<sup>1</sup> or il est certain, que plusieurs de ces Medailles sont les monoyes qu'on appellent Dariques ou Philippiques a cause des portraits de Darius, & de Philippe qu'elles portoient.**

**Dion<sup>2</sup> nous apprend qu'entre les honneurs, que le Senat Romain fit a Jules Cesar, qu'il recon-[31]-noissoit alors l'Arbitre de toute la terre; il voulut, que son portrait fust gravè sur les Monoyes courantes[.] Seneque, & Tacite rapportent, que c'estoit un crime de leze<sup>3</sup> Majestè du temps de Tibere d'entrer dans des lieux de debauche, quand on portoit sur soy quelque monoye, ou l'image de l'Empereur fust marquèe,**

Although the most knowledgeable men of the last century believed that the ancient artefacts which go under the name of medals, were simply medals and not coinage, nevertheless it is certain that these artefacts were simply coins, and that they acquired the status of medals by their antiquity alone.

The oldest medals we have are, without doubt, Greek; now it is certain that many of these coins are called Darics or Philippics because of the portraits they carry of Darius and Philip.

Dion informs us that amongst the honours which the Roman Senate granted Julius Cæsar, whom it then recognized as the Ruler of the World, it wanted his image stamped on the current coinage. Seneca and Tacitus recount that it was a crime of "lèse Majesté" in the time of Tiberius to go into a bawdy-house when one carried on one's person any money on which the image of the Emperor was displayed;

<sup>1</sup> *Grecques* The *c* has been added as a interlinear correction.

<sup>2</sup> *Dion*: Dio Cassius (Cocceianus) (c.AD155- after 229). Roman Historian, especially of later Empire.

<sup>3</sup> Though the manuscript is clear, surely *lèse* is intended.

**& Philostrate remarque, qu'un maistre fut declaré criminel, pour avoir battu son esclave, qui tenoit en sa main une piece de monoye, qui representoit l'Empereur.**

**Dion rapporte l'arrest du Senat par lequel il estoit ordonné, que toutes les monoyes, ou on trouveroit le portrait de Caligula, [32] seroient fonduës, en detestation de sa tyrannie, & l'on peut dire, que c'est ce qui les a rendus si rares.**

**Xiphilin<sup>1</sup> escrit, que Vitellius<sup>2</sup> donna cours aux Monoyes marqueés a l'image des Empereurs ses predecesseurs.**

**Le Tyran Trebellien<sup>3</sup> commença l'usurpation de l'Empire, en faisant mettre son nom, & son effigie dans les Monoyes.**

And Philostratus observes that one master was deemed a criminal for having beaten his slave who was holding in his hand a coin representing the Emperor.

Dion reports the decree of the Senate, by which it was ordained that all coins on which the image of Caligula was found should be melted down in detestation of his tyranny, and one might say that this is why they have become so rare.

Xiphilin writes that Vitellius gave currency to coins stamped with the image of his Imperial predecessors.

The Tyrant Trebellius began the usurpation of the Empire in placing his name and image on the coinage.

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<sup>1</sup> *Xiphilin*: John Xiphelinus (c. 1100) Wrote an abridgment of Dio Cassius' 80-volume Histories.

<sup>2</sup> *Vitellus*: Vitellius (AD15-69) Roman Emperor for three months in AD69.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Tyran Trebellien*: Trebatius Priscus, a Sicilian pretender to the Imperial throne in the time of Gallienus (AD218 – 68).

**Suetone remarque la passion qu'eut Auguste de mettre la figure du Capricorne sur la monoye, qu'il fit faire pour immortaliser l'Histoire de son horoscope, dont ce signe estoit [33] l'ascendant & sur lequel un grand Mathematicien l'avoit assure de l'Empire.**

**Mais ce qui est une preuve aussi authantique<sup>1</sup> qui se peut estre est que les prix de<sup>2</sup> ces monoyes sont marquees comme x marque un Denarius, qui vaut 10 sous de France. v marque le monoye appellée Quinarius, ou Victoria, qui vaut la moitié de l'autre, & le Sesterce avoit sa marque particuliere composée de deux LL. tranchées & d'une S de cette sorte ~~LLS~~. Il est vray, que sous la dictature de Q. Fabius Maximus, on fit valoir ce denier 16 asses le Quinaire huit, & le Sesterce quatre;**

**[34] Les Triumvirs Monetaires, marquoient leurs qualitez en suite de leur nom, sur la Monoye, qu'ils faisoient faire, par ces cinq letters A.A.A.F.F. se rendant comme les cautions des ouvrages qui estoient faits par leurs ordres. Auro. Argento. Ære. Flando. Feriundo.**

Suetonius notes the enthusiasm which Augustus had to put the image of a Capricorn on the coinage, which he had done to immortalize the story of his horoscope, in which this sign was in the ascendant and upon which a great mathematician had assured him of the Empire.

But what is a proof as well-authenticated as can be is that the values of the coins are engraved. Thus "x" indicates a Denarius, which is worth 10 French sous. "v" indicates a coin called "Quinarius" or "Victoria," which is worth half the former; and the Sesterce has its own particular symbol made of two "LL" struck through and an "S" of the same kind:- "~~LLS~~." It is true that under the dictatorship of Q. Fabius Maximus the Denarius was valued at 10 asses; the Quinarius at 8 asses, and the Sesterce at 4.

The Three Directors of the Mint specified their quality, following their name, on the coins they struck, by the five letters: A.A.A.F.F. translated as sureties for the work done under their supervision in Gold, in Silver, in Copper, in Bronze, [and] in Iron.

<sup>1</sup> *authantiquée* The *n* is an interlinear correction.

<sup>2</sup> *les prix de* Interlinear addition.

**On ne peut pas pretendre pourtant, que toutes les Medailles, dont on fait tant d'estime, ayent autre fois seroy de monoyes courantes. Les Enseignes des Legions, & des Cohortes estoient garnies de pieces d'or, d'argent, ou de bronze, qui representoient les Empereurs d'un cotè, & quelqu'une de ses grandes [35] actions de l'autre, & ces monumens (<sup>1</sup>ausquels on ne trouve jamais la marque de l'autorité du Senat pour leur fabrication, qui consiste en ces deux letters S.C. <sup>2</sup> sont peut estre ce que on appelle aujourdhuy<sup>3</sup> Medaillons.**

[36 is blank]

One may not suppose, however, that all the medals for which there is so much admiration, had been common currency in former times. The Standards of the Legions, and the Cohorts were adorned with items of gold, silver or bronze which portrayed the Emperors on one side; and one of its famous engagements on the other, and their battle-honours (for which one never finds the authorization-mark of the Senate for their manufacture, which consists of the two letters "S.C." Maybe these are what are called Medallions today.

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<sup>1</sup> This opening bracket is not closed.

<sup>2</sup> *Senatus consultum* "The Senate having deliberated [on the matter]"

<sup>3</sup> *aujourdhuy* The *h* is an interlinear correction.

*ii*

**Document 2**

**OBSERVATIONS UPON  
MEDDAILS**

**J8/35/3**

***[c.1688-1690]***



## INTRODUCTION

Manuscript J8/35/3 (item 2 in the Catalogue) is formed from nine sheets of paper 8" x 11½" folded and stitched twice through the margin to form a thirty-six page 8" x 5¾" booklet. The paper is of quality with clear wire-marks and watermarks identical with J8/35/4 (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figure 1, p.x.). The ink has browned (as in J8/35/4), and the fine nib corresponds with the other note-books. Though with appreciable stare-through, and discoloured (by damp?), the text remains distinct. A tear along the edge of the last page has led to the loss of three final letters, but these have been restored editorially.

The subject-matter, including coins and other ancient commemorative metal artefacts had special interest for Morpeth. This may have waned later, for Macky reports "The Earl of Carlisle hath a great Collection of Roman Altars, Medals, and other Roman Antiquities at Norton [*sic*] Castle."<sup>1</sup> In his youth, however, this is one subject upon which he shows himself enthusiastic and well-informed.

*A Discourse upon Coins*, by Signor Bernardo Davanzati, a Gentleman of Florence, originally written in 1588, was translated by John Toland and published in English in 1696. Too late to be known by Morpeth on his Grand Tour, it illustrates the ready market for works combining antiquarian numismatics with elementary economics. Morpeth's appreciation of the relative value of the various coins he describes was based primarily on the long tradition of assessing the value of a coin on the intrinsic

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<sup>1</sup> John Macky, *A Journey through England In familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here to His Friend Abroad* (London: Printed for J. Pemberton, at the Buck and Sun against St Dunstan's Church: Fleetstreet. MDCCXXII), Vol II. p.219. Having settled at Castle Howard it is strange that Carlisle left especially-prized, easily-accommodated possessions at Naworth.

worth of the incorporated precious metal. Nevertheless he recognises that value is affected by supply and demand, and appreciates the importance of the stability of the issuing authority.

Morpeth may have encountered *De Nummis Antiquis popularum & Urbium* published by Jean Hardouin (1646-1729) in Paris in 1684. The 1698 Catalogue of his library lists *Familiae Romanae in antiquis numismatibus, ab urbe condita, ad tempore divi Augusti*, by Charles Patin, published in Paris in 1663. The existence of these – even possessing one in 1698 – is no guarantee that Morpeth had read them before undertaking his Grand Tour. Nevertheless, more positively, he tells us himself in his *Notes on Italy* of the monumental work brought out in 1689 by Enrico Noris: *Annus & Epochæ Syromacedonum in vetustis Urbium Syriæ nummis praesertim Mediceis quinque Dissertationibus expositæ*. Would Morpeth have noted Noris' book with such interest unless he had a developed knowledge of the subject already?

The consistency in formation, handwriting, size and watermark of this document with J8/35/4 – *Remarks taken from several Books* - argues a similar date. Unfortunately, there is little which would indicate such a precise dating that can be advanced for the two booklets of *Notes*. On page [15] and the top of [16] of *Observations* there are Latin quotations similar to those in the *Remarks*. This strengthens the case for thinking the *Observations* and *Remarks* contemporaneous.

While two books of *Notes* relate to the latter stages of the Grand Tour, both the *Observations* and *Remarks* might have been written over a wider timescale, reflecting

Morpeth's enduring interest in the subject-matter. Indications of specific dating cannot be found in the present text: the two instances occur in the *Remarks*.

When English spelling had yet to achieve consistency, it is no surprise to see Morpeth's various variants of the same word. But it is surprising to see on the last page "Ad" where the Latin "Ab" is surely intended. He similarly writes a "d" on p.65 in "suddued" where a "b" is expected. Might these oddities be, not carelessness, but a mild form of dyslexia? Finally, Lord Morpeth's comparative fluency with French is evident in this document. This may be the result of childhood years spent largely with a grandfather who, a former diplomat, could have introduced him to the language at an early age.<sup>1</sup> His appreciation of acquiring French early is evident in a letter urging his younger son be taught it as soon as possible.<sup>2</sup> It is no disservice to Carlisle to say he was no natural linguist but, compensating, went to considerable trouble mastering important classical texts through English or French parallel translations.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This assumption rests on the assertion in *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story* (Newcastle: 1747), p. 618, of intimacy with him as a schoolboy there while his grandfather was Governor of the castle.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Carlisle to his London agent, Nicholas Ridley: CHJ8/33/34.

<sup>3</sup> The Catalogue of his library in 1716 shows that most of the Latin classics he had acquired had a French or English translation.

**J8/35/3**

**OBSERVATIONS UPON  
MEDDAILS**

**TEXT**

***[c. 1688-1690]***

[1]

CASTLE HOWARD  
J8/35/3

**Observations upon  
Meddails in French  
& English.<sup>1</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> At the bottom of the page three symbols appear, written rather faintly, and looking like a long form of an *s* a Greek  $\rho$  and a *c* written backwards. Whether these have any significance is unclear.

[Page 2 *blank*]

[3] L'or Pure separè de l'alliage des autres metaux s'appelle ordinairement de 24 carats, & les carats qui sont les degrez de la bontè diminuent a proportion de la quantité du blanc, ou du rouge, qui y sont incorporez.

Les plus anciennes Medailles, que nous avons sont faites en Grèce du temps de Philips Roy de Macedoine,<sup>1</sup> & d'Alexandre le grand<sup>2</sup> son fils, elles portent un grand relief & leur puretè est merveilleuse, car elles sont a plus de 23 carats & 16 grains, si bien, qu'il ne leur manque pas la moitié d'un carat pour estre dans la derniere perfection.

[4] On commença de faire de la monoye d'or a Rome 62 ans apres celle d'argent selon le temoignage de Pline,<sup>3</sup> c'est a dire 546<sup>4</sup> ans apres la fondation de la ville.<sup>5</sup>

Pure gold, free from amalgamation with other metals, is normally described as of 24 carats, and carats, the measure of the quality, decrease in proportion of the white and red [gold] which are incorporated.

The most ancient coins we possess were made in Greece in the time of Philip, King of Macedonia, and of Alexander the Great his son. They are of high relief, & their purity is wonderful, since they are more than 23 carats & 16 grains, - so that there remains but half a carat to be of ultimate perfection.

They began to make gold coinage at Rome 62 years after silver according to the testimony of Pliny, which is to say 546 years after the foundation of the city.

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<sup>1</sup> Philip II, King of Macedonia (c.382-336BC)

<sup>2</sup> Alexander the Great, son of the above. (356-323BC)

<sup>3</sup> Gaius Plinius Secundus (23-79AD) Roman Scholar. Known as "Pliny the Elder."

<sup>4</sup> A deleted *apres* stood here.

<sup>5</sup> Romans dated their years *ab urbe condita* i.e. "from the foundation of the city" in 753BC. See also p.63 and Morpeth's comments on "Natalis Urbis". 546 *ab urbe condita (auc)* i.e. 207BC.

**On a tousjours continuè d'employer l'or fin jusques au temps de l'Empereur Alexandre Severe,<sup>1</sup> qui permit d'allier une cinquieme partie d'argent avec quatre parts d'or. ils appelloient cet alliage de quatre parts d'or, & d'une d'argent Electrum.**

**Un livre d'or vaille a peu pres quatorze livres d'argent. Les medailles d'or se font<sup>2</sup> assez considerer par leur prix, & par le peu de personnes, qui en possèdent. [5] mais celles d'argent nous apprennent des particularitez de l'histoire tres remarquablez. Les orfevres appellent deniers les degrez de la bontè de l'argent, le douzieme denier est le plus haut degre de puritè. L'argent, dont, les medailles anciennes sont complès approche fort de la derniere perfection du metal.**

**Marc Antoine<sup>3</sup> est notè dans les histoires pour avoir couvert d'argent quelques pieces de fer, ausquelles il avoit fait donner cours. Pline nous apprend le temps, que les Monoyes d'argent commencerent d'avoir cours dans Rome.**

They continued to use fine gold always until the time of the Emperor Alexander Severus, who allowed the use of a fifth part of silver with four parts of gold. They called this alloy of four parts of gold and one of silver "Electrum".

One pound of gold is worth about as much as fourteen pounds of silver. Golden coins are valued partly because of their price, and partly for the small number who own them. But those of silver teach us very remarkable particulars of history. Silversmiths name "deniers" the degrees of the quality of the silver; the twelfth is the highest degree of purity. The silver from which ancient coins are composed achieves almost the absolute perfection of metal.

Mark Anthony is noted in the annals of antiquity for having covered some iron coins with silver, which he then put into circulation. Pliny tells us the time when silver coinage began to have currency in Rome.

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander Severus, Emperor (AD222-35) An Imperial reign of some stability.

<sup>2</sup> See p.34 n2. The manuscript is clear, but *sont* is almost certainly intended.

<sup>3</sup> Marcus Antonius (c. 83-30BC) Member of 2<sup>nd</sup> Triumvirate with Octavian & Lepidus. Effective ruler of much of the Eastern Empire until Octavian's triumph at the Battle of Actium in 31BC.

il escrit que ce fut lan 484 de la fondation de Rome sous le Consulat de [6] Q. Ogulnius, & de C. Fabius, c'est a dire 5 ans auparavant la premiere guerre Punique.<sup>1</sup>

les Deniers representoient d'ordinaire d'un cotè la teste de Rome armée,<sup>2</sup> & de l'autre costè Castor, & Pollux, que les Romains tenoient pour des Divinitez favorables a leur estat; en suite ils y marquerent des Victoires qui donnerent le nom aux Victoriats, & peu apres on y mit des chariots a deux, & a quatre chevaux, d'ou on disoit, Denarii bigati, & quadrigati.

La Drachme<sup>3</sup> estoit une Monoye chez les Grecs, dont le prix egaloit celui de six oboles, ou du denier Romain: la didrachme<sup>4</sup> en [7] valoit deux, & la tetradrachme en valoit quatre.

La Mine qu'ils appelloient uvã estoit de deux sortes: la vieille valoit 75<sup>5</sup> drachmes, & la nouvelle cent, mais ny la mine ny le talent fussent des peices de monyes, c'estoient des noms des sommes.

He writes that it was the year 484 from the foundation of Rome under the consulate of Q. Ogulnius & C. Fabius, that is to say five years before the first Punic war.

Denarii normally display on one side the armed head of a Roman woman, and on the other side Castor & Pollux whom the Romans held as divinities well-disposed to their State. Later they commemorated victories on them which gave the name to Victoriats, and a little later chariots with two or four horses were placed on them, whence one calls them Denarii Bigati and Quadrigati.

The Drachma was a coin found amongst the Greeks, the value of which equalled six Oboloes, or a Roman Denarius. The Didrachma is worth two, and the Tetrachma is worth four.

The Mina which they called "una" was of two kinds: the old worth 75 drachmas and the new worth 100. However, neither the Mina nor the Talent were coins, but were the names of amounts.

<sup>1</sup> This is a very precise dating to 269BC. Quintus Ogulnius Gallus & Gaius Fabius Pictor were Consuls that year, which in Roman terms was 484 *ab urbe condita*. The First Punic War broke out in 264BC.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> The *m* has been added above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>4</sup> As n2.

<sup>5</sup> The manuscript is ambiguous: the 7 could be read as 9.



**La talent Attique, qui estoit leur plus ordinaire, valoit 60 mines & chaque mine valoit cent drachmes ainsi il valoit 3000 livres de monoyes de France. Ceux de Delphes representent sur leur monoyes un dauphin, a cause de la conformité du nom. Les Atheniens y mirent l'oiseau de leur Minerve, c'est a dire une [8] choüette. Les Beotiens<sup>1</sup> y marquerent un Bacchus, une grappe de raisin, & une grande Coupe a cause de l'abondance, & de la bontè de leurs vins.**

**Les Macedoniens y figurerent le bouclier, que portoient leurs Argyraspides<sup>2</sup> dont leur milice estoit si forte: Les Rhodiens y representent la tete du soleil.**

**On possede mille trente-sept medailles Consulaires,<sup>3</sup> que on rapporte a cent soixante & dix huit familles Romaines. Nous voyons une medaille faite par le Consul Lepidus,<sup>4</sup> que le [9] Senat, & le Peuple Romain envoyerent en Alexandrie, pour gouverner l'Egypte,**

The Attic Talent, which was their most common, was worth 60 Minas and each Mina worth 100 Drachmas, and so was worth 3000 Livres in French coinage. The people of Delphi displayed a dolphin on their coins, because of the similarity of the name. The Athenians displayed the bird of Minerva, that is to say, an owl. The Boetians engraved theirs with a Bacchus, a bunch of grapes, and a great bowl on account of the abundance and the quality of their wines.

The Macedonians showed on theirs the shield carried by their Argyraspides that made so strong a part of their militia. The Rhodians displayed on theirs a sun's head.

We have one thousand and thirty seven Consular medals which relate to one hundred and seventy-eight Roman families. We see one medal made by the Consul Lepidus, whom the Senate, & the Roman people sent to Alexandria, to govern Egypt,

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<sup>1</sup> Boeotia = a lush, fertile region of mainland Greece.

<sup>2</sup> The Argyraspides (*lit.* "Silver-shields") were the Royal Guard of the Macedonian army.

<sup>3</sup> Two Consuls were elected each year throughout most Roman history. They were senior magistrates, and their names are often used as a secondary means of dating. The Consuls themselves were invariably chosen from families of standing.

<sup>4</sup> Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (*d.* 152BC) He crowned Ptolemy V in 187BC on behalf of the Roman State. Of the same family, but not to be confused with the Lepidus of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Triumvirate already mentioned on p.53 n2.

**qui met enfin la Courone sur la tete de Ptolemée son pupille,<sup>1</sup> & qui se qualifie Tuteur du Roy, tutor Regis.**

**Nous voyons une autre faite par Marc Antoine, qui prend plaisir d'exprimer sa Cleopatre<sup>2</sup> sur ses monoyes, qui veut que les Asiatiques, aussi bien que les Egyptiens, luy facent des sacrifices comme a leur Deesse.**

**nous voyons la vertu persecutée par la Fortune en la personne de Marc Brutus,<sup>3</sup> qui dans une [10] medaille nous monstre deux des poignards, dont Jules Cæsar<sup>4</sup> fut tué: au milieu est un bonnet, symbole ordinaire de la liberté, qu'il avoit acquise aux Romains; & au dessus on lit Eid. Mar. c'est a dire aux Ides de Mars. pour apprendre a la posterité le temps de cette fameuse execution.<sup>5</sup>**

who finally put the crown on the head of Ptolemy his ward, & who styled himself "Guardian of the King" - "Tutor Regis".

We see another made by Mark Anthony, who took pleasure in portraying his Cleopatra on his coins, who wants the Asians as well as the Egyptians to make sacrifices to her as their Goddess. We see virtue hounded by Fortune in the person of Marc Brutus, who in one medal shows us two of the daggers with which Julius Cæsar was killed:

in the middle is a bonnet, common symbol of the liberty which he had brought to the Romans; and above one reads Eid. Mar., which is to say the Ides of March, to remind posterity of the date of that famous execution.

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<sup>1</sup> Ptolomy V "Epiphanes" (204-181BC) Puppet-king of Egypt maintained by Roman influence.

<sup>2</sup> Cleopatra VII (69-30BC) Queen of Egypt, whose throne was supported by Julius Caesar and Mark Antony successively, and with each of whom she had an affair. She died at her own hand after Antony's suicide following his defeat at Actium in 31BC.

<sup>3</sup> Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus (*d.* 43BC) Republican: principal assassin of Julius Cæsar.

<sup>4</sup> Gaius Julius Cæsar (100-44BC) Member of 1<sup>st</sup> Triumvirate (Cæsar, Pompey & Crassus) who was voted Dictator of life and given Divine Honours by the Roman Senate in 45BC. It was primarily for the last repudiation of Republican ideals that he was assassinated.

<sup>5</sup> To describe the assassination of Julius Cæsar as an "execution" – even in French – shows a fascinating insight in Lord Morpeth's political convictions. We should not be too surprised, however, in view of his family's close links with the Essex, Russell and Sidney circles.

**Le portrait du grand Pompée<sup>1</sup> & celuy de son fils Sextus<sup>2</sup> se trouvent ensemble, dans une medaille d'or que le fils fit frapper en Sicile. il retiroit en cette isle les Romains proscrits que la tyrannie des Triumvirs<sup>3</sup>[11] avoit ecarté de leur Patrie, & pretendoit par la meriter la couronne de chesne<sup>4</sup> que nous voyons dans sa medaille.**

**Il y a une medaille, qui nous fait connoistre Quintus Atius Labienus Parthicus Maximus.<sup>5</sup> Ce fut un grand Capitaine du party de Brustus,<sup>6</sup> & de Cassius,<sup>7</sup> qui alla demander du secours aux Parthes,<sup>8</sup> contre Auguste,<sup>9</sup> & contre Marc Antoine, qui venoient fondre sur eux avec toutes les forces de l'Occident. il apprit la defaite, & la mort de ses amis avant la fin de sa negotiation & dans la pensée, qu'il eut, que la [12] cruauté des vainqueurs ne l'epargneroit pas,**

The likeness of Pompey the Great and that of his son Sextus are found together on one gold medal which the son had minted in Sicily. He had withdrawn the exiled Romans to that island whom the tyranny of the Triumvirate had driven from their Fatherland, and claimed by that action to merit the crown of oak-leaves which we see on the medal.

There is one coin which acquaints us with Quintus Atius Labienus Parthicus Maximus. He was a leading general of the faction of Brutus and Cassius who had sought the help of the Parthians against Augustus and against Mark Anthony, who came and fell upon them with all the forces of the West. He learned of the defeat and death of his friends, before the end of his parley and in the thought which he had – that the savagery of the conquerors would not spare him -

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<sup>1</sup> Pompeius Magnus (106-48BC) At first an ally, then rival of Julius Cæsar.

<sup>2</sup> Sextus Pompeius Magnus Pius (c.67-35BC) Son of above. Given a naval command by Mark Antony.

<sup>3</sup> There were two Triumvirates. The 1<sup>st</sup> in 59BC, formed by Julius Cæsar, Pompey & Crassus) may not have been strictly legal. The 2<sup>nd</sup> in 43BC, formed by Octavian, Lepidus & Mark Antony, was established as the *Triumviri Rei Publicæ Constituendæ Consulari Potestate*. The reference here is to the second Triumvirate. Legal or not, it was constitutionally undesirable from Morpeth's point of view.

<sup>4</sup> Otherwise known as the *corona civilis*, which Morpeth describes in his *Remarks*: p.36.

<sup>5</sup> Quintus Atius Labienus Particus Maximus (*fl.* 42-39BC) A Republican revolutionary who identified himself with the Parthian opposition to Rome.

<sup>6</sup> Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus (*d.* 43BC) *q.v.*

<sup>7</sup> Gaius Cassius Longinus (before 85-42BC) A Senator and prime opponent of Julius Cæsar

<sup>8</sup> The Parthian Empire formed a constant threat to Rome's eastern borders through modern Iran and Mesopotamia from the third century BC.

<sup>9</sup> Gaius (Julius Cæsar) Octavianus Augustus (63BC –AD14) Adopted son of Julius Cæsar *q.v.* First Roman Emperor from 31BC.

**il aima mieux vivre parmi des Barbares, que de se commettre aux Romains, de sorte que Il prit le titre de Parthique, pour imiter ses predecesseurs, qui s'attribuoient les noms des Provinces vaincuës, comme les Scipions<sup>1</sup> s'estoient attribuez ceux D'Africain, & d'Asiatique.**

**Il y a des medailles de tous les Empereurs depuis Jules Cæsar jusques a Heraclius,<sup>2</sup> & meme quantité d'autres que des Princes, ou des Tyrans<sup>3</sup> faisoient faire si-tost qu'ils prenoient le titre de Souverains. Depuis le temps de Phocas,<sup>4</sup> & Heraclius les belles con-[13]-noissances se perdoient peu a peu, & l'Italia demeura en proye aux Gots, & aux autres Barbares.**

**Les Medailles estoient d'argent pur jusques au siecle de Severe,<sup>5</sup> & de Caracalla,<sup>6</sup> qui y mellerent, quelques portions de cuiure; mais depuis ce temps la, ils en corrompirent si fort la matiere,**

he preferred to live amongst Barbarians than to trust himself to the Romans – so much so that he took the title Parthian to imitate his predecessors, who gave themselves the names of conquered Provinces, as the Scipios took those of Africa and Asia.

There are medals of all the Emperors from Julius Cæsar until Heraclius, and as many others which Princes or Tyrants had made, as soon as they took the title of Sovereigns. Since the time of Phocas, and of Heraclius fine examples disappeared little by little, and Italy fell before Goths and other Barbarians.

Coins were of pure silver until the age of Severus and Caracalla who adulterated them with a proportion of copper. But since that period they had so far debased the material

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<sup>1</sup> Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (236-184BC) and his brother Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (Consul in 190BC).

<sup>2</sup> Favius Heraclius Augustus (c. AD575-641) Emperor of the East from AD610.

<sup>3</sup> The so-called *Tyranni Triginti* who, according to one unreliable historian, rose up as Pretenders or usurpers during the time of Gallienus (AD218-68).

<sup>4</sup> Flavius Phocas Augustus. Emperor of the East from AD602-10.

<sup>5</sup> Septimius Severus b.AD145. Emperor AD193-211.

<sup>6</sup> Lucius Septimius Bassianus, eldest son of above. b. AD188. Emperor AD211-17.

**que nous ne l'estimons, que sur le pied de sept, ou huit francs le marc; au lieu que celles d'argent pur en valent pour le moins vingt sept.**

**Les Medailles Imperiales ne nous representent pas seulement les Empereurs Romains, nous y trouvons aussy de leurs femmes, de leurs meres, [14] de leurs sœurs, de leurs filles, de leurs parentes, & de leurs maistresses.**

**Les medailles de Pertinax,<sup>1</sup> de Didius Julianus,<sup>2</sup> de Pescennius Niger,<sup>3</sup> & des Gordiens Africains<sup>4</sup> sont les plus rares de toutes les medailles Imperiales.<sup>5</sup>**

that we value them on the basis of seven or eight francs per item, instead of at least twenty-seven for those of pure silver.

Imperial medals do not show us Roman Emperors only: we find also wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, parents, and their mistresses.

The medals of Pertinax, Didius Julianus, Pescinnius Niger, and the Gordiani Africani are the rarest of all the imperial medals.

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<sup>1</sup> Publius Helvius Pertinax (AD126-93) Emperor AD192-93.

<sup>2</sup> Marcus Didius Julianus (c. AD137-93) Emperor AD193.

<sup>3</sup> Gaius Pescennius Niger (c. AD135-94) Emperor AD193-94.

<sup>4</sup> There were three Emperors who were known as Gordian I, II, and III respectively. They were: Marcus Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus (c.AD158-238) co-Emperor with his son; Marcus Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus (d. AD238), who was succeeded by his son; and Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius (AD225-44) Emperor from AD238-44. AD193 and 238 were both years of considerable political instability, reflected in the brevity of so many imperial reigns.

<sup>5</sup> The remainder of this page is blank. After a page [15] devoted to pithy Latin quotations and three short extracts from Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* (the third at the top of page [16], Morpeth turns from what might be understood as a *History* of coins to an explanation of some of the inscriptions found on them.

Possibly, finishing his *History* of coins, Morpeth thought the remainder of this booklet might be used for other purposes; then, having written the Latin sentences, began further explanation of symbols found on ancient coins.

**[15] Oportet Imperatorem stantem mori.** **suet:**

**Gaudete cum gaudentibus, Flete cum flentibus.**

**Fidelissimam esse custodiam Principis ipsius innocentiam.**

**Plin: de Traj:**

**Apud Lacedemonios plus valent leges quam Reges.**

**Herodot:**

**Par negotiis neque supra.**

**Tac:**

**Principes mortales,<sup>1</sup> Remp: æternam esse.**

**Tac:**

**Sufficient to ye day is ye evil thereof, but not intolerable.<sup>2</sup>**

**No wise man did ever describe felicity without vertue, & no good man did ever think vertue could<sup>3</sup> depend upon ye variety of a good, or bad fortune.<sup>4</sup>**

**[16] Nothing yt wee feel is so bad as what wee fear.<sup>5</sup>**

**A short explication upon several abbreviations yt are seen upon meddails.**

It is fitting for an Emperor to die standing up Suet[onius *Vita Vespanasiani* 24]

Rejoice with those who are glad: weep with those who weep [St Paul *Epistle to the Romans* 12.15]

His own innocence is a Prince's surest defence. Pliny [de Trajanus]

Amongst the Lacedæmonians laws prevail rather than Kings. Herodot[us. Cicero *De Officiis* II?]

Equal to, but not above, his obligations. Tac[itus *Annales* VI.39]

Princes are mortal: the State stands for eternity. Tac[itus *Annales* III.6]

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<sup>1</sup> Originally *mortalis* but corrected.

<sup>2</sup> *Sufficient ...intolerable* [Jeremy Taylor *Holy Living* Bk II. "To procure Contentedness" Sect VI.4]

<sup>3</sup> *could* is doubled in the text: at the end of one line, and at the beginning of the next.

<sup>4</sup> *No wise man ... fortune.*

[ibid Sect VI.8]

<sup>5</sup> *Nothing ... fear.*

[ibid Sect VI.8]

**S.C.** signifies *Senatus consulto*[.] it also notes yt ye money yt is thus marked<sup>1</sup> was fabricated by ye order of ye Senate.

iii. **vir.** signifies *trium vir.* but when you find *iii vir* thus simple without any othere letters, it only signifies one of those yt had ye ordinance of coyning<sup>2</sup> ye mony,<sup>3</sup> & not one of the *triumvirat* yt governed ye Empire.

ii. **vit. R.P.C. signi: trium vir Respublicæ constituendæ.** which notes one of ye *triumvirat*, yt [17] are worth generally 4 pistols<sup>4</sup> a peice, & you may easily know them from ye otheres, altho ye Emperours name be not upon them, because ye silver of yt time is much purer & better then ye silver, yt was stamped in *Galliens*<sup>5</sup> time.

**T.** alone upon ye *Imp: meddails* when it expresses ye name of ye Emperour, alwais signifies *Titus Vespasianus son*,<sup>6</sup> & **Ti.** signifies *Tiberius ye 2<sup>nd</sup> Emperour*.<sup>7</sup> as for examp: *Imp: T. Cæs. Aug.* & when it signifies *Tiberius* it is thus. *Imp: Ti. Cæs. Aug.*

[18]**Act. Actium.** signifieng ye name of ye place near which Augustus overcame Antony, & made himself master of ye world.<sup>8</sup>

**Aed. Cur. Ædilis Curulis.** an employment amongst ye Romaines for which wee can give no just name, but ye officers were employed

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<sup>1</sup> A smudged *qu* stands between *mar* and *ked*

<sup>2</sup> Originally *coying*. The *n* is added above with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>3</sup> Morpeth distinguishes between the political *triumvirates* of 59BC and 43BC and the *triumvirate* responsible for the minting of the Empire's coinage.

<sup>4</sup> *Pistoles* are used here as a contemporary European unit of currency. A "Pistole" was a French name for a Spanish gold coin in use from 1537 worth about two "Escudos" or one of Louis XIV's "Louis d'Or".

<sup>5</sup> *Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus*. (AD213-68) Emperor (at first co-Emperor with his father, *Valerian*) from AD253. Hence "Galliens"?

<sup>6</sup> i.e. "Titus [Flavius] *Vespasianus* (AD39-81) Emperor from AD79, and described as "Imperator Titus Cæsar Augustus" the son of *Titus Flavius Vespasian* (AD9-79) Emperor AD69-79.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. "Tiberius [Nero] (42BC – AD37). Emperor from AD14, and described as "Imperator Tiberius Cæsar Augustus".

<sup>8</sup> Battle of Actium, 31BC. A naval battle fought off the Macedonian Adriatic coast, reputedly won by *Marcus Agrippa* and the defection of one of Antony's admirals.

towards ye looking after al publick buildings, to keep them in repare, & to have an inspection yt al highways, streets, churches, & private houses were<sup>1</sup> in yt condition & reparation required. theire imployment extended into several othere things, yt regarded ye good of ye Republick.

**Bon. Event. Bonus Eventus signi:** yt ye Empereur upon [19] whose meddail you find this motto had had a happy return from some expedition, or yt ye people prayed for his successful return, & yt he was yet in ye expedition.

**D.M. Diis Manibus.**<sup>2</sup>

**D.N. Dominus noster.**<sup>3</sup>

**D.P. Dij Penates.**<sup>4</sup>

**G.P.R.. Genio Populi Romani.** a compliment, yt those who had ye care of coyning<sup>5</sup> ye mony, commenly made to ye Empereurs by puting those 3 letters upon ye revers of their coyn.

**Ian. Clu. Ianum clusit ou<sup>6</sup> clausit.** a Temple yt was didicated to ye God Ianus, which never was shut but in time of peace [20] once in ye time of King Numa P.,<sup>7</sup> & an othere time under ye Impire of Augustus.

**I.S.M.R. Iuno Sospita Mater Regina,** an inscription yt is ordennarly seen upon ye meddails of ye Empereurs wives.

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<sup>1</sup> An *interlinear* correction for *be* – struck through.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. “Spirits of the Dead”

<sup>3</sup> i.e. “Our Master/Lord”

<sup>4</sup> i.e. “Gods of the Storeroom” See also p.68.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 61 n2.

<sup>6</sup> The manuscript is unambiguous here: clearly the author has momentarily reverted to French.

<sup>7</sup> Numa Pompilius (753-674BC) Legendary second King of Rome after Romulus from 714BC. The point being made here is that both Numa Pompilius and Augustus, the first Emperor, were seen to be good rulers. Only under their beneficent rule was the Roman Empire ever completely at peace.



**H-S. Sestertius.**

**I.O.M. Sacru. Iovi Optimo Maximo Sacrum.**

**Lud. Sæc. F. Ludus sæculares fecit. Games & sports yt ye Romain Empereurs gave to ye people every hundred years. & for yt raison they are called sæculares.**

**[21] Mars. Ult. Marti Ultori.<sup>1</sup>**

**Nat. Urb. Natalis Urbis<sup>2</sup> sign: ye foundation<sup>3</sup> of Rome, from whence ye Romans were used to reckon their years.**

**Ob. C. S. ob Cives servatos, signifying yt he upon whose meddail you find this inscription, had saved ye life of his fellow-citizen in some militaire expedition, & for recompense ye Romans were accustomed to give him a crown made of ye leaves of an oak.<sup>4</sup> but when you see it upon ye imperial meddails, it dos not signifie, any particular action of ye Empereur, but only in general, yt he had been a [22] merciful Prince, & had spared ye lives of his subjects, as much as he was able.**

**P. F. Pius. Felix. titles yt were given to ye Empereurs oftener out of flattery then for their own merites.**

**P. R. Populus Romanus.**

**PRÆF. CLAS. ET. OR. MARIT. Præfectus<sup>5</sup> classis, & oræ Maritimæ. signifying yt he was master of ye sea, & several port-**

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<sup>1</sup> Presumably ascribing a victory to "Mars the Avenger".

<sup>2</sup> i.e. "from the birth of the City" or *ab urbe condita*. See p.52 and p.54.

<sup>3</sup> Originally *fondation*. The *u* is an interlinear correction with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>4</sup> Morpeth describes this "Corona civilis" several times: in these *Observations* on p.57 and in his *Remarks* on p.36.

<sup>5</sup> The *c* is an interlinear correction for an original struck-through *s*.

**towns as for exam: ye son of Pompeius ye gre:<sup>1</sup> who commanded a fleet of 200 sail of ships, & who was master of al ye cost of Sicily & ye greatest part of Spain, upon whose meddail you find [23] these words.**

**Rom. & Aug. Roma, & Augusto.<sup>2</sup>**

**Stabil. stabilata signifying otherwise ye security of ye world.**

**V.C. vir clarissimus.**

**Vot. X Mult. XX. votis Decennialibus, Multiplicatis Vicennialibus.<sup>3</sup>**

**XV.Vir.Sacr.Fac. Quindecimvir sacris faciundis.<sup>4</sup>**

**[24] A short description of several signs & marks, by which are understood Kingdoms, Provinces, & several of ye Romain Diety.**

**An Elephant generally signifies Africa, & when you find it<sup>5</sup> eithere wholl, or only its trunck (as it is often marked so) upon ye meddail of any Empereur, or great general it notes yt ye said Empereur, or general, had conquered some part of Africa.**

**A Camel signifies Arabia, becaus it is a beast yt is particularly affected to yt country, & seldome found any where els. it also marks ye same thing yt I have already said of ye Elephant, when it is found [25] upon ye meddails of any great commander, or Empereur.**

**A Rabbet is ye mark of Spain becaus ye country abounds so much with them, yt ye Spainiard were obliged once to send to Rome to demand 3 legions to help them to destroy them. it has ye same signification yt I have already spook of when it is found upon ye Romain mony, or meddails.**

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<sup>1</sup> Sextus. See p.57 n1 and n2.

<sup>2</sup> These ablatives stress the identification of the authority of City, Empire and Emperor.

<sup>3</sup> A reference to outstanding religious honours. "Votis decennialibus" i.e. "Sacrifices for ten years" whilst "Multiplicatis vicennialibus" i.e. "Many sacrifices for twenty years".

<sup>4</sup> A Council of Fifteen, whose function was to regulate the religious festivals observed in Rome.

<sup>5</sup> Added above the line, with an insertion-mark underneath.

By a Palm-tree is understood Judæa becaus this sort of wood is very commune in yt country, & no where els. you find it upon ye mony of Titus Vespasianus<sup>1</sup> which marks, yt he had suddued<sup>2</sup> yt Province.

[26] The Romains were accustomed<sup>3</sup> very often to put a stork upon their coyn, but particularly when they would represent ye Godess Pieta, becaus this bird is remarked to show ye greatest motherely affection, & care towards her young, of al birds yt fly.

You commonly find also upon ye Romain Coyn a serpent placed near ye Godesse of Health, becaus it is remarked, yt a serpent cast its skin every year, & by yt it is supposed, yt it purges itself of al its corruption, & receives a new stook<sup>4</sup> of health, or otherwise becaus, yt when ye Romains sent for ye statue of EAsculapius<sup>5</sup> from Grece, to deleiver them from a violent plague, yt had almost [27] swept away al Rome, as they were carrying ye statue out of ye Temple, a serpent of a prodigious bigness rushed from under ye Alter, & twisted itself about it & by no means could be separated from ye statue, till they arrived in ye Tiber where it cast its self into ye River.

A Crocodile ordennarly represents Egypt, becaus it is a beast yt particularly regards<sup>6</sup> yt country.

Tree<sup>7</sup> legs joynt together is ye ordennary mark of Sicily, by which ye Ancients expressed ye tree Promontares<sup>8</sup> of yt Island.

<sup>1</sup> Titus Flavius Vespasianus. See p.61 n4.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. “subdued” – but uncorrected. See p.69 n1 and Introduction p.49 for suggestion of mild dyslexia.

<sup>3</sup> The *u* has been written above a *u* that appears to have been changed to an *a*.

<sup>4</sup> The fourth letter is undoubtedly an *o* – not a *c*. However, the meaning can only be “stook” insofar as its meaning equates to “stock”: it is clearly no literal “group of corn-sheaves”.

<sup>5</sup> A slip for *Aesculapius*, the Graeco-Roman God of healing. (See Ovid *Metamorphoses* XV. 622-745)

<sup>6</sup> i.e. “favours” or “prefers”.

<sup>7</sup> Written as “tree” though the context makes it clear that here and in the next line “three” is meant.

<sup>8</sup> Originally *Promotares*. The *n* is an interlinear correction with an insertion-mark beneath.

**[28] By a hors:head is understood Carthage, & its dominions, becaus when Queen Dido founded yt City as she was marking ye circuit of ye walls by a plow (as was ye custome amongst ye Ancients) a hors-head was thrown up amongst ye earth, which she took as a mark of ye ferocity of her people, & yt her kingdom would be fierce, & warlick.<sup>1</sup>**

**Rome is represented by a young womans-head alwais armed,<sup>2</sup> to show yt she was Mistress<sup>3</sup> of ye world, & also to let her ennemys see, yt she was alwais prepared for them.**

**[29] An anchor, vessel, or Neptune or his trident, always represents a sea-cost Province, or town yt is to say, when you find ye name of a Kingdom, Province, or town upon ye meddail, otherwise it represents a sea-fight, & must be attributed to him, yt is seen upon ye meddail, & if Consular to some of his friends, or parents.**

**The Godess Ceres is known generally by having a sheerth<sup>4</sup> of corn by her, or by some othere<sup>5</sup> materials & instruments, yt belong to Agriculture.**

**The Godess Sibilis is always represented in a chariot drawn by Lyons.**

**Juno with Peacocks. Venus with doves. Diana with harts & crowned with a half=moon.**

**[30] Jupiter is commonly represented by an aigle<sup>6</sup> holding a thunder-bolt in his hand.**

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<sup>1</sup> A story recounted in the *Aeneid* I. lines 441-45.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 54 .

<sup>3</sup> It looks as if this word was originally spelt *mestriss*.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. "sheaf"

<sup>5</sup> *othere* An interlinear addition with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. "Eagle".

**Mars always armed with a Bouclier<sup>1</sup> either by him, or in his hand.**

**The Goddess of Victory is seen either holding a crown of laurel or else a branch of a Palm – tree, in her hand.**

**The Goddess of peace with a horn of abundance.<sup>2</sup> It would be a folly for me<sup>3</sup> to pretend to describe them all, they being so many & so well known.**

**[31] Un bonnet sur une Medaille est le simbole de la liberté.**

**Les Preteurs, & Ediles<sup>4</sup> estoient Nobles.**

**Jupiter Flamon en Afrique avoit des cornes, qui estoit pour lors chose honorable.<sup>5</sup>**

**Marcellinus prit Siracuse. Jules Cæsar restablit Corinte, que Munius Acaius avoit destruite.<sup>6</sup>**

**Castor, & Pollux Dieux propices aux Romains.**

**Centurion Cap: de 100 hommes.**

**Simpulum, Aspergillum, Securis des instruments dont les pretres se servoient dans les Sacrifices.**

A cap on a coin is the symbol of liberty.

The Praetors and Aediles were noblemen.

Jupiter Flamon had horns in Africa which were then an honourable thing.

Marcellinus took Syracuse.

Julius Caesar re-established Corinth, which Munius Acaius had destroyed.

Castor and Pollus [are] gods favourable to the Romans.

Centurion [i.e.] Captain of 100 men.

A small ladle, a sprinkler, an axe [these are] the instruments which the Priests used in sacrifices.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "Buckler" or "Shield".

<sup>2</sup> i.e. "Cornucopia".

<sup>3</sup> *for me* LH. Marginal addition with insertion-mark after *folly*.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. "Praetors" and "Aediles" or "Magistrates" and "Civil Servants".

<sup>5</sup> A "Flamen" was a priest. Presumably Morpeth means that in Africa, a priest of Jupiter wore horns (rather like Aaron in the Old Testament) – here a sign of honour, rather than the dishonour of cuckoldry.

<sup>6</sup> Marcus Claudius Marcellus (c.268-208BC) a Roman general, took Syracuse after siege in c.210BC. Julius Cæsar recolonised Corinth c.44BC, which Lucius Mummius Achaicus, a Roman general, had taken in 146BC.

**Jules Cæsar triomfa 5 fois des Gaules.**

**Le Caduceé est le signe de la paix.**

**[32] On connoit dans les medailles la femme de l'homme par un toupet de cheveux derriere la tete, que la femme porte.**

**Questeur estoit comme receveur, ou Trosorier.**

**Dij Penates. Dieux domestiques.<sup>1</sup>**

**Mito tibi navem pupi proraq: carentem.**

**Navem otez la lettre n et m. il rest ave se vous envoie le bon jour.**

**Agrippa gendre d'Auguste, fit batir la Rotonda.<sup>2</sup>**

**Les 4 chevaux qui sont sur la porte de S. Marc a Venise, vienent de Constantinople, on croit qu'ils ont servis au triomfe de Nero.<sup>3</sup>**

**[33] Festina lente la devise d'Auguste.**

**Pour marque de la consecration des hommes un autel, ou un aigle, & des femmes un Paon.**

Julius Caesar overcame the Gauls five times.

A herald's staff [or a wand of Mercury] is the sign of peace.

On coins one may distinguish between a woman and a man by the pony-tail of hair which the woman wears behind her head.

A Quaestor was like a tax-collector or a treasurer.

Dii Penates [=] Household gods.

I send you a ship lacking prow and stern. Erase the letters n and m from navem: "ave" remains – "I send you greeting."

Agrippa, Augustus' son-in-law, had the Rotunda built.

The four horses on the portico of St Mark in Venice come from Constantinople. It is thought that they were used in Nero's triumph.

"Make haste slowly" [was] the motto of Augustus.

To indicate consecration: for men an altar or an eagle; for women a peacock.

<sup>1</sup> See p.62 n4.

<sup>2</sup> Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (63-12BC) built the Pantheon in Rome between 27-25BC.

<sup>3</sup> Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus (AD37-68) Emperor from AD54 until his deposition and death.

**S.P.Q.R. IMP. CAE. QUOD. V.M.S. EX. EA. P.Q. IS. AD.<sup>1</sup> Æ. DE. –  
 Senatus, populusq: Romanus, Imperatori<sup>2</sup> Cæsari, quod viæ munitæ  
 sunt ex ea pecunia, quam is ad<sup>3</sup> Ærario detulit.**

**Finis.**

The Senate and People of Rome, at Caesar's command, that their lives might be safeguarded through its reserves, draw this from the Treasury.

The End.

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<sup>1</sup> Surely a mistake for "Ab"? This should read either "Ab Ærario" or "Ad Ærarium" – but as "Ad Ærarium detulit" is nonsensical, only "Ab Ærario detulit" is possible. It is hardly conceivable that anyone with a modest knowledge of Latin could write "ad" where the ablative following "ab" would be expected – unless, of course, the writer were occasionally affected by a mild form of dyslexia. See p.49 and p.65 n2.

<sup>2</sup> The *a* of "Imperator"; the *t* of "sunt" and the *o* of "Ærario" are editorial, having been cut away with a small strip of paper measuring 1/8 inch by 5 inches from the RH margin.

<sup>3</sup> See comment at n1.

*iii*

**Document 3**

**NOTES ON ITALY**

**J8/35/1**

**[1690]**



## INTRODUCTION

Manuscript J8/35/1 is a booklet measuring 5¼” x 8”, formed from eight sheets of 10½” x 8” paper, folded and stitched through twice. The paper is quality, laid, with wire-marks evident, and a watermark showing a bird with two pronounced triangular feet (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figure 2, p.x.) on alternate pages without countermark. (An identical watermark is found in J8/35/2, suggesting the two notebooks were made at the same time.) The pages are not numbered. The outer pages act as a cover, but heading the first outer page are the words *che si'e chiamata*. This front page carries the Catalogue number in the top right hand corner. This mark is repeated at the top of every editorially-marked odd page (1, 3, 5, etc. to 31 – but both 18 and 19 are marked).

Enclosed with this booklet is a leaf of notepaper bearing this comment:

“This book consists of notes / on Italy, written by the / 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle(?) / about 1692. / The writer says “Bernini / died about 5 years ago.” / Bernini died in 1680. / He says: “Chaunes was French / Ambassador at Rome in / the year 90.” / But for this last sentence, / I should have thought the / date earlier than 1688, when / Charles 3<sup>rd</sup> E married.

Feb 4. 18”

Quite possibly this archivist’s reservations were strengthened by the immature handwriting and comparative unfamiliarity with the Italian language. Italian is only attempted on pages 11-15, 20-22 and part of 24 & 25 of this booklet, and is clearly dependent on Morpeth’s prior knowledge of classical Latin at a number of points.

The document was given the date “c.1692” in the Catalogue (listed item 3, though marked J8/35/1). As Morpeth returned home in early February 1691 the events and encounters on which this booklet is based must certainly predate 1692.

It is interesting to note how far learning about and meeting people of his own social standing was of as much importance as viewing works of art and visiting architectural remnants of classical antiquity. Beyond the general purpose of “broadening the mind” that the Grand Tour was thought to offer a young gentleman, it is appropriate to remember the circumstances in which Morpeth was travelling. As the heir of a family closely identified with the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688/9 and its repudiation of absolutist monarchy, he spends much of his time at the fountain-head of enlightened government in the city-states of mediaeval and renaissance Italy, as well as papal Rome – all, however debased, still heirs of a classical golden age.

Morpeth has relied heavily on Jeremy Taylor’s *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* – probably in the 1676 unified edition - as a source for many of his Latin quotations. (This was noted in *Remarks out of several Books*.) Not only do strings of quotations follow from the same source – and in roughly the same order – in the 1676 edition many of these quotations occur on the bottom right-hand page of the open book. This suggests a young man eager to “fill up” his pages as quickly as possible to devote his time more agreeably elsewhere! No doubt he was similarly dependent on written sources elsewhere. The other Latin quotations probably originate in similar printed sources, as would the remarkably accurate lists of Popes. It has not proved possible to identify these sources, although their existence seems highly probable.

**J8/35/1**

**NOTES ON ITALY**

**TEXT**

***[1690]***<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The typewritten Catalogue at Castle Howard dates this c.1692. Internal evidence makes it clear that events mentioned (and omitted) point to 1690.

[1]  
che si' e chiamata<sup>1</sup>

CHJ8/35/1

[Page 2 (*Inner front cover*) blank] [3] The 12<sup>2</sup> best familys at Venice are ye<sup>3</sup> Justiniani, coming as they say from ye Empereur Justinianus; ye<sup>4</sup> Cornaro, Valeri from ye Empereur Valerius, Morosini, Grimmani, Badoer, Faliero, Michieli, Contarini, Anafest, Mocenigo, Bembo.

The cheif familys of Rome are ye Colonnas, Ursini, Comti, & Savelli. Burghese is looked upon as one of ye richest, raised by Paul 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>5</sup> they have a Dragon for their arms.

The familys of Naples are these, Brancaccio, Matalone, Carafa, Aquino, & Caserto. ye great master of Malta is of ye family of Caraffa.<sup>6</sup>

[4] Charles Maratti<sup>7</sup> is counted ye most famous Painter now of Europe, Gordian<sup>8</sup> at Naples is also very much esteemed.<sup>9</sup>

Naples<sup>10</sup> is governed by a Viceroy & a Counsel<sup>11</sup> of 6 all natives of ye country called ye Collateral Counsel,<sup>12</sup> without whose permission ye

<sup>1</sup> 'What she is called' or 'What is she called?' If this is a title for the booklet (since *famiglia* is feminine) one assumes Morpeth meant 'What the family is called' - not an enquiry after a girl's name.

<sup>2</sup> Added in numerals above the line.

<sup>3</sup> Added above the line with insertion-mark below.

<sup>4</sup> Added above the line with insertion-mark below.

<sup>5</sup> Camillo Borghese, elected Pope on 16 May 1605, taking the name Paul V. In an age of nepotism he advanced the Borghese family interests throughout a long papacy which ended on 28 January 1621.

<sup>6</sup> The Grand Master of the Knights of Malta was Gregorio Caraffa de Rocella from 1680-90, one at least of whose brothers was a Cardinal. This Military Order continued to govern Malta until Napoleonic times.

<sup>7</sup> Carlo Maratta (1625-1713) A pupil of Andrea Sacchi who continued to paint in the classical style of Raphael.

<sup>8</sup> Luca Giordano (1632-1705) Noted for his speed and facility, he had painted the large ceiling of the ballroom in the Palace of the Medici-Riccardi in Florence in 1683 before going to Spain in 1692.

<sup>9</sup> The third *e* has been added above the *m*. No insertion-mark.

<sup>10</sup> In the eighteenth century Naples was a Spanish possession, ruled by a Viceroy under a constitution briefly outlined here. Here it seems to be presented as a relatively enlightened form of Government, even though it was in fact dependant upon the absolutist monarchy of the Habsburgs.

<sup>11</sup> Originally *Conseil*. The *u* is an interlinear correction with insertion-mark below: the *i* struck through.

<sup>12</sup> As n11.

Viceroy is not able to lay any taxes<sup>1</sup> upon ye Country, or raise mony, nor souldiers or do any material thing, yt concerns ye Country; this counsell<sup>2</sup> also administrates<sup>3</sup> justice upon occasion, being ye last Court yt ye People can appeel<sup>4</sup> to, as our Chancery.

There are 6 French Cardinals<sup>5</sup> –

Bouillon, Esreés, Le Camus, Beauvais, Bonsi, Italien yet a<sup>6</sup> bishop of Narbon, & Maldachini bishop of Nevers Italien of extraction.

The Duck of Florence is esteemed to be worth 100 millions of Fren: livers, in ready mony.<sup>7</sup>

[5] The most famous Poets of Italy of ye last age were these –

Le Tasso, L'Ariosto buried at Ferrare; Dante buried at Ravenne, il Petrarca;<sup>8</sup> il Guarini, il Cavaler Marino; Fulvio Testi, de Modenne.<sup>9</sup>

The Spanish<sup>10</sup> Ambassador at Rome is called Cogo'gliudo;<sup>11</sup> ye Duck of Medina Cœlis son, a young man about 28 years old, of ye best family of Spaine, his fathere<sup>12</sup> is esteemed worth 100 thousand<sup>13</sup> pis:

<sup>1</sup> As later (p. 91) Morpeth appears to have spelt *taxes* with a *k* rather than an *x*. Here it is corrected.

<sup>2</sup> The *u* added as n9 on previous page, but with a second *l*.

<sup>3</sup> The last *t* added above the line: no insertion-mark.

<sup>4</sup> The second *e* is written above the line, with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>5</sup> The Sacred College was dominated by Italians. As noted here, even non-Italian bishoprics might be held by Italians, and thus, if appointed Cardinals, they might technically be described as part of a non-Italian faction. Their full names and sees: Emmanuel Théodose de la Tour d'Auvergne de Bouillon, Bishop of Albano; César d'Estrées, Bishop of Laon; Etiénne Le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble; Toussaint de Forbin Janson, Bishop of Beauvais; Pierre de Bonzi, Archbishop of Narbonne, and Francesco Mardalchini, Bishop of Nevers.

<sup>6</sup> Written above the line, with insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>7</sup> The Dukedom of Florence had been subsumed into the Grand Duchy of Tuscany by this time, although Florence remained as the Capital. The Grand Duke was Cosimo III de Medici, who ruled from 1670 until 1723. He was married to Marguerite Louise d'Orléons, a cousin of Louis XIV of France. The French connection explains both the placing of this comment immediately after the French bloc in the Sacred College, but also the estimation of the Grand Duke's worth in French currency.

<sup>8</sup> The final *r* added over a smudge: no insertion-mark.

<sup>9</sup> Torquato Tasso (1544-95); Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533); Dante Alighieri (1265-1321); Francesco Petrarca (1304-74); Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538-1612); Giambattista Marino (1569-1625); Fulvio Testi (1593-1646) and Leone Modena (1571-1648).

<sup>10</sup> A blot here obscures the letters *Emp*. An abbreviation for "Imperial"?

<sup>11</sup> Luis Francesco de la Cerda (1660-1714) Marquis de Cogolludo. (Duke of Medinaceli 1691-1714)

<sup>12</sup> Juan Francisco de la Cerda (1637-91) 8<sup>th</sup> Duke of Medinaceli. Many Spanish noble houses were affected by chronic debt in this period, which would explain both the comment about the 700,000 crowns, and possibly lend additional significance to the marriage of his daughter to a nobleman with a secure and lucrative place as Grand Constable of the Kingdom of Naples.

<sup>13</sup> The *o* has been added as a correction for a deleted *o* above the line.

a year it is reported yt he ows 700 thousand crowns. his sister is married to ye Conestable Colonna.<sup>1</sup>

The Duck of Chaunes<sup>2</sup> was<sup>3</sup> Ambassador at Rome from France in ye year 90.

Il Cabalier<sup>4</sup> Bernini<sup>5</sup> Napolitain was very much esteemed for his works in painting, sculpture, & Architecture, he died about 5 years ago.<sup>6</sup>

It is reported yt St Peters Church has cost 38 millions of Ro: crowns.

[6] They count at Rome 150 thousand souls, at Naples 600 thousand, at Florence ye same as at Rome, at Venice 300 th:<sup>7</sup>

A picture<sup>8</sup> representing ye taking our Saviour down from ye Crox in ye Church called ye Trinita done<sup>9</sup> by Daniel de Volterre is counted ye second piece in Rome.<sup>10</sup>

There are 3 sorts of Cardinals,  
Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Prests, & Cardinal Diacres.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See n11 on the previous page.

<sup>2</sup> Charles d'Albert d'Ailly, Duc de Chaulnes (1624-98) was French Ambassador to the Papal Court until 1691. For the significance of this for dating of these *Notes*, see the Introduction, p.71.

<sup>3</sup> A blot here obscures the letters *Emp*. Though France and Spain were about evenly-balanced, the French Ambassador could not be described "Imperial".

<sup>4</sup> The *i* has been added above the line, with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>5</sup> Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) A sculptor and architect born and trained in Naples, but who moved to work in Rome c.1605 under the patronage of the Borgias. His work was much admired in his lifetime, but his reputation suffered an eclipse in the years immediately after his death. Perhaps Morpeth's choice of tense is deliberate here.

<sup>6</sup> (*Bernini died 1680*) has been added by a later hand here - possibly responsible for the note on p. 71?

<sup>7</sup> The relative size of Rome in relation to Naples and Venice was a constant through most of the century, and explains the success with which Venice was able to resist Pope Paul V's earlier interdict.

<sup>8</sup> The *u* has been added above the line over an erased *e*.

<sup>9</sup> A second *o* has been struck through.

<sup>10</sup> Daniele da Volterra (born Ricciarelli) was an Italian artist born in 1509. A friend of Michelangelo, he attracted much praise for his "Descent from the Cross" in one of the chapels in the church of the Trinita dei Monti. It was often ranked in the eighteenth century with the "Transfiguration" of Raphael and the "Last Communion" of Domenichino as one of the best paintings in Rome. If Morpeth is displaying independant judgment, it would be interesting to learn which he considered the best piece in Rome.

<sup>11</sup> The Cardinals, forming the "Sacred College" who alone have the right to elect a Pope, were members of the Papal Court, each in nominal charge of one of the churches of Rome. Since the Papal Court functioned both as a secular institution as well as the hub of a supra-national church, their functions were varied.

ye Cardinal Diacres are those yt are obleged to no rules & orders, some of them also in quiting ye hate,<sup>1</sup> are free from al<sup>2</sup> oblegations of ye church, & these are called Seculiers Cardinals,<sup>3</sup> Card: Medicis is one of these last.<sup>4</sup>

The Duck of Parme married a sister of ye late Duck of Modene, & has children [7] by both.<sup>5</sup>

Also ye King of Portugal married his brotheres wife ye daughter of ye Duck of Nemeurs, shuting his brothere up in a covent.<sup>6</sup>

For to carry ye election of a Pope, there must be tow<sup>7</sup> thirds of ye Conclave yt gave him their voces.-<sup>8</sup>

The Pope has 5 governements in his dominions, where he sends Legats.<sup>9</sup> Avignon, Bologne, Ferrare, Ravenna, & Urbin.

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<sup>1</sup> The Cardinal's appointment was symbolised by a red hat conferred by the Pope in a Consistory.

<sup>2</sup> *al* has been added above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>3</sup> Bishops, Priests and Deacons are all major Orders within the Church, and ordination even to the Subdiaconate involved commitment to clerical life. Appointment as Cardinal did not necessarily require prior ordination, and some Cardinals never were. However, even they were expected to observe the basic rule of clerical celibacy. As Morpeth points out here, (like Cardinal Camillo Pamphili noted on p. 86 n1) they could receive dispensation from this final obligation by resignation – though in fact de Medici did not resign until 1709.

<sup>4</sup> Cardinal Francesco Maria de Medici (1660-1711). A son of Grand Duke Ferdinando II of Tuscany, he was appointed Cardinal Deacon in 1686 with a dispensation for not being in the necessary Holy Orders. Described as “non propriamente religiosa, fatta di divertimenti sfrenati e di mondanità” he resigned in June 1709 to marry the next month, and died two years later.

<sup>5</sup> Ranuccio II (b. 1630) 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Parma (1646-94) married (i) Princess Margarite of Savoie (1660) by whom he had two still-born daughters; (ii) Isabella d'Este of Modena (1664) by whom he had two daughters and an heir, Odoardo; (iii) Maria d'Este, Princess of Modena, by whom he had four daughters. Isabella d'Este and Maria d'Este were sisters. No doubt a dispensation had been obtained for a marriage to take place with a “deceased wife's sister” – but such a marriage was impossible in England until the twentieth century, hence perhaps Morpeth's slightly censorious or puzzled tone.

<sup>6</sup> *Also...covent*. This refers to Pedro II (1667-1706) who became Regent of Portugal in 1668 on behalf of his insane elder brother, Alfonzp VI who had reigned from 1656. Securing Alfonzo in a monastery, Pedro married his sister-in-law, Marie-François of Savoy (1646-83) who had secured an annulment from Alfonzo, reigning effectively from 1668 and in his own right from 1683.

<sup>7</sup> Obviously *two* is intended. See p.49 for a discussion on partial dyslexia.

<sup>8</sup> Only the Sacred College could elect a new Pope. However, it was normal for considerable political pressure to be brought to bear on these elections by the great powers of Europe – hence the significance of the groupings of various Cardinals by nationality and by family interests. Though Morpeth writes *voces*, the process was almost invariably by ballot: *votes* would be more accurate.

<sup>9</sup> A “Legate” might function as an Ambassador in non-Papal Courts. In the case of the five Papal States a Legate would function as a Viceroy.

**The Duck of Bracciano<sup>1</sup> is cheif of yt branch of ye family of Ursini yt is established<sup>2</sup> at Rome; he has no children & is very old, so yt it is feared yt yt branch wil be extinct.**

**The Duck of Gravina<sup>3</sup> is cheif of ye othere branch of ye same family, yt is established at Naples, he has no children, & is looked upon as [8] Impuissant, he has only one brothere yt is Cardinal, so yt it is feared, yt yt famous & ancient family of ye Ursini wil be extinct after this age.**

**Chevalier Fontana<sup>4</sup> is counted one of ye most famous sculptures at Rome.**

**Mario dei Firori de Bologna<sup>5</sup> was looked upon as ye most famous painter for flowers.**

**Cardinal Lauria<sup>6</sup> Neapolatain is ye only Cardinal yt is of ye Francisain order.**

**For one seculer they count 10<sup>7</sup> Relegious in<sup>8</sup> ye Popes dominions.<sup>9</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> Flavio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano (d. before 1699) had married Marie-Ann de la Trémoile in 1675. In fact, rather than leave his title and estate to his nephew, he left these to his widow, who sold them both to Livio Odescalchi (1652-1713) – a nephew of Innocent XI.

<sup>2</sup> The *h* an interlinear correction with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>3</sup> Domenico Orsini (1652-1705) XIII Duke of Gravina, whose elder brother Pietro (1649-1730) renounced his claims to title and estate to enter the Dominican Order, becoming Cardinal in 1672 and Pope Benedict XIII in 1724. Domenico had married Donna Luigia Altieri in 1671, having by her a son Francesco (1673-75) and a daughter, Giovanna (1673-1707) who entered a convent. Luigia died in 1678. (However, Domenico had remarried in 1682 - see p.100.)

<sup>4</sup> Carlo Fontana (1634-1714) – one of Bernini's assistants who continued to work in his style.

<sup>5</sup> Mario dei Fiori (1603-73) had been born in Bologna, but moved to Rome where he entered the service of Cardinal Flavio Chigi. He became a specialist in flower pieces – a genre he popularised.

<sup>6</sup> Francesco Lorenzo Brancati di Lauria (b. Naples 1612 d. Rome 1693) became a Cardinal in 1681. As well as being a Franciscan (he was noted for retaining his contact with his Order after his elevation as Cardinal) he was also chief Librarian to the Vatican, and was himself a strong contender for the Papacy in the election of 1691.

<sup>7</sup> An erased *Regul* (for *Regular*?) stands immediately after *count 10*.

<sup>8</sup> A half-erased *I* probably represents an originally-intended "Italy".

<sup>9</sup> See earlier note on Cardinals. The distinction being made here is not between the clergy and the rest of society, but between the two kinds of clergy – those subject only to their Diocesan Bishop ("Seculars") and those additionally (or alternatively sometimes) subject to one of the "Rules" or "Orders" ("Religious").



**The Spaniards makes ye Pope a present every year of 6000 crowns & a white hors upon ye account of Naples, upon which Kingdome ye Pope has some pretentions.<sup>1</sup>**

**[9] There have been 9 Popes of ye family of Ursino.**

**There have been 4 Popes of<sup>2</sup> ye family of Medicis in lesse than 100 years.<sup>3</sup>**

**There has been 247 Popes, 108 Romaines, one English, Adrian ye 4<sup>th</sup>.<sup>4</sup>**

**The order of ye Jesuits was instituted<sup>5</sup> by St. Ignace<sup>6</sup> they are between 17000 & 18000, they have a very fine College at Rome**

**Mr. Ausou<sup>7</sup> a french man a great Antiquaire at Rome**

**John Piter Bellori Antiquario del Papa, a great vertuoso,<sup>8</sup> he hath a very good closet.<sup>9</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> Such “pretentions” were based on the recently discredited “Donation of Constantine” whereby the Papacy claimed a universal sovereignty. Naples was governed *de facto* by Spain, a staunchly Catholic power, so the annual white horse and 6000 crowns probably amounted to a kind of “peppercorn rent” given and received as a token gesture.

<sup>2</sup> *of* has been written immediately after *in* but without deletion.

<sup>3</sup> These statistics reflect the political and economic strength of the Orsini and the Medici families – and the Spanish and French interests which stood behind them.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Breakspear (c.1100 – 59) Elected Pope Hadrian IV in 1154. Given the frequent outside political pressure in Papal elections it is perhaps surprizing that as many as 104 “local” appointments had been made.

<sup>5</sup> The *s* is added above the line with no insertion-mark.

<sup>6</sup> Saint Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) Founder of the Jesuits, or “Society of Jesus,” dedicated to the direct service of the Pope which came into being in 1540.

<sup>7</sup> *Mr. Ausou*: It has not proved possible to identify this man further.

<sup>8</sup> A *Vertuoso* i.e. “Connoisseur.” (But the same word is used later on to describe Pietro Santi, who had done the bas-relief on Ouida’s tomb in Venice.)

<sup>9</sup> Gian Pietro Bellori (1615-96) Writer on art and Papal Antiquarian. The “very good closet” refers to the fine contents of the room in which gentlemen of the period would keep and display their medals, coins, curios and other “collectables” or objets d’art. See also p. 92 n15.

The Chancellars place at Rome is worth 100 thussands crowns a year, ye Popes neveu Ottabone injoyes it now for his life<sup>1</sup> [10] They<sup>2</sup> sign al ye bulls<sup>3</sup> yt are sent abroad, & also those yt are given in ye popes dominions. The general of ye<sup>4</sup> church ye popes neveu has also 100 thussands crowns a year by his place<sup>5</sup> he takes care of ye army & Gallies yt belongs to ye Pope, ye army & garisons consists in about 10000 men.<sup>6</sup>

From Rome to Ostia they count it 12 miles.

From Rome to Civita Vecchia 40. this port was made first by ye Empereur Adrian, but since destroyed, & restaured again by Paul 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>7</sup>

From Rome to Naples 150 miles, from Naples to Capri 20, they count about 6000 inhabitants at Capri.

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<sup>1</sup> More than one point is made here. From time to time there had been determined attempts to eliminate nepotism in the Papal Court, more-or-less equally balanced by the unscrupulous abuse of Papal patronage for family advancement. Many offices terminated on the death of one Pope and the election of his successor: some, however, (and this was often interpreted as a particular abuse of nepotism) were held for life. In this instance, Alexander VIII had reassigned the fee-income of the Chancellery to the Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire on 14 November 1689. The recipient was his nephew, another Pietro Ottoboni, who had been made a Cardinal the previous week.

<sup>2</sup> An erased *segn* stood here.

<sup>3</sup> A "Bull" is a Papal document issued through the Chancellery having much the same effect as English "Letters Patent." Once published they give legal effect to the matters contained in them.

<sup>4</sup> Added above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>5</sup> The same Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni was also "General superintendant of the affairs of the Holy See, Governor of Ferme, Tivoli and the territory of Capranica, and Legate in Avignon.

<sup>6</sup> As a secular State, the Papal Dominions needed more than the ceremonial Swiss Guard to ensure their defence. These naval and military personnel and equipment were a considerable charge on Papal resources.

<sup>7</sup> See the earlier note about Papal forces. The port at Civitavecchia was of more than mercantile and economic significance. It was Urban VIII who restored Civitavecchia's fortifications – not Paul V.

**[11] Sisto 5<sup>1</sup> da Mont' Alto della Marca d'Ancona, d'humil stirpe, chiamato prima F. Felice Peretto, fu alli 24 Apri: del 1585 creato Papa. Trasferi la Guglia di Cæsare su la Piazza di S. Pietro, & fece tante e si gran cose in Roma, che superò gli antichi. Aduno 5 milioni d'oro. mori in monte Cavallo l'anno 1590 d'anni 70.**

**Urbano settimo<sup>2</sup> chiamato prima Giovanni Battista Castagna Romano figliuolo<sup>3</sup> di Cosmo nobile Genovese, fu nell' anno 1590 creato Pontefice. non visse più che tredici giorni, non si essendo posuto incoronari.**

**Gregorio 14<sup>4</sup> Cardinal di Cremona detto Nicolo figliuolo di Francesco della nobilissima famiglia Sfondrata Milanese fu eletto Papa nell' anno 1590. non visse più che 10 mesi. mori di difficoltà d'orina, e gli trovarono nella vessica una pietra di due oncie, & un quarto.**

Sixtus V, from Mont'Alto in the Marches of Ancona, [came] from humble stock. First known as Fr Felice Peretti he was made Pope on 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1585. He moved Cæsar's Victory-post to St Peter's Square, and built many and impressive monuments in Rome, which he placed over ancient [foundations]. He amassed 5 million gold pieces. He died at 70 in the year 1590.

Urban VII, a Roman, was known first as Giovanni Battista Castagna, son of Cosmo, a noble Genovan, was made Pontiff in 1590. He lived no more than thirteen days, so it was not possible for him to be crowned.

Gregory XIV, Cardinal of Cremona, called Nicolo, son of Francesco of the most noble Sfondrata family of Milan, was elected Pope in 1590, did not live more than ten months. He died of a urinary problem, and they found a stone of two and a quarter ounces in his bladder.

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<sup>1</sup> Sixtus V (Felice Peretti) (1521– 27 August 1590. Pope from 1585) His energetic Papacy did much to restore order and solvency in the Papal States. He did much to “Christianize” Rome by moving the great obelisk from Nero's Circus to the centre of St Peter's Square, and reusing other ancient columns and monuments. He left 5,000,000 ducats ring-fenced for the defence of the Papal States.

<sup>2</sup> Urban VII (Giambattista Castagna) (1521-27 September 1590. Pope from 15 September 1590). Dying of malaria, his was the shortest pontificate in history.

<sup>3</sup> The *u* added above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>4</sup> Gregory XIV (Nicolo Sfondrati) (1535 – 15 October 1591. Pope from 5 December 1590.) His short Pontificate was marked by subservience to Spanish interests – no doubt the result of Spanish support for his election. (Philip II had submitted a short list to the Conclave of the seven Cardinals alone acceptable to Spain.) This subservience included the formation of an army for the invasion of France.

**[12] Innocentio nono<sup>1</sup> Bolognese nominato Gio: Antonio Facchenetti figliuolo d'Antonio de Cini da Gravegni luogo di Novara fu creato Papa nell'anno 1591. non visse nel Papato più che due mesi.**

**Clemente Ottano<sup>2</sup> chiamato prima Hippolito della nobil famiglia Aldobrandina Fiorentini, fu eletto Papa nel 1592. mori Alfonso 2<sup>nd</sup>. Duca di Ferrara, par la cui morte esso Clemente fece grandissimo apparecchio di guerra per Ferrara; onde rihebbe essa Citta ricaduta alla Chiesa. Apri le Porte del Giubileo nel 1600.<sup>3</sup> creò 53 Car: visse 13 anni Papa.**

**Leone Undecimo<sup>4</sup> Fiorentino chiamato prima Alessandro figliuolo di Ottaviano della Serenissima famiglia de Medici fu creato Papa del 1605, ma vissuto solamente nel Ponteficato 27 giorni.**

Innocent IX, a Bolognan, named Giovanni Antonio Fachinetti, son of Antonio di Civi of Gravegni in the region of Novarra, was made Pope in the year 1591. He did not survive as Pope for more than two months.

Clement VIII, first called Hippolitus of the noble Florentine family of Aldobrandini, was elected Pope in 1592. Alfonso II, Duke of Ferrara died, and on his death Clement made extensive preparations for war on Ferrara, whence he retreated when the City fell again to the Church. He opened the Gate of Jubilee in 1600. He made 53 cardinals. He was Pope for thirteen years.

Leo XI, a Florentine, first called Alessandro, son of Ottaviano of the most Serene family of the Medici, was made Pope in 1605, but only lived as Pope for twenty-seven days.

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<sup>1</sup> Innocent IX (Giovanni Antonio Fachinetti) (1519 – 30 December 1591. Pope from 29 October 1591). The right-hand supporter of his predecessor, Innocent IX was elected by a pro-Spanish Conclave, and pursued the same pro-Spanish policies against France.

<sup>2</sup> *sic*. Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini) (1536 – 5 March 1605. Pope from 30 January 1592). A determined minority of Italian Cardinals were unwilling to see Spanish interests dominate the Papacy, and the election of the politically neutral, but irenic Clement produced reconciliation between the Church and France in 1595 and the negotiation of a Peace Treaty between France and Spain in 1598. Clement's pontificate also saw the last addition to the Papal States in the annexation of Ferrara in 1597.

<sup>3</sup> A "Jubilee" was a year where special religious privileges (usually Indulgences) were available for specified pilgrimages or acts of charity. They were of considerable economic benefit to Rome.

<sup>4</sup> Leo XI (Alessandro de Medici) (1535 - 27 April 1605. Pope from 1 April 1605.) This remarkably short Papacy was brought about by an alliance between the French and Italian Cardinals unwilling to elect another Spanish candidate. Henri IV is said to have spent 300,000 écus in promoting the Medici candidate.

**[13] Paolo Papa quinto<sup>1</sup> Romano detto prima Camillo Borghese per lo suo sapere hebbe diversi carichi. nell' anno 1605 fù assonto al Ponteficato. adornò Roma di fabbriche, & acquedotti. edificò la capella della B. Vergine in S. Maria Maggiore. creò 60 Card: fu in suo tempo dissatta la Chiesa vecchia di S. Pietro. ornò il Palazzo Apostolico & la chiesa nuova di S. Pietro. mori hevendo regnato anni 15.**

**Gregorio 15<sup>2</sup> prima detto Alessandro figliuolo do Pompeo Lodovisio Bolognese fu creato Pontifice l'anno 1621, fu estimado uno de' più celebri Professori dello studio delle leggi, che al suo tempo vivessero. mori d'eta d'anni settanta alli 17 di Luglio del 1623 sessendo stato Papa anni due.**

Pope Paul V, a Roman, at first Camillo Borghese, through which known to have many followers, was raised to the Pontificate in 1605. He beautified Rome with buildings and aqueducts. He built the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin in the Church of St Mary Maggiore. He created 60 Cardinals. In his time the old Church of St Peter fell into decay. He embellished the Apostolic Palace and the new Church of St Peter. At his death he had reigned fifteen years.

Gregory XV, at first Alessandro, son of Pompeo Lodovisio of Bologna, was made Pope in 1621. He was considered one of the most celebrated Professors of Law living in his time. He died at the age of seventy on the 17<sup>th</sup> July, 1623. He had been Pope for two years.

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<sup>1</sup> Paul V (Camillo Borghese) (1550 – 28 January 1621. Pope from 16 May 1605.) A compromise candidate who had spent much of his earlier life in Rome, Paul V pursued centralising policies designed to strengthen the claims of the Church over secular government. This led to several quarrels during a long pontificate, the most notable with Venice. He did much to finance the completion of St Peter's Basilica and improved the Vatican Library. He was also, as Morpeth notes, guilty of extensive nepotism.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory XV (Alessandro Ludovisi) (1554 – 8 July 1623. Pope from 9 February 1621.) Gregory XV was the last Pope to have been elected by acclamation rather than by formal vote. His interests lay in theology rather than in politics. Beyond his general support for Ferdinand II, the Holy Roman Emperor, against Europe's Protestant States, and assisting Sigismund of Poland against the Turks, he did not involve the Papacy in European national controversies.

**[14] Urbano ottavo<sup>1</sup> Fiorentino figliuolo d'Antonio Barberini fu creato Pontifice nell' anno 1623. celebrò il Giubileo l'Anno 1625. decreto che i Card: s'honorassero col titolo d'Eminentissimi, & Reverendissimi. Entrò in possesso del Ducato d'Urbino dopo la morte del Duca Francesco Maria della Rovere. Mori d'eta d'anni 76. essendo stato Papa anni 20.**

**Innocentio Decimo<sup>2</sup> fu creato Papa l'anno 1644. celebrò il Giubileo dell'anno santo. nacque di Camillo Panfilij nobil Romano. Passò all'altra vita, hevendo regnato anni 10.**

**Alessandro 7<sup>3</sup> fu eletto Pontifice l'anno 1665. fu nominato Fabio suo padre Flavio Chigi. mori l'anno 1667 havendo regnato 2 anni.**

Urban VIII, a Florentine, son of Antonio Barberini, was made Pope in 1623. He celebrated the Jubilee of 1625. By his decree Cardinals were first honoured with the title of "Most Eminent" and "Most Reverend." He entered into possession of the Duchy of Urbino after the death of Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere. He died at the age of seventy-six, having been Pope twenty years.

Innocent X was made Pope in 1644. He celebrated the Jubilee of the Holy Year. He was born to Camillo Panfili, a Roman noble. He passed to the other life, having reigned ten years.

Alexander VII was elected to the Pontificate in 1665. He was named Fabio by his father Flavio Chigi. He died in 1667 having reigned two years.

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<sup>1</sup> Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini) (1568 – 29 July 1644. Pope from 6 August 1623.) A long Pontificate covering twenty-one of the Thirty Years' War in Europe brought the addition of the Duchy of Urbino to the Papal Dominions in 1626. He did much to strengthen the fortifications of the Papal States, establishing an arsenal in the Vatican, an arms factory in Tivoli and, as already noted, fortifying the harbour at Civitavecchia. Though his intervention in European politics was usually undertaken in the interest of the Papal States, he did support the French claims of the Dukes of Nevers for the Duchy of Mantua over the Spanish claims of the Habsburgs in 1627. He also undertook an inconclusive military campaign against Odoardo Farnese, Duke of Parma shortly before his death.

<sup>2</sup> Innocent X (Giambattista Pamfili) (1574 – 1 January 1655. Pope from 15 September 1644.) Having served as Papal nuncio in both Spain and France, Innocent X was acceptable to the Spanish faction in the Conclave, and was elected before the French veto to his candidacy could be delivered by Cardinal Mazarin. Innocent X resumed hostilities with Parma in 1649, taking and destroying the city of Castro in the same year. Much of his reign was dominated by the influence of his sister-in-law, Donna Olimpia Maidalchini, who almost certainly helped finance his election, and was reputed (on scanty evidence) of being his mistress.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi) (1599 – 22 May 1667. Pope from 7 April 1655.) Much of his pontificate was marked by friction with France. Despite generally improving Rome as a city, he became notorious for his nepotism. Morpeth dates his election as 1665 rather than 1655: he reigned 12 years - not 2.

**Clemente Nono<sup>1</sup> chiamato prima Giulio Rospigliosi, figliuolo di Girolamo, & di [15] Catterina Ropigliosi, famiglia nobilissima della Citta di Pistoia, fu creato Papa l'anno 1667. regnò 2 anni.**

**Clemente 10<sup>2</sup> prima chiamato Emilio Altieri Romano nell'anno 1670 fu assunto al Pontificato: ----- . . . -----**

**Innocentio XI<sup>3</sup> Odescalchi Milanese.**

**Alexander 8<sup>4</sup> Ottabone Venetiano.<sup>5</sup>**

Clement IX, at first called Giulio Rospigliosi, son of Girolamo, and of Catterina Rospigliosi, of the illustrious family of the City of Pistoia, was made Pope in 1667. He reigned two years.

Clement X, a Roman, known at first as Emilio Altieri was raised to the Pontificate in 1670.

Innocent XI, from Milan, [came from the family of the] Odescalchi.

Alexander VIII, from Venice, [came from the family of the] Ottaboni.

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<sup>1</sup> Clement IX (Giulio Rospigliosi) (1600 – 9 December 1669. Pope from 20 June 1667.) In contrast to the aggressive policies of some of his predecessors, Clement IX followed the earlier policy of his namesake Clement VIII as a peacemaker, brokering the Treaty of Aachen, which ended the Wars of Succession in Europe. He did much to encourage and patronise Bellini.

<sup>2</sup> Clement X (Emilio Altieri) (1590 – 22 July 1676. Pope from 29 April 1670.) A compromise candidate of suitably advanced years, Clement undertook the difficult task of maintaining peaceful neutrality in European affairs, whilst resisting Louis XIV's attempts to exercise greater control over the Church in France. He was, perhaps largely as a result of his age, very dependant on the assistance of his nephew, Cardinal Altieri. Though criticised for this, this was hardly an example of the unprincipled nepotism of Paul V or Alexander VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Innocent XI (Benedetto Odescalchi) (1611 – 11 August 1689. Pope from 21 September 1676.) In contrast to many Papal elections, the election of Innocent XI seemed motivated by a recognition of a transparent goodness of character which led to his canonisation in 1956. Under his influence, much was done to restore the reputation of the Church by his example of a modest life-style and a refusal to advance family interests. However, much of his pontificate was dominated by renewed attempts by Louis XIV to exercise greater local control over the French Church. This controversy did not end until after Innocent's death.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander VIII (Pietro Ottoboni) (1610 – 1 February 1691. Pope from 6 October 1689.) Despite his insistence on ending the difficulties with the French Church without compromising the interests of the Papacy, Alexander did enjoy some easing of relationships with Louis XIV, which resulted in the restoration of Avignon to the Papal Dominions. Sympathy for the poor led him to reduce taxes within his dominions – which would have left his memory green, but for his notorious revival of sinecure offices abolished by Innocent XI for the benefit of his nephew.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that neither Innocent XI or Alexander VIII are accorded any dates might suggest that Morpeth had been using a written source for these rudimentary notes which had ended with the election of Clement X in 1670. Had Morpeth been in Rome in the Summer or Autumn of 1689 he could hardly have failed to have known and recorded the year of Innocent XI's death and Alexander VIII's election.

**Donna Olimpia<sup>1</sup> was sister in law to Innocent ye tenth.**

**Don. Olivio<sup>2</sup> was neveu to Innocen: 11,<sup>3</sup> & is counted to be worth 6 millions of crowns. he is a very week man as to ye cabinet.**

**[16] The Popes have almost usurped al ye power from ye Romain people,<sup>4</sup> but especially since ye time of Boniface ye 9<sup>th</sup>. ye Senator now has very lettle to do, his imployment is only worth 500 crowns a year, when heretofore it was worth 100 thussand crowns a year[.] he is alwais a stranger[.]<sup>5</sup> he has it for his life. ye Conservatori are 4, they enjoy very lettle from theire places, they assist ye Senator, & are changed<sup>6</sup> every 3 months. they may be natives of Rome.<sup>7</sup> 1389<sup>8</sup>**

**The rich cardinals are theses yt follows<sup>9</sup>**

**Medicis, Buglion, Altieri, Chigi, Pamfilio, Ragioschi.**

**Ragioschi, & Denoff<sup>10</sup> are 2 Polander<sup>11</sup> Cardinals.**

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<sup>1</sup> Donna Olimpia Maldichini exercised a legendary “petticoat government” during the pontificate of her brother in law, Innocent X, from 1644-55. Her wealth had helped him secure the Papacy in 1644. Her son, Camillo Pamphili, was appointed a Cardinal but abandoned a clerical career on his marriage to the wealthy Donna Olimpia Aldobrandini in 1647. See p.118 n1.

<sup>2</sup> Don Olivio Odescalchi was nephew to a Pope who had tried to eliminate glaring nepotism. Morpeth evidently does not rate him highly as a connoisseur in an age where such interests were associated with good breeding.

<sup>3</sup> Clearly Morpeth means *Innocent XI*. As in the succeeding *Notes on the principal Families of Rome* p.107 he has used arabic numbering instead of Roman.

<sup>4</sup> In some senses the government of Rome could be seen as a seamless continuity from the classical age – and indeed, despite the domination of the city by the Papacy, some of the old civic offices still remained. However, as Morpeth notes, these are but shadows of their former selves.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. a non-Roman. The first *r* is added above the line: a final *s* has been deleted.

<sup>6</sup> The final *d* appears to have originated as a *t*.

<sup>7</sup> The assimilation of ancient civic offices into the Papal Court can be seen from the following extract from a contemporary Conclave report: “In 1647 the high dignity of Senator being vacant at Rome the Pope granted it to James Inghirami, a Tuscan noble, and granted him the privilege of a Prince. At the same time the Pontiff gave the Conservatores of the Roman People the right to sit on the third step of the Pontiff’s Throne on the right hand side.”

<sup>8</sup> 1389 was the year of Boniface IX’s election. During his pontificate the Papacy assumed the remaining temporal powers of the city of Rome.

<sup>9</sup> Francesco Maria de Medici (see earlier); de Bouillon; Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni; Flavio Chigi; Benedetto Pamphili; Augustyn Radziejowski.

<sup>10</sup> Augustyn Radziejowski, Archbishop of Gniezno; Jan Casimir Dönhoff, bishop of Cesena.

<sup>11</sup> *Polander* = “Polish”.



[17] The Duck of Nevers name is Mancini ye Card: Mazarines neveu, an indifferent good family of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

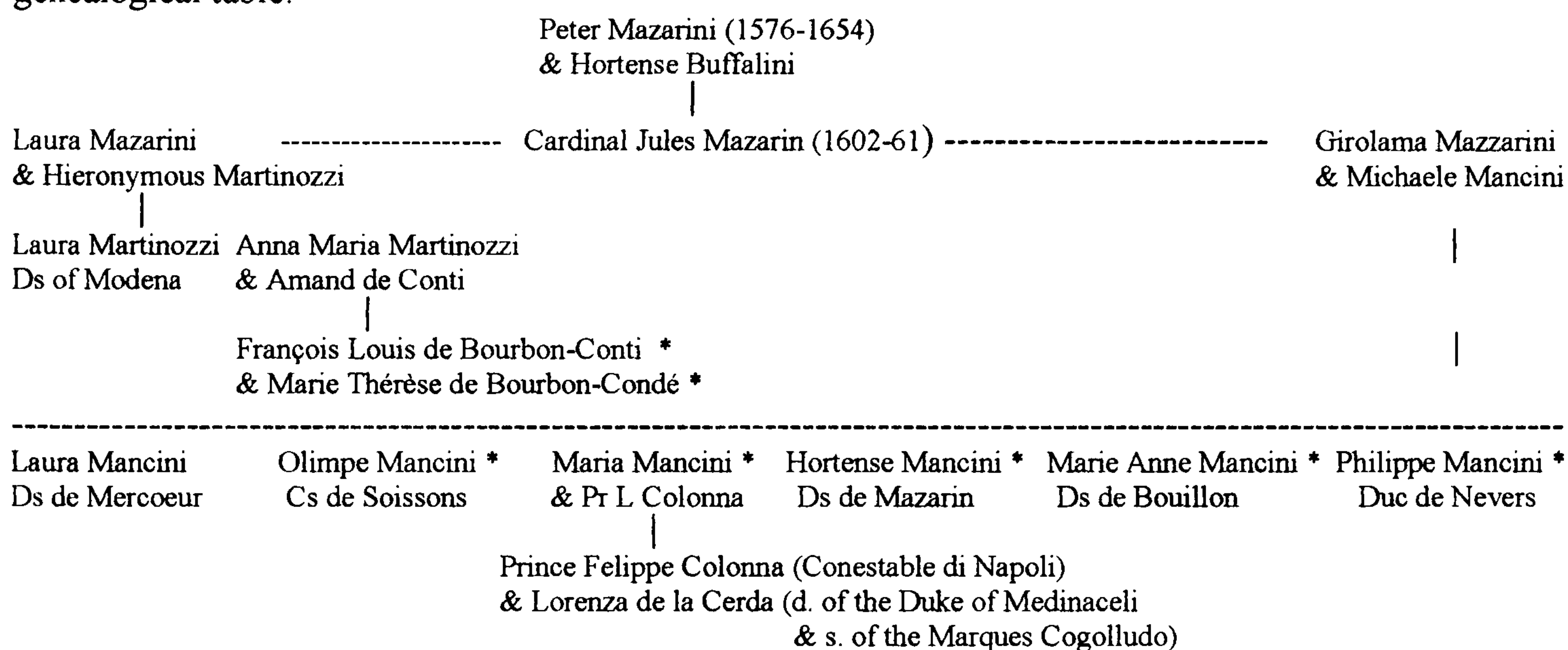
The last Duchess of Modena was also neice to ye Card: Mazarine by an othere of his sisters married into ye family Martinozzi. ye Princess of Conti mother to this Prince of Conti was her sister.

The Duchesse of Mazarine, ye Countesse<sup>2</sup> of Soisson, ye Duchesse Mercour dead.

ye Princesse of Colonna mother to ye Conestable liveing, & ye Duchesse of Buglion alife.

al of them sisters to ye Du: of Nevers.

<sup>1</sup> It is easier to trace the complicated inter-relationships of these families by a conventional genealogical table:-



NB. Those alive in 1690 are marked with an asterisk.

This table makes it clear how individuals holding the various titles are inter-related: some being minor titles retained for junior members of a noble family, whilst others have been acquired by marriage. About twelve of the younger members of the families represented here would have been about the same age as Morpeth, and despite the grandiloquence of some of their titles, the nature of Continental nobility meant that he could certainly regard them as social equals. As Maria and Hortense Mancini had been mistresses respectively of Louis XIV of France and Charles II of England, getting to know such a family may have been especially interesting.

<sup>2</sup> *Contesse* has been written above an erased *Duchess* with the further correction of a *u* above the line.

The letters of Hanibal Caro,<sup>1</sup> of Vis Domini,<sup>2</sup> & of Bentivoglio<sup>3</sup> in Italien are very much esteemed. [18] also those of Visdomini,<sup>4</sup> Peranda,<sup>5</sup> Gabrieli,<sup>6</sup> Raimondi,<sup>7</sup> Tesauro,<sup>8</sup> Bembo V.S.<sup>9</sup> Loredani,<sup>10</sup> & Pallavicino<sup>11</sup>

### Oratori

Il Pre. Bartoli <sup>12</sup>	giesuita, <sup>13</sup>
il Car: Bentivoglio <sup>14</sup>	ye wars of Flan:
il Cardi: Pallavicino <sup>15</sup>	his: C. Trent
Il Nani. <sup>16</sup>	hist. de Ven:
il Guicorardini <sup>17</sup>	his: d'Italia.
Monsgr. Mascardi, <sup>18</sup>	orationi, & discorsi.
Il Sagridi <sup>19</sup>	his: corenti di Tur: & d'Ita:

### Poeti

Il Dante <sup>20</sup>	l'inferno
L'Ariosto <sup>21</sup>	L'orlando furioso
Il Tasso <sup>22</sup>	Gierusalem liberata

<sup>1</sup> Annibale Caro (1507-66) Italian Poet.

<sup>2</sup> Francesco Visdomini (1509-73) Humanist and Hebraist from Ferrara. Originally written *Vice*: the *ce* have been struck through, and the *s* written above.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (1577-1644). See n14.

<sup>4</sup> See n2 above. Why *of Visdomini* has been underlined is unclear.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly Marco Guiseppe Peranda (1625-75) who may have assisted with the libretti for the Operas *Daphne* in 1671 and *Jupiter and Io* in 1673 – both with music by Giovanni Bontempo.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly Gabrio de' Zamorei, a fourteenth century poet and friend of Petrarch.

<sup>7</sup> Tomasso Raimondi (d. 1510) A lawyer and poet. Donor of Marziale's "Circumcision" in Cremona.

<sup>8</sup> Emanuel Tesauro (1592-1675) Man of letters and philosopher.

<sup>9</sup> Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) Venetian poet and man of letters. The *V.S.* presumably stands for "*Venezia Serenissima*".

<sup>10</sup> Lucio Oradini, author of *Due Lezzionidette pubblicamente nell'Accademia fiorentina*. Firenze, 1550.

<sup>11</sup> Cardinal Pietro Sforza Pallavicino (1607-67). See n15.

<sup>12</sup> Daniello Bartoli (1608-85) *History of the Society of Jesus*. 6 vols. 1650-73. *Pre* may refer to a role as "Prefect of Studies" within the Jesuit hierarchy.

<sup>13</sup> The *s* has been written above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>14</sup> See n3 above. *Ye Wars of Flanders* is presumably an account of his Nunciature in Flanders and France.

<sup>15</sup> See n11. The *Istoria del Consilio di Trenta* appeared in 2 vols. in 1656 & 1657.

<sup>16</sup> Battista Nani, Venetian Ambassador to France (1647) whose *History of the affairs of Europe in this present age, but more particularly of the Republick of Venice* was printed in London in 1673.

<sup>17</sup> Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540) whose *Istoria d'Italia* was written in the last years of his life.

<sup>18</sup> Presumably Monsignor Nicolò Mascardi, Bishop of Brugnato 1579-84 (d.1599)

<sup>19</sup> Uncertain: though it may be Paulo Sarpi (1552-1623) whose pithy history of the Council of Trent was popular in translation in Protestant England. (Palliovincino's account was commissioned as a corrective by the Papacy.)

<sup>20</sup> Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) *L'Inferno* is the first part of *La Divina Commedia*.

<sup>21</sup> Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533) *L'Orlando furioso* was first issued in 1516: revised in 1521 and 1532.

<sup>22</sup> Torquato Tasso (1544-1595) *Gerusalemme liberata* was published in 1581.

[19]

Il Caro<sup>1</sup>

Il Guarini<sup>2</sup>

Il Marino<sup>3</sup>

Il Ciampoli<sup>4</sup>

Il Beverini<sup>5</sup>

Il Testi<sup>6</sup>

Il Chiabrera<sup>7</sup>

Il Petrarca<sup>8</sup>

Virgilio in Ital:

Pastor fido et altre poesie

L'Adone & altre opere

diverse poesie

il Virgilio

diverse poesie

Monsig. Fabretti<sup>9</sup> a vertuoso at Rome is about putting out<sup>10</sup> a book of all ye<sup>11</sup> Triumphal arcks at Rome.

Mons. Ciampini<sup>12</sup> yt keeps ye Academy, has put out a book of al ye mosaick<sup>13</sup> work of Europe.

Pietro Santi<sup>14</sup> vertuoso has stamped several<sup>15</sup> pieces of [20] Bas relieif amongst others Ouides toomb.<sup>16</sup>

Ferrare was built in ye year 420

Milan was built by ye Gauls

Insubri during ye reign of Tarquinius Priscus.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Annibale Caro (1507-66) Also translator of the *Aeneid*.

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538-1612)

<sup>3</sup> Giambattista Marino (1569-1625)

<sup>4</sup> Giovanni Ciampoli (1589-1643)

<sup>5</sup> Padre Bartolomeo Beverini, part of whose translation of the *Aeneid* was published in 1674.

<sup>6</sup> Fulvio Testi (1593-1646)

<sup>7</sup> Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638) Lyric poet.

<sup>8</sup> Francesco Petrarca (1304-74)

<sup>9</sup> Raphael Fabretti (1618-1700) Italian Antiquary. Author of *De Columna Trajani Syntagma* 1683 and *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Explicatio* 1699. Morpeth is presumably referring to the forthcoming appearance of the latter work. The use of the description *vertuoso* is significant, for it clearly indicates an established reputation as well as an enthusiasm for the matter in hand.

<sup>10</sup> *out* Interlinear addition without insertion-mark.

<sup>11</sup> *ye* Interlinear addition with insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>12</sup> Giovanni Giustino Ciampini (1633-98) Ecclesiastical archeologist, who founded the Academy of the Sciences in 1679 under the patronage of Queen Christina of Sweden. His *Vetera monimenta in quibus praecipua [...] musiva opera [...] illustrantur* appeared in Rome in 2 vols. 1690 & 1699.

<sup>13</sup> The *s* has been added above the line without insertion-mark.

<sup>14</sup> Pietro Santi Bartoli (1615-1700) Antiquarian to Queen Christina's Academy. In 1674 a tomb was discovered on the Via Flaminia, mistakenly thought to be Ovid's tomb on the basis of various inscriptions. Bartoli issued prints in 1680 under the title *Le pitture antiche del sepulchro de 'Nasoni'*. These were followed in 1693 by *Admiranda Romanorum Antiquitatum*. It was presumably because he knew of this impending amplification of the earlier work that Morpeth made the alteration to his text noted below.

<sup>15</sup> *several* stands after a deleted *almost al ye*.

<sup>16</sup> The second *o* has been written above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>17</sup> This and the preceding line must be read together. It is thought that Milan was founded by a tribe of Gauls called the Insubri who settled there c.600BC. Lucius Tarquinius Priscus (616-579BC) was 5<sup>th</sup> King of Rome.

**i Grigioni son per la maggior parte discesi da quei Toscani, che fuggiti dal furor dei Galli Insubri si ritirarono in quelle Montagne sotto il loro Capitano Rezio**

**Altri popoli di Gallia nominati Cennomani non molto tempo dipoi tirati dall' esempio degl'Insubri passate l'alpi occuparon quel resto d'I-[21]-talia di la dal Po, che tenevano i Toscani, e u'edificarono Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Bergamo, Como, e Trento**

**Bologna fu domandata Bononia da Bojj altri popoli Galli, che prima si chiamava Felsina.**

**Siena edificata al tempo di Brutto Consoli.**

**Siena fu edificata da i Toscani antichi.**

**Umbros unde exegete antiquitus Relasgi hos Lidij<sup>1</sup> a quorum Rege Thirreni, mox a sacrificio ritu lingua Grecorum Thusci. sunt cognominati i quali corotto in parte il vocabolo in lingua nostra son detti Toscani. Lidij 560 anni prima che fusse edificata Roma.**

The Grigioni are for the most part detached from the Tuscan branch, subject to the fury of the Gauls. The Insubri had taken themselves into the mountain region under their leader Rezio.

Other tribes from Gaul called the Cennomani not long afterwards followed the example of the Insubri and moved from the Alps to settle in Italy beyond the Po, which the Toscani occupied, and where they built Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Bergamo, Como, and Trent.

Bologna was claimed as Bononia by the Boii, another Gallican tribe, that was once called the Felsina.

Siena was built in the consulate of Brutus.  
Siena was built by the ancient Tuscan people.

Antiquity throws a shadow over the Relasgi of Lidii, from whom emerged the kingdom of the Thirreni, soon, by rite of sacrifice to the language of the Greeks, the Thusci. These are names which corrupted in part the vocabulary of our language and are now known as the Tuscans. Lidii was in existence 560 years before Rome was built.

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<sup>1</sup> *Lidij* Writing the final *i* as a *j* is no doubt influenced by Latin convention – as *Bojj* earlier. There are other instances (e.g. correcting the Latin *homini* to the Italian *huomini*, pp. 120-21) of this characteristic.

**[22] Saturnia civium Romanorum colonia  
deducta in agrum Caletranum.**

**Siena was taken by ye arms of Charles ye 5<sup>th</sup>. in ye year 1554 & given by Philip ye 2<sup>nd</sup>, to Cosimus ye 2<sup>nd</sup>. ye 2<sup>nd</sup> Duck of Florence for ye service rendered him in ye said seige. it is now wholly under ye power of ye Ducks of Florence, ye City having no privileges left.<sup>1</sup> ye Principale Court of Justice is called ye Balia.**

**from Siena to Florence they counted 33 miles, from Siena to Rome 100. from Florence to Ligourn 50.**

**[23] The Duck of Florence<sup>2</sup> has a 2 sons & one daughter, Prince Ferdinando ye Eldest is married to ye sister of ye Duck of Bavaria. his allowance is about 12000<sup>3</sup> pounds stur: a year besides all his necessary officers paid by ye Duck.**

**ye Ducks mothere was of ye family of Urbin a woman yt has a great share in ye governement, & is extraordennary rich.**

**ye takes<sup>4</sup> are so high in ye Ducks dominions yt they reckon in 5 years every man pays ye wholl of his estate.<sup>5</sup>**

Saturnia was a colony of Roman citizens settled in the region of Caletranum.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles V was King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor. Having taken Siena by force of arms in 1554, his successor as King of Spain, Philip II rewarded Cosimus, Duke of Florence, for his assistance as an ally by allowing him to hold the city from the Spanish throne. Siena's ancient status as a free city-state had by 1690 been quite eroded. Even the name of the Principal Court of Justice, the "Balìa" underlines Siena's wretched constitutional position, because "in balìa di" means "at the mercy of."

<sup>2</sup> Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1642-1723). Fernando, the elder son, lived from 1663-1713. Anna Maria Luisa (1667-1743) the daughter, married the Elector Palatine in 1691. Gian Gastone (1671-1737) succeeded his father as the last Medici Grand Duke in 1723. The Duke's mother was Vittoria della Rovere.

<sup>3</sup> The 12000 appears to be an alteration from an original 10000

<sup>4</sup> *Sic. Taxes* is obviously meant. Earlier Morpeth spells it with a *k* – but corrects it. See p.74 n13.

<sup>5</sup> Taxes would have been high in the Italian States because of the cost of maintaining standing armies for defensive purposes. Taxes in the Papal States were kept artificially low in the pontificate of Alexander VIII, as already noted. For comparison, Land Tax in England rose to as much as 4 shillings in the pound, that is, at the same level Morpeth describes here, during the years when England was committed to expensive European campaigns.

**[24] The Principale Painters at Florence are**

**Pietro d'Andini<sup>1</sup>**

**Livio Meaux<sup>2</sup>**

**Honorio Marinari<sup>3</sup>**

**Scultori**

**Marcellini<sup>4</sup>**

**Fuggini<sup>5</sup>**

**et Architetti<sup>6</sup>**

**Ferri<sup>7</sup>**

**i Dotti<sup>8</sup>**

**Magliavechi<sup>9</sup>**

**Henrico Noris augustino [25] che ha scritto un bel<sup>10</sup> libro di le monete<sup>11</sup> antiche,<sup>12</sup> Marchetti<sup>13</sup> che ha tradotto Lucretio in Italiano. bel libro.**

**At Pisa there is a young woman called Borchini very learned, especially in poetry.<sup>14</sup> there is also one Bellani<sup>15</sup> a man universally learn'd.**

Henrico Noris Augustini has written a good book about ancient coinage.

Marchetti has translated Lucretius into Italian, a fine book.

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<sup>1</sup> Pietro Dandini (1646-1712)

<sup>2</sup> Livio Mehus (1630-91)

<sup>3</sup> Onorio Marinari (1627-1715)

<sup>4</sup> Carlo Andrea Marcellini (1644-1713)

<sup>5</sup> Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652-1725)

<sup>6</sup> The *e* & *t* have been added above the double *t* with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>7</sup> Ciro Ferri (c. 1634-89)

<sup>8</sup> Carlo Francesco Dotti (c. 1670-1759)

<sup>9</sup> Uncertain, but possibly either Antonio Magliabechi (1633-1714), Librarian to the Medici – an antiquarian but no architect; or Michele Maglia (*fl.* 1678-1700) who was to work with Lorenzo Ottoni under Carlo Fontana in Rome (1692-97). Many contemporary sculptors were also architects. *Mala* stands in the L.H. margin, struck through, and with a *g* standing above the *a* & *l* - suggesting some uncertainty and unfamiliarity with this name.

<sup>10</sup> Inserted above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>11</sup> A deleted *Grece* stood here. The title of this book, *Annus & Epochæ Syromacedonum in vestutis Urbium Syriae nummis praesertim Mediceis quinque Dissertationibus expositæ* Verona, 1689, may have led Morpeth to assume that the contents involved Greek rather than Roman coins.

<sup>12</sup> Enrico Noris (1631-1704) Augustinian Canon. Professor of Church History at Padua. Cardinal and Papal Librarian from 1695. The *h* has been added above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>13</sup> Alessandro Marchetti (1633-1714) His translation of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* was printed in London in 1717.

<sup>14</sup> Details about this young woman have proved elusive. However, Morpeth may have been surprized by the relative educational emancipation achieved by some women in this part of Italy. For example, Christine of Pisa had an established reputation as a poet in the time of Petrarch, and Elena Piscopia had been awarded a Doctorate in Philosophy at the University of Padua in 1678.

<sup>15</sup> This name is not known, though it might be a variant of Gian Pietro Bellori (1615-96) the Papal Antiquarian noted on p. 79, who would certainly (save for the possible association with Pisa) have qualified for the description.

**[Pages 26, 27, 28, & 29 *blank*]**

**[30]**

**[\*]Nascantes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet.**

**Disce humiliari pulvis, atque cinis.**

Having been born, we die: our end is determined by our beginning.

[Manilius *Astronomica* iv.16]

Learn to be humbled, thou [who art] dust and ash.

**[Pages 31 and 32 *blank*]**

*iv*

**Document 4**

**NOTES ON THE PRINCIPAL  
FAMILIES IN ROME**

**J8/35/2**

**[1690]**



## INTRODUCTION

The document marked J8/35/2, (listed in the typewritten Catalogue as item 4), has been formed from ten sheets of 10½” x 8” paper, folded and stitched twice through the spine to form an 8” x 5¼” forty-paged booklet. Both the manufacture and the paper show great similarities with J8/35/1, sharing the same watermark – a bird in a circle with triangular feet (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figure 2, p.x.) on every other page, but without countermark. The ink is of good quality, applied with a fine nib, although marred by stare-through. The booklet remains in good condition, although there is a small tear on the top right hand corner of the first page.

This manuscript has been written by three distinct hands. The editorially-numbered pages [1-4], together with the first four words of page [5] are in a smaller, mature hand than the remainder. There is little difficulty in identifying the hand used on the remainder of page [5] and pages [6–39] as Morpeth’s (*vide* J8/35/1-4). Page [40] has been written upside down – as if it had been the first page of a fresh booklet, and contains in a smaller, neater hand a page of instructions for *Oro Sofistico*. There being so little space available on the “proper” front page, the Archive mark has been placed on the last page of the booklet in the margin at the end of *Oro Sofistico* - upside-down.

As the first four pages give an outline of the families later described more fully, the more mature hand may belong to Alexander Rasigad, or another tutor, providing both an indication of what he was to write about, and at the same time as an exemplar. For this reason, this booklet is the most consistent of the four in content and presentation –

even though there are omissions of some of the Roman families mentioned at the beginning, and Morpeth uses a number of his latter pages to write about families in Siena, Florence, Genoa and Lucca. Some information about certain families is duplicated in the companion *Notes on Italy*.

The similarities of this booklet with J8/35/1, together with the nature of its contents, clearly identify it with the “Roman” part of Morpeth’s sojourn. Internal references, principally to Giuliano Colonna, Principe di Sonnino in 1688 and Ambassador representing “Chinea” on behalf of Spain at Rome in 1690, confirm the years within which it is set. These two booklets reflect the progress of Morpeth’s travels; on the evidence of the Italian, the *Notes on Italy* antedating the *Notes on the Principal Families of Rome*.

Though the handwriting on the first and last pages is obviously more disciplined than Morpeth’s, a further distinction is made between the author of pages [1-4] and the author of *Oro sofisticco* on page [40]. The use of the subjunctive alone would suggest that the latter was, if not written by a native Italian, then certainly someone more fluent. Though these non-Morpeth hands are represented by the use of single rather than 1.5 spacing, visual veresimilitude has not been pressed to printing page [40] upside-down.

**J8/35/2**

**NOTES ON THE PRINCIPAL  
FAMILIES IN ROME**

**TEXT**

***[1690]***

[1]<sup>1</sup>

delle famiglie princip.<sup>2</sup>  
Romane

3

Si dividono le famiglie Romane in tre ordini. Nel primo vi sono numerate quattro cio é l'Orsina, la Colonna, la Savelli et la Conti.<sup>4</sup>

L'Orsina hebbe origine dopo l'imperio di Valentiniano Secondo,<sup>5</sup> che fu ucciso da Massimo Giovane Romano per godersi Eudoxia sua moglie<sup>6</sup> quale fugi in Africa.<sup>7</sup> Con Genserico Re de vandali lasciando in Roma Placidia sua figlia. nel detto tempo Orso Giovane che proveniva da un Capitano de Gothi amazzo Massimo e lo Gettò nel Tevere; per il che Placidia dono ad Orso alcune terre nell Umbria, li di cui descendenti fattisi potenti e ricchi Vennero in Roma e fu loro dal publico data habitatione nell Arenula<sup>8</sup> e dopo un Certo Giordano Orsino edificò un Palazzo sopra due Colle incontro alla mole Adriana<sup>9</sup> che sino al giorno d'Oggi Chiamasi Monte Giordano.<sup>10</sup>

Some principal Roman families

Roman families are divided into three ranks. In the first [rank] there are four in number, that is, the families Orsina, Colonna, Savelli and Conti.

The Orsina came into being after the reign of Valentian the Second, who was killed by Maximus, a young Roman in order to seize Eudoxia his wife. She fled to Africa with Genseric, King of the Vandals, leaving her daughter Placida in Rome. During that time Orso, a young man who came from a leader of the Goths murdered Maximus and threw him into the Tiber, for which Placida gave Orso some lands in Umbria. His descendents became rich and powerful there; came to Rome, and right of residence was granted them in Arenula by the State. Then later a certain Giordano Orsino built a palazzo on two hills towards the *Mole Adriana* – which to this day is called *Monte Giordano*.

<sup>1</sup> The Catalogue mark on this document has been placed upside down on the final page.

<sup>2</sup> The complete form *principali* has been added in a similar hand underneath.

<sup>3</sup> A tear in the top right hand corner allows the *Sig<sup>a</sup>* of p.[3] to be seen.

<sup>4</sup> Pages [1] – [4] are characterized not only by a smaller hand, but by an appreciable degree of “stare-through”. The writer of these pages also completes his right hand margin with a horizontal dash to the right-hand edge. This is not characteristic of page [40], strengthening the case for regarding the authorship of these earlier pages distinct.

<sup>5</sup> Licinia Eudoxia (422-62) d. of the Eastern Emperor Theodosius II married the Western Emperor Valentinian III in 437. In 455 Valentinian was murdered, probably by his collaborator Petronius Maximus, who took the Imperial throne and forced Eudoxia to marry him. Eudoxia's elder daughter Eudocia had already been promised in marriage to the son of the African King Genseric, to whom she appealed for help. Genseric subsequently came to Rome, where Petronius Maximus was killed by the mob.

<sup>6</sup> *con la* crossed out here.

<sup>7</sup> About seven words comprising a little over a line of text appear to have been crossed through here: *lasciando in Roma Placidia figlia della ? degli ? Eudoxia. - leaving in Rome Placidia daughter of the ? of the ? Eudoxia.*

<sup>8</sup> The *n* is an interlinear correction with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>9</sup> The Collins-Sansoni dictionary calls this *the Mole of Hadrian*, Today known as *Castel Sant'Angelo*.

<sup>10</sup> Today *Palazzo Taverna*, though the street on which it is found is still called *Via di Monte Giordano*.

**[2] Si divisero in diverse parti. In francia furono i Conti di S. Paolo Signori d'Armentiers che rimassero Estinti nella moglie del duca di Momorenci.<sup>1</sup>**

**In Germania si divisero in diversi Rami cio è nei Conti di Rapolstsein nei Conti di Rosseberg et nelli Signori Urslinghi<sup>2</sup>**

**Gli Orsini di Roma furono Così Ricchi ed abundanti di terre e Castelli che non havevano simili; unde<sup>3</sup> quasi tutti li Conti, Marchesi e principi, che hanno preso Titoli in Roma hanno tutto Comprato da questa famiglia.<sup>4</sup> Si Estinguerà al presente nei due fratelli viventi cio è don flavio Duca di Bracciano<sup>5</sup> e don Lelio Principe di vico-varo<sup>6</sup> quali per essere già vecchi sono inhabili a fare successione. vi sono gli Orsini di Napoli duchi di Gravina<sup>7</sup> e sono dui fratelli uno Cardinale e religioso domenicano Arcivescovo di Benevento.<sup>8</sup>**

They are split up in different areas. In France they were Counts of St. Paul, Lords of Armentières. These died out with the wife of the Duke of Montmorency.

In Germany they were divided into various branches, namely into Counts of Rappolstein, Counts of Rosenberg, and Lords of Urslinghi.

The Orsini of Rome were so rich and prosperous in land and castles that they had no peers: hence nearly all the Counts, Marquises and Princes who have borne titles in Rome have bought them all from this family. It is ebbing out at present in two surviving brothers, namely, Don Flavio, Duke of Bracciano, and Don Lelio, Prince of Vicovaro, who, because they are already old are unable to maintain the succession. There are the Orsini of Naples, Dukes of Gravina: these are two brothers, one a Cardinal, a Dominican monk and Archbishop of Benevento.

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Montmorency referred to here is Louis II de Bourbon-Condé (1643-86), the 4<sup>th</sup> Prince of Condé and 2<sup>nd</sup> Duc de Montmorency. The title was changed to the Duc d'Engheim in 1689 for Louis II's successor, Henri III de Bourbon-Condé. As Morpeth notes, the subsidiary French titles only survived as long as Louis II's childless widow, Claire de Mailly, a niece of Cardinal Richlieu.

<sup>2</sup> *Rapolstsein, Rosseberg and Urslinghi*. Presumably family estates amongst the German States.

<sup>3</sup> *Unde*. This word is unclear in the manuscript. If *unde* it is a Latinism better rendered by *quindi*.

<sup>4</sup> Titles might be bought with the estates supporting them – and commonly were. (Unlike the practice in England, where the title is an honour bestowed by the Sovereign, and is distinct from estates which might be bought and sold separately.)

<sup>5</sup> Mentioned in *Notes* p.78. Don Flavio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, died *s.p.* in 1699. His widow sold both title and estates to Livio Odescalchi (1652-1713).

<sup>6</sup> Don Lelio Orsini, Prince of Vicovero, is not mentioned in this context in the *Notes*. He was a younger brother of Don Flavio, dying in 1696. He sold the Principate di Vicovero to the Barberini family in 1692.

<sup>7</sup> Duke of Gravina. Domenico, the second son of Ferdinand X, whose elder son renounced his claims on entering religion. See below and p.78, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Pietro Orsini (1649-1730). Elder son of Ferdinand X of Gravina. Known subsequently as Vincenzo Maria Orsini, Archbishop of Benevento, appointed Cardinal in 1672 and Pope (Benedict XIII) in 1724.

**[3] Il Secondo<sup>1</sup> stà in Napoli vedovo duna Sig<sup>ra</sup> di casa Altieri che gli fece due figli maschi quali succederanno al ramo che si Estinguerà in Roma. Vi sono anco altri Rami di detti Orsini ma non di quel ordine dei sopra detti. detta famiglia ha havuto un Pontefice per nome Nicolo terzo.<sup>2</sup> Gode la prerogativa<sup>3</sup> del soglio Ponteficio rapresentante la Nobiltà Romana insieme con gli Ambasciatori e nipoti<sup>4</sup> dei Papa. quando non vi sia Ambasciatore Alcuno sogliono essi alsare la veste dal papa nelle fontioni pubbliche.**

### La Colonna

**Tiene questa la sua Origine dai Re di Preneste, hoggi detta Pelestrina della quale il 1<sup>o</sup> Re fu hercole, che pero dalle sue colonne hanno havuto il nome, e l'arme Colonna, numerando nella loro famiglia gli imperatori Traiano<sup>5</sup> ed Antonino.<sup>6</sup> dai quali furono erette le due Colonne Traiane ed Antonina furono divisi in piú rami cio è in Germania, in Polonia ed in Sicilia**

The remaining [brother] is in Naples, the widower of a lady from the House of Altieri who bore two male children who will succeed to the branch that will die out in Rome. There are also other branches of the Orsini, but not of the same rank as those mentioned. This family have had one Pontiff, Nicholas III by name. [The family] possesses a privilege at the Papal throne, presenting Roman nobility together with ambassadors and Papal *nipoti*. When there is no Ambassador they usually carry the Papal train in public ceremonies.

### La Colonna

This family has its origins in the Kings of Preneste, now known as Pelestrina, of which the first King was Hercules. Because of his pillars they acquired the name and the arms of "Colonna", numbering in their family the Emperors Trajan and Antoninus. Two columns were built by these men, Trajan's Column and the *Colonna Antonina*. They were divided into more branches, namely in Germany, Poland and Sicily.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Domenico, XIII Duc de Gravina. (See p.78. n3.) After Luigia's death in 1678 he married Donna Ippolita di Tocco in 1682, having two children by her (one numbered but unnamed in the Orsini genealogy) and Ferdinando Bernualdo Filippo (1685-1734), XIV Duca di Gravina from 1705.

<sup>2</sup> *Nicolo terzo* Pope Nicholas III (Giovanni Gaetano Orsini) c. 1210/20 – 80. Elected Pope in 1277.

<sup>3</sup> *Prerogativa* is a recurring term in these *Notes*. It normally indicates a right or privilege of precedence or honour, usually in respect of the Papacy on ceremonial occasions. It is translated as *privilege*.

<sup>4</sup> *nipoti* i.e. *nephews* These were a necessity for many Popes. They were usually younger members of the same family, elevated to the College of Cardinals, in order to give youthful assistance in what was still a very personal administrative system to an elderly or failing Pontiff. It often happened, of course, that the system was abused for personal or family advantage – hence the word *nepotism*.

<sup>5</sup> Emperor Trajan, Marcus Ulpius Nerva Traianus (53-117). Emperor 98-117.

<sup>6</sup> Emperor Antoninus, Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius (86-161). Emperor 138-61.

[4] qui in Roma vi sono al presente due cio è il Principe di Carboniano che prima se diceva di Pelestrina venduta alla casa Barberina.<sup>1</sup> E nel Ramo del Contestabile che si Chiama il Prencipe di Palliano e taglia Cozzo.<sup>2</sup> quale è il Principe più conspicuo e piu stimato in Roma godendo dai Re di Spagna il Contestabilato del regno di Napoli come anco dal Pontefice la prerogativa del soglio Ponteficio havendo una quantita grande di terra e Castelli non solo nell stato Ecclesiastico ma' anco nei Regni di Napoli e Sicilia per il che possono in un subito havere alla loro dispositione sopra 15 mila huomini.

nel concilio di<sup>3</sup> Constanza<sup>4</sup> per reprimere il gran Scisma di tre Papi fu eletto dalla chiesa Martino 5<sup>o</sup> detto 1<sup>o</sup> Udonò Colonna Cardinale.<sup>5</sup> vi é di presente un nuovo Ramo detto del Prencipe di Sonino<sup>6</sup> quale doveva succedere alle heredità della Casa Cesarina che però non veniva numerata nella Casa Colonna, hora però<sup>7</sup> é rimasto privo di essa heredità e consequentemente ritornato nella i<sup>o</sup> sua casa.

Here in Rome at the present time there are two, namely the Prince of Carboniano, who professes to come from Palestrina, [a title] sold to the House of Barberina; and the branch of the *Contestabile* who is called the Prince of Palliano and Tagliacozzo. This is the most remarkable and esteemed Prince in Rome, possessing from the Kings of Spain the office of *Contestabile* of the Kingdom of Naples. Also like the Pontiff (a right of the Papal Throne) he holds a large amount of land and Castles not only in the Papal Dominions but also in the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. Owing to this they can in an instant have over fifteen thousand men at their disposal.

At the Council of Constance Martin V (formerly known as Cardinal Odone Colonna) was elected by the Church in order to heal the Great Schism of the three Popes. There is at present a new branch, known as the Principality of Sonnino, which should have succeeded in the inheritance of the House of Cesarina, so is not numbered in the House of Colonna. However, now left without this inheritance it has consequently returned to its original House.

<sup>1</sup> Francesco Colonna, (d. 1636) 1<sup>st</sup> Prince of Carbognano and Bassanello, sold Palestrina to the Barberini family in 1630.

<sup>2</sup> Felipe Colonna, Principe de Paliano, Condestable de Napoli (1663-1714). See Genealogy of Cardinal Mazarin, p.87 n1.

<sup>3</sup> *di* is an interlinear correction

<sup>4</sup> The Council of Constance lasted from 1414-18. It was convened to solve the problem of the Grand Schism which had come about through the return of the Papacy from Avignon and the election at Avignon of a rival. The Council was summoned by John XXIII and confirmed by Gregory XII. The Schism was resolved by the deposition of John XXIII and Benedict XIII, the resignation of Gregory XII and the election of Martin V.

<sup>5</sup> Martin V (Oddone Colonna) 1368-1431. Elected Pope in 1417.

<sup>6</sup> Giuliano Colonna, (1671-1732) Principe di Sonnino e Galatro from 1688. Ambassador at Rome to represent "Chinea" (on behalf of Spain) in 1690. Morpeth explains the dynastic complication on p. 107.

<sup>7</sup> The words *sono vi* – subsequently erased – stood here.

la principessa di Sonino<sup>1</sup> hoggi una delle piu belle dame di Roma [5] i<sup>2</sup> di Casa Cesarini

Savella.<sup>3</sup>

Tiene<sup>4</sup> la sua origine da Aventio Re d'Alba, avanti la edificatione di Roma, nella quale poi volle lasciar le sue memorie con edificare diverse habitationi sopra d'un colle vicino al Tevere,\* che dal suo nome venni chiamato Aventino. Altri dicono provenire da Savello terra vicino ad Albano. ma si trova, che il detto luogo fù edificato da medesimi Savelli. Quali altre volte furono dette li Quintili da Quintilio Savelli<sup>5</sup> assai illustre.\*

Due furono i\* rami, uno in Albano & l'altro in Roma, il<sup>6</sup> quale\* è successo al primo, finito in questo nostro secolo & questo ancora è cadente per non haver la successione<sup>7</sup> propria.

The princess of Sonino, today one of the most beautiful ladies of Rome, is from the House of Cesarina.

#### The Savella

traces its origin from Aventio, King of Alba, before Rome was developed, where he then wanted to leave his mark in building various residences on a hill near the Tiber. This was called the *Aventine* after his name. Others say that it comes from *Savello*, an estate near Albano, but one finds that that place was built by the same Savelli. At other times they were known as the Quintili after the well-known Quintilio Savelli.

There are two branches, one in Albano and the other in Rome, which succeeds the former, coming to an end in this our century – and the latter also dying out through lacking a straightforward succession.

<sup>1</sup> Properly “Dowager”. Clelia Cesarini (1655-1735) had married Filippo, Principe di Sonnino, in 1671. He died in 1688, and was succeeded by their son Guiliano, who married Giovanna van den Eyden, daughter of Ferdinando, Marchese di Castel nuovo and Olinda Piccolo in 1688.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript is unambiguous. However, whatever the explanation, è must be understood here.

\* Alterations appear to have been made to the original text, for example *Tivere* to *Tevere*, *illustri* to *illustre*, *il rami* to *i rami* and *il quali* to *il quale*. These corrections (or perhaps deliberate ambiguities?) would support the idea that the author was inexperienced in Italian and a tutor may have been involved.

<sup>3</sup> *Savella* The handwriting changes here and becomes markedly less well-formed from this point until p.[40]. Comparison with ChJ8/35/2-4 confirm that these middle pages are in Morpeth's hand.

<sup>4</sup> There is an erasure at the end of this word – possibly *Tieneva*.

<sup>5</sup> *Quintilio Savelli*. Better-known to Morpeth than any modern authority.

<sup>6</sup> *il* appears to have been a later insertion.

<sup>7</sup> *successione* appears to have been first written as *suscessione*.



[6] Doppo <sup>1</sup> questo succedera il ramo di Honorio Savelli<sup>2</sup> più prossimo per il cognome, che per la parentela

Hebbe questa famiglia 6 Pont: il primo fù Liberio<sup>3</sup> del anno 352. il 2<sup>d</sup> Eugenio primo<sup>4</sup> del 654. il 3<sup>d</sup> Benedetto 2<sup>d</sup> <sup>5</sup> del 684. il 4<sup>t</sup> Gregorio 2<sup>d</sup> <sup>6</sup> del 716. il 5<sup>t</sup> Honorio 3<sup>d</sup> <sup>7</sup> del 1216. il sisto fu Honorio 4<sup>t</sup> <sup>8</sup> del 1285. oltre questi tengono 2 personaggii cioè St. <sup>9</sup> Alessio,<sup>10</sup> & St. Lucinà,<sup>11</sup> che converti la sua casa in chiesa di St. Lorenzo hoggi detta in Lucina. gode molti principati, tra quali Albano,<sup>12</sup> Venafero,<sup>13</sup> & la Contea<sup>14</sup> di Celano, & la prerogativa<sup>15</sup> di perpetuo Marescialo del Conclave.

After this it will pass to the branch of Honorio Savelli, closer by name than by blood.

This family had six Pontiffs: the first was Liberius in the year 352; the second, Eugene I in the year 654; the third, Benedict II in 684; the fourth, Gregory II in 716; the fifth, Honorius III in 1216, [and] the sixth was Honorius IV in 1285. Besides these they have two noteworthy individuals, namely St. Alessio and St. Lucina, who converted her house into the Church of St. Lorenzo known today as *in Lucina*. It owns many Principalities, amongst which are Albano, Venafro and the Countship of Celano, and the privilege of hereditary Marshal of the [Papal] Conclave.

<sup>1</sup> An erased *la* stood here.

<sup>2</sup> Honorio Savelli. Nothing seems to be known about this man – perhaps underlining Morpeth's point.

<sup>3</sup> Liberius. Pope from 352-66. The status of a Roman family seemed to depend on the Popes and Cardinals elected from their number across the years. It seems clear that in the case of the earlier popes listed here, where official records give no clue to their family names before election, these listings must depend to a large extent on family or local tradition.

<sup>4</sup> Eugenius I. Pope from 654 – 57.

<sup>5</sup> Benedict II. Pope from 684-85.

<sup>6</sup> Gregory II. Pope from 715-31.

<sup>7</sup> Honorius III (Cencio Savelli). Pope from 1216-87.

<sup>8</sup> Honorius IV (Giacomo Savelli). *c.* 1210/20 – 87. Pope 1285-87.

<sup>9</sup> An erased *F* stood here.

<sup>10</sup> St Alessio. A Church of S. Alessio sull'Aventino still stands (originally dedicated to St Boniface). It may commemorate Pope Alexander (*c.* 106-15). Unlike the other Popes listed here, Alexander was canonized.

<sup>11</sup> St Lucina. Thought to be the baptismal name of Pomponia Graecina, wife of the conqueror of Britain, Aulus Pautius, who allowed her house to be used as a Church to commemorate the martyr, St Lawrence. The Church is still known as *S. Lorenzo in Lucina*.

<sup>12</sup> An erased *il* stood here.

<sup>13</sup> So spelt in the original, but translated as the more familiar *Venafro*.

<sup>14</sup> The equivalent offered by the OED is the relatively unfamiliar *Countship*. It is therefore employed here, although in some instances *Palatinate* might be applicable.

<sup>15</sup> As earlier. The hereditary Marshal of the Papal Conclave was supposed to have guaranteed the immunity of the sacred College of Cardinals from outside interference when electing a new Pope. Though he might secure the doors, there were other pressures that interested parties might bring to bear – and frequently did.

[7] **La Conti.**

Proviene questa famiglia dal lo stipite Anicio Consolari madre di molti altri illustre famiglie. fu divisa in 3 rami cioè nel Conti, d'Anagni,<sup>1</sup> Conti di Carpineto,<sup>2</sup> & Conti Tusculani. li primi due sono estinti rimanendo questo ultimo; che gode<sup>3</sup> il titolo di Duca di Poli, & di Guadagnolo, come ancora la prerogativa di gran maestro del sacro auspicio,<sup>4</sup> cioè quello che introduce i ministri dei Principi forastieri nel luoghi delle fontioni pubbliche, che suole fare il Papa.

Dei Conti d'Anagni fierirono<sup>5</sup> tre gran Pont:<sup>6</sup> Innocentio 3<sup>o</sup>. che fece il concilio Lateranese,<sup>7</sup> & edificò l'hospitale di St. Spirito di Roma.<sup>8</sup> Gregorio 9<sup>o</sup> monaco Camaldolese,<sup>9</sup> & Alessandro 4<sup>o</sup> benedettino,<sup>10</sup>

The Conti

This family comes from the line of Anicio Consolari, mother of many other eminent families. It was divided into three branches, namely the Conti of Anagni, the Conti of Carpineto, and the Conti of Tuscolo. The first two [branches] have died out, leaving this last one, which holds the title of Duke of Poli and of Guadagnolo, as again [it holds] the privilege of *Grand Master of the Sacred Audience* – namely, the one who presents the ministers of foreign Princes in the course of public ceremonies which the Pope is accustomed to perform.

There were three great Pontiffs of the Conti of Anagni, Innocent III who led the Lateran Council and built the Hospital of St. Spirito of Rome; Gregory IX, a Camaldolite monk, and Alexander IV, a Benedictine.

<sup>1</sup> Originally *d'anagne*.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *Carpeneto*.

<sup>3</sup> *godono* altered to *gode*.

<sup>4</sup> *Auspicio* i.e. "Patronage", but the context suggests a Chamberlain presenting ambassadors, for example, to the Pope.

<sup>5</sup> Altered from *furirono* by the addition of an *i* above the text with an insertion-mark beneath and the alteration of the *u* to an *e*.

<sup>6</sup> Innocent III (Lotario di Conti). Pope 1198-1216.

<sup>7</sup> Altered from *Lateranese*.

<sup>8</sup> *L'hospitale di S Spirito di Roma*. Founded by Guido de Montpelier on instructions of Innocent III, and built in the Borgo, near St Peter's Basilica.

<sup>9</sup> Gregory IX (Ugolino, Count of Segni). Pope 1227-41.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander IV (Rinaldo Conti ). Pope 1254-61.

**Dei Conti Tusculani [8] uscirono<sup>1</sup> Sergio 3<sup>o</sup>. Gio: Decimo; Gio: 11<sup>o</sup> Giovanni 12<sup>o</sup>. Benedetto 7<sup>o</sup> Ben: 8<sup>o</sup>; Giovanni 19<sup>o</sup>, & Gregorio 6<sup>o</sup>.**

**Al<sup>2</sup> presente<sup>3</sup> vi è Dom Carlo Duca di Poli<sup>4</sup> con quattro figliuoli maschi, il primo con il titolo di Duca di Guadagnolo, che hà per moglie la zia del presente Contestabile,<sup>5</sup> & uno nella guerra di Hungaria, & l'Abate dichiarato al presente internuntio<sup>6</sup> in Venetia,<sup>7</sup> & vicelegato di' Avignoni.<sup>8</sup> vi è anco il fratello del detto Duca che è Cardinali<sup>9</sup> creato da Alessandro 7<sup>o</sup>. Chigi,<sup>10</sup> & Vescovo d'Ancona. soggetto assai Papabile.<sup>11</sup>**

From the Conti of Tuscolo came Sergio III; John X; John XI; John XII; Benedict VII; Benedict VIII; John XIX and Gregory VI.

At present there is Don Carlo, Duke of Poli with four sons: the first with the title "Duke of Guadagnolo" who has as his wife the aunt of the present *Contestabile*; one in the Hungarian War; and the Abbot presently appointed *nuncio* in Venice, and the *vice legat*e of Avignon.

There is also the brother of the said Duke [of Poli] who was created a Cardinal by Alexander VII, a Chigi, & [appointed] Bishop of Ancona. He is considered very *papabile*.

<sup>1</sup> As listed here: Sergius III, Pope 904-11; John X, Pope 914-28; John XI, Pope 931-36; John XII, Pope 955-64; Benedict VII, Pope c. 983; Benedict VIII, Pope 1294-1303; John XIX, Pope 1003-09 or 1024-32 [in some lists the earlier John XIX is omitted as an anti-pope], and Gregory VI (John Gratian), Pope 1045/6 - 48.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *All*, the second *l* has been deleted.

<sup>3</sup> Corrected from *presenti*.

<sup>4</sup> Don Carlo Conti, Duc di Poli.

<sup>5</sup> Corrected from *presenti Contestabili*. *Contestabile* here usually means the representative of the King of Spain in Naples, of which the King of Spain was also King. In 1690 this was Don Felipe Colonna (1663-1714), the son of Maria Mancini (1639-1716), a former mistress of Louis XIV of France who had been married off to the Principe de Paliano, Lorenzo Colonna in 1661.

<sup>6</sup> Corrected from *internuncio*.

<sup>7</sup> Michelangelo Conti (1655 – 1730). He became a Cardinal and then Pope (Innocent XIII) in 1721.

<sup>8</sup> Bernard Mary Conti (*b* 1664 ) Appointed Cardinal by his brother in 1721.

<sup>9</sup> Cardinal Giannicolò Conti di Poli, Bishop of Ancona. Appointed by Pope Alexander VII.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi) (1599-1667) Elected Pope in 1655.

<sup>11</sup> *Papabile* - used for someone with Papal aspirations and qualifications. Often used in conjunction with the Italian proverb "He who enters the Conclave a Pope leaves it a Cardinal".

**[9] Il 2<sup>d.</sup> ordine.**

**Contiene ancora<sup>1</sup> 4 altre principali famiglie, cioè la Cesarini, la Sforza, la Gaitana, & la Cesi.**

**La Cesarina è famiglia antichisissima che proviene secondo alcuni dalla famiglia Guilia<sup>2</sup> di Julio Cesari, che però Cesarina viene detta. altri però vogliono, che provenga dalla famiglia di<sup>3</sup> Monteroni, per che la contrada dove essa habita, è nominata Monteroni tanto più per insigna o armi feceva<sup>4</sup> un monte Gallo, un Colle verde con un' Aquila in cima al monte, quali insegna fù poi mutata in una colonna con uno orso legato alla base di essa, con l'aquila in cima alla Colonna, & cioè successe perche un Cesarino fù Capo dei Colonesi contro l'Ursini, delli quali hebbe [10] una victoria.**

The Second Rank contains another four principal families, namely the Cesarini, the Sforza, the Gaitana, and the Cesi.

The Cesarina is a very old family which comes, according to some, from the family Giulia of Julius Caesar – who are therefore known as Cesarina. However, others think that it [the name] comes from the family of Monteroni because of the district in which that family lives. It is [nevertheless] named Monteroni much more on account of the achievements or arms it bore[:] a yellow mountain, a green hill with an Eagle at the top of the mountain. This emblem was changed later to a column with a bear tied at its base with the eagle on the top of the column – and that is to say, it came about because a Cesarino was head of the Colonesi against the Orsini, over whom he [gained] a victory.

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<sup>1</sup> Corrected from *encora*.

<sup>2</sup> The original *Gulia* has been altered to *Guilia* – but perhaps *Giulia* would have been better still.

<sup>3</sup> Corrected from *de*.

<sup>4</sup> *feceva* The original has been altered tentatively to *ficeva*. Probably *faceva* is intended. The punctuation and spelling are crucial to the meaning here. Clearly the punctuation has been altered – but what has been replaced has not been deleted, so the text remains ambiguous. The text has been translated above on the assumption that *un monte Giallo* is meant. i.e. *a yellow mountain*. The spelling – or misspelling – would be analogous to the misspelling of *Gulia* for *Giulia* on the same page. The alternative would be to translate *Gallo* as *cockerel* and assume the *un* which should properly stand before it. In this case the passage would read *a mountain, a cockerel, a green hill*, etc. What might appear to be a full stop before *Gallo* may be better ignored.

possede questa famiglia vari castelli, & principati,<sup>1</sup> tra uguali la terra di Gensano famosa per il vino delicato di Gensano, & Civita<sup>2</sup> la vignia fabricata<sup>3</sup> da Enea doppo la distruttione di Troia, & Ardia<sup>4</sup> per la tanto rinamata Via ardiatina di Roma. la lenia masculina di questa fam: è gia estinta,<sup>5</sup> rimanendo alcune femine,<sup>6</sup> 2 delle quali si sono maritate, la primo genita a<sup>7</sup> Dom Frederico Sforzo, & la 2<sup>da</sup> a<sup>8</sup> Dom. Phillippo Colonna detto il Principe di sonnino;<sup>9</sup> quali credeva succedere al heredità per essersi la primogenita<sup>10</sup> dichiarata di non voler marito; ma poi mutata si di<sup>11</sup> opinione sposo il supradetto Sforzo, & consequente-[11]-mente per essere primogenita<sup>12</sup> e succeduta per decrito di defunto Papa Innocen: II<sup>13</sup> a tutta la heredita Cesarina. gode anco questa famig: de vesselifero perpetuo di Santa Chiara.<sup>14</sup>

This family owns various castles and Principalities, amongst them the district of Gensano, famous for the delicate Gensano wine; and Civita – the vineyard established by Æneas after the destruction of Troy, and Ardia [famous] through the old-established Via Ardiatina of Rome. The male line has died out already, leaving some females, two of whom have married: the elder to Don Federico Sforza and the second to Don Filippo Colonna, known as the Prince of Sonnino. [The elder] believed she would succeed to the estate as the firstborn, [&] declared she did not want a husband; but later, having changed her mind, married the above-mentioned Sforza, and later, on account of being the firstborn, inherited all the Cesarina estate by decree of the late Pope Innocent XI. This family also has the [privilege] of perpetual standard-bearer of St Clare.

<sup>1</sup> Corrected from *principali*.

<sup>2</sup> Now *Civita Lavinia*, about 20 miles SE of Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Corrected from *fabracata*.

<sup>4</sup> Now *Ardea*, about 22 miles S of Rome, linked to it by the ancient Consular Road *Via Ardeatina*.

<sup>5</sup> Corrected from *d'estinta*.

<sup>6</sup> Corrected from *femini*.

<sup>7</sup> Corrected from *ha*.

<sup>8</sup> Corrected from *ha*. As above.

<sup>9</sup> The first *n* has been added above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>10</sup> Corrected from *pramogenita*.

<sup>11</sup> Corrected from *dei*.

<sup>12</sup> Corrected from *pramogenita*. As above.

<sup>13</sup> The context and history make it clear that Morpeth means *Innocent XI*. (Unusually he has used arabic numbering instead of Roman.) See p.86 n3. This passage explains the problems of the Prince of Sonnino, outlined on p.101, whose father had married a younger sister in expectation of the inheritance.

<sup>14</sup> *santa chiara* i.e. *St Clare* (1194-1253). Co-founder with St Francis of Assisi of the Poor Clares.

## La Sforza.

ha il suo natali<sup>1</sup> da cottiniola<sup>2</sup> nella Romagna, & è ramo della famig: Attendoli, quali si chiamò Sforza da uno di essa,<sup>3</sup> che invitato da molti soldati alla guerra; disce di andervi se havesse conficato in un arbori, il <sup>4</sup>ferro del vomere, che gettava<sup>5</sup> con la mano, il che lei successe, & per cio dai soldati fù chiamato il Sforza, per la sforza [12] grande dimostrata in quel colpo<sup>6</sup> questo<sup>7</sup> poi riuisci buono<sup>8</sup> soldato, servi la Regina Giovanne<sup>9</sup> di Napoli,<sup>10</sup> presa la Marcha del Papa,<sup>11</sup> passò poscia al servitio di Giovanni Galiazzo Visconti<sup>12</sup> Duca di Milano<sup>13 & 14</sup> dal quali per le sue molte imprese hebbe per moglie una sua bastarda[.]<sup>15</sup>

### The Sforza

has its beginnings in Cotignola in the Romagna, and is a branch of the Attendoli family which called itself Sforza after one of the family who, invited to war by many soldiers, said he would go there if he were able to thrust the iron of a plough-share into a tree by throwing it with his hand. He did so, and for this reason he was called "sforza" by the soldiers for the great force shown in that blow. This man later turned out to be a good soldier. He served Queen Giovanna of Naples, gained a Marquessate from the Pope and then went into the service of Giovanni Galiazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, who gave him one of his illegitimate daughters as a wife in recognition of his many achievements.

<sup>1</sup> Originally *il suoi natali*.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *continiola* – now Cotignola, near Ravenna.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably Muzio Attendolo (1369-1424).

<sup>4</sup> *il* has been added above an erased *in*.

<sup>5</sup> Originally *jettava*.

<sup>6</sup> Originally *calpo*

<sup>7</sup> The Italian makes it clear that the subject is still Muzio Attendolo. However, most of the activities from this point refer to his son, Francesco Sforza (1401-1466). The account, however, is very muddled.

<sup>8</sup> The *u* of *buono* has been added above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>9</sup> *Giovanne* has been added above the line without insertion-mark.

<sup>10</sup> Queen Giovanna II of Naples (c 1371- 1435). Governed Naples from 1414 with the support of Muzio Attendolo, then of his son, Francesco Sforza, (1401-66).

<sup>11</sup> *presa la Marcha del Papa*. Federico Sforza established himself as Lord of the March of Ancona in December 1433; his status there confirmed in a treaty with Pope Eugenius IV (1434) in which he gained a Marquessate. This passage is ambiguous, meaning possibly that Sforza took the *Marcha d'Ancona* from the Pope by force, or that he received the dignity of a Marquessate at the Pope's hands.

<sup>12</sup> Corrected from *Viscomte*.

<sup>13</sup> Corrected from *Miliani*.

<sup>14</sup> Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, Duc di Milano, (1347-1402). However, it was Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan from 1412-47 in whose service Francesco Sforza distinguished himself, and whose illegitimate daughter he married.

<sup>15</sup> Bianca Maria Visconti (1425-68).

per ragione<sup>1</sup> di quel matrimonio. Giovanni Galiazzo<sup>2</sup> essendo<sup>3</sup> senza figliuoli dichiarò il detto Sforza suo successori nel ducato di Milano. che seguitò sino a Massimiliano Sforza<sup>4</sup> quale<sup>5</sup> morto senza figliuoli, fù investito questo Ducato da Carlo quinto<sup>6</sup> a Filippo 2<sup>do</sup> suo figliuolo.<sup>7</sup> il ramo poi di Roma proviene da Iacomo Mutio<sup>8</sup> Attendoli, che havendo comprato alcuni castelli nel territorio [13] Romano, & Toscano si risi dei Principali di Roma per il che da Alessandro 6<sup>to</sup>. di casa Borgia<sup>9</sup> che riconosceva il Pontificato dal Card: Sforza,<sup>10</sup> lei donnò il suo Palazzo posto nella contrada di banchi, che sino al presente giorno gode, dal qual Pontifice ha havuto la casa Sforza<sup>11</sup> il conte di santa fiora, il preveleggio di potere addottorare nel l'una & l'altra legge,<sup>12</sup> come soluono<sup>13</sup> fare.

On account of this marriage, Giovanni Galiazzo being without sons, declared the aforesaid Sforza his successor in the Dukedom of Milan. [This line] continued as far as Massimiliano Sforza who died without sons, [when] this Duchy was entrusted by Charles V to his son Philip II. The branch in Rome then stemmed from Giacomo Muzio Attendoli who, having bought some castles in the neighbourhood of Rome and Tuscany so laughed at the "Leaders" of Rome – for which Alexander VI of the House of Borgia, who [had] recognised the Papal claims of Cardinal Sforza, gave him his *palazzo* situated in the banking district, which the family owns to the present day. Through this Pontiff the House of Sforza has had the Countship of Santa Fiora, [and] the privilege of taking a doctorate in one or other [branches of] law, as they have continued to do.

<sup>1</sup> Originally *raiggione*.

<sup>2</sup> This should read *Filippo Maria Visconti*.

<sup>3</sup> Originally *vissendo*.

<sup>4</sup> Maximilian Sforza (1493-1530).

<sup>5</sup> Originally *quali*.

<sup>6</sup> Charles V of Spain (1500-58). Holy Roman Emperor, in control of Duchy of Milan from 1535.

<sup>7</sup> Philip II of Spain (1527-98). King of Spain from 1554.

<sup>8</sup> Originally *Matio*.

<sup>9</sup> Text altered from *Borgha* to *Borgia*. Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia) 1431-1503; Pope from 1492.

<sup>10</sup> Should be translated "papal claims" rather than "papacy". There were three candidates for the Papacy in 1492, of whom Cardinals Borgia and Sforza were particularly strong. According to one version Borgia "bought" Sforza's support with two mule-loads of silver. Alexander VI's pontificate is usually cited as particularly corrupt. However, Machiavelli draws attention to Alexander enlisting the other Roman nobility to contain the destructive rivalries of the Orsini and Colonnese (*Il Principe* XI 'De principatibus ecclesiasticis') so the Roman *Palazzo* might be seen as much state-craft as bribery.

<sup>11</sup> *la casa Sforza* added above the line, without insertion-mark.

<sup>12</sup> This refers to the two branches of Law then studied in Renaissance Universities: Canon Law & Civil Law. A number (because of the theoretical links between the two disciplines) would aspire to graduate in both branches, in which case their achievement would be described as *Utriusque = Both [branches]*.

<sup>13</sup> The second *o* of *soluono* has been added above the line, with insertion-mark beneath.

## La Gaitana

diversi<sup>1</sup> sono le opinioni circa l'origini di questa famiglia perche alcuni dicono venire da Spagna in Gaita, & per ciò detta Gaitana. Altri da un medico, che hebbi [14] un figliuolo per nome Benedetto,<sup>2</sup> che andato in Anagni dove era la Corte del Papa che ivi fece fortunas. Altri vogliono che fussero un padroni<sup>3</sup> di Gaeta,<sup>4</sup> & di molti altri stati nel regno di Napoli, & nello stato della chiesa, dei<sup>5</sup> questi uno detto Benedetto Gaetano fatto Cardinale da Martino 4<sup>to.6</sup> fu confessore di Celestino 5<sup>to.7</sup> quale per non potere attendere alle sue meditationi, & per la pòca pratica del governo, rinuntiato il Papato; ritorno ad laico,<sup>8</sup> ò vero come vogliono ingannato da questo Benedetto Gaetano [15] lei fece lasciare il Papato. per dovervi egli succedere, come segui,

## The Gaitana

There are different opinions about the origins of this family, as some say that it comes from Spain to Gaita, and for this reason they are known as Gaitana. Others [say that it comes] from a doctor who had a son by the name of Benedetto who, having gone to Anagni where the Papal Court was [established] made his fortunes there. Others think that there might have been landowners from Gaeta and of many other states in the Kingdom of Naples, and in the Papal Dominions, one of whom, the previously-mentioned Benedetto Gaetano, made Cardinal by Martin IV, was Confessor to Celestine V. He, through inability to attend to his devotions, and for his lack of statecraft, resigned the Papacy [and] returned to lay-status. Or, as some believe, tricked by this Benedetto Gaetano who made him give up the Papacy in order that he might succeed him [himself] – as indeed it turned out.

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<sup>1</sup> Originally *diverse*.

<sup>2</sup> Benedetto Gaetano (1235-1303). Created a Cardinal by Martin IV in 1281, becoming Pope Boniface VIII after Celestine V's resignation in 1294.

<sup>3</sup> Text altered to *un padroni* from *i padroni* although it ought to be either *un padrone* or *i padroni*.

<sup>4</sup> Originally *Gaita*.

<sup>5</sup> Double correction for *di* and *del*.

<sup>6</sup> Martin IV (Simon de Brion) (c. 1210-85) Pope from 1281.

<sup>7</sup> Celestine V (Pietro di Murrone) (1215-96). Pope from August – December 1294, resigning to return to his hermitage.

<sup>8</sup> *laico*. The best sense of a word which looks almost like *larno*. The preposition *ad* is Latin rather than Italian. Though *laico* is possible Italian, being ecclesiastical Latin also it suggests the ecclesiastical process presupposed by Celestine's resignation.



**& fu detto Bonefacio 8<sup>o</sup> quale con fu ennimico dei Colonnesi, & di Phillippo il bello Re di Francia,<sup>1</sup> quali scomunicò, privando due Colonnesi<sup>2</sup> del capello<sup>3</sup> Cardinalitio.**

**il ramo di Roma possiede il Ducato di Sermoneta, di St. Marco, il Principato do Caserta, il Marchesato di Cesterna, La Segnorìa di Basciano, Nimpha, St. Feleci,<sup>4</sup> St. Donato. possiedono<sup>5</sup> un bellissimo<sup>6</sup> palazzo nel corso famoso per la scala commoda, che vi è.**

[16] **La Cesi.**

**L'origine di questa famiglia vienne<sup>7</sup> da un Gentlehuomo<sup>8</sup> Aquitano, nel tempo che Carlo Magno venni in Italia, il quale edificò un Castello nel Humbria detto Cesi. se bene altri vogliono che Fontano Cesi Cancelliro Apos: di Adriani primo Pont: del 772 seguendo il partito di Carlo Magno andato in Francia fermò la sua habitatione in Aquitania,**

And it was this same Boniface VIII who was both an enemy of the Colonnesi and of Philip the Fair, King of France, excommunicated these men, depriving two Colonnesi of the Cardinal's hat.

The branch from Rome possesses the Duchy of Sermoneta, and of St. Marco, the Principality of Caserta. the Marquisate of Casterna, the Lordship of Bassiano, Ninfa, St. Felice, [and] St. Donato. They own a very beautiful *palazzo* on the Corso, famous for the grand staircase there.

#### The Cesi

The origin of this family came from a Gentleman of Aquitaine at the time that Charlemagne came to Italy. This gentleman built a Castle in Umbria known as Cesi. Others, though, think that Fontano Cesi, Apostolic Chancellor of Hadrian I who was made Pontiff in 772, following the departure of Charlemagne who had gone to France, established his residence in Aquitaine;

<sup>1</sup> Philip IV "the Fair" (1268-1314). King of France from 1285.

<sup>2</sup> The two were Cardinal Jacopo Colonna and his nephew Cardinal Pietro Colonna, allies of Philip IV.

<sup>3</sup> It is clear from the context that *cappella - hat* is intended rather than *capello - hair*.

<sup>4</sup> Probably a phonetic version of *Bassiano, Ninfa, St. Felice*.

<sup>5</sup> The family acquired the *Palazzo Ruspoli* on the *Via Corsa* in 1629 from the Rucellai family. The Ruspoli family acquired – and renamed – it in 1776. It had a noble staircase with marble steps.

<sup>6</sup> This should read *bellissimo*.

<sup>7</sup> The *i* an interlinear addition with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>8</sup> It is not clear whether one word or two were intended here. If one word, then *Gentiluomo* would be preferable.

di' dove uscì Federico Cesi Aquitano del 942 che produsse <sup>1</sup> Probo Cesi Vescovo Narniensi<sup>2</sup>, & Pietro Cesi dal quale naque Silvestro <sup>2<sup>do</sup></sup>. Pont: [17] & Federico <sup>2<sup>do</sup></sup>. Cesi che tornato in Italia Othono <sup>3<sup>o</sup></sup>. Imperatore<sup>3</sup> edificò un castello per nome Aquitano, il di cui figliuolo <sup>4</sup> edificò il Castello Cesi nel Umbria. Questa famiglia hebbe più rami, cioè<sup>5</sup> in Modena, l'altra nel Umbria la 3a di Marchesi Cesi, che hanno terminato nella casa Boremeo la 4<sup>ta</sup> dei Duchi di Ceri. che è terminata in quella dei Duchi d'Aquasparta, che è il solo ramo di detta casa, che habbi successioni. possono provare la loro antiquita dal 772 sino al presenti giorno, per successione da padri in figlio, con castelli [18] & stati che hanno posseduto.

through whom Federico Cesi the Aquitainian appeared in 942; who produced Probo Cesi, Bishop of Narni, and Pietro Cesi; from whom were born the Pontiff Sylvester II and Federico II Cesi; [and] who, having returned to Italy with the Emperor Otto III built a Castle for the Aquitaine family. His son built the Cesi Castle in Umbria. This family had more branches, namely in Modena, another in Umbria, a third [branch] the Cesi from the Marches, amalgamated into the House of Borromeo. The fourth is of the Dukes of Ceri, which merged with the House of the Dukes of Aquasparta – which is now the only branch of the said House to have continuity of succession. They can demonstrate their antiquity from 772 until the present day, through succession from father to son, with the castles and estates they owned.

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<sup>1</sup> *Pr* crossed out stands here in the original.

<sup>2</sup> The final *n* is an interlinear correction.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of this passage only begins to become clear when the dates are added to the names, and where the chain of relative pronouns are seen to refer back to the *Fontano Cesi* of 772. The original *Federico Cesi* who came from Aquitaine in 942 produced two bishops of Narni: Paulo Emilio Cesi, who became a Cardinal in 1517 and died in 1537 (who may be the *Probo* mentioned here) and also *Pietro Cesi*, who became a Cardinal in 1570 and died in 1586.) The same *Federico Cesi* was also held to be related to Pope *Sylvester II* (Gerbert d'Aurillac) c.950-1003, who reigned from 999. (Sylvester II was the first French Pope, coming from the Auvergne.) Belonging to the same family is the much more recent *Federico II Cesi* (1585-1630), Duc d'Aquasparta. At this point the *che tornato* takes us back to the first *Federico* who returned to Italy with *Otto III* (980-1002) who was the Holy Roman Emperor from 996, and who was thought largely responsible for the election of Sylvester II as Pope.

<sup>4</sup> A deleted *d* stands here.

<sup>5</sup> *ciò* A dyslexic form of *cioè*?

[19]

**Della famiglia****Pierleona & Frangipana.**

**Proviene questa famiglia dal antichissimo Germe Annicio<sup>1</sup>, che ha prodotto molte nobillissime famiglie, & particolarmente L'Austriaca, La Boromea, La Michiela, & altre. Si propagò in Roma doppo la venuta di Christo in quella di Pierleona dalla quale fù Anacleto<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>do</sup>.<sup>3</sup> Antipapa contro Innocentio 2<sup>do</sup>. Papa, che per la potensa della sua casa hebbe gran seguito. da Flavio Anicio Pierleone naque la casa Frangipana, per haver egli in una inundatione del Tevere soccorso con quantita [20] di pane alla necessita dei poveri di Roma, per il che fu chiamato dalla parola latina frangenspanem, hebbe 2 figliuoli, uno chiamato Stephano, l'altro Leone; Stephano propagò il nome di Pierleone, & Leone quello di Frangipane, quale si multiplicò<sup>4</sup> et nel Istria, & nella Croatia. L'una & l'altra famiglia hanno havuto fine in Roma**

*[Three blank pages, 21, 22, 23, follow]*

About the Family Pierleona and Frangipana.

This family comes from the very ancient *gens Anicia* which produced many eminently noble families, and particularly the Austriaca, the Boromea, the Michiela, and others. It took root in Rome, after the coming of Christ, in the family of Pierleona from which came Anacletus II, Antipope against Pope Innocent II, who through the influence of his House had a great following.

From Flavio Anicio Pierleone the House of Frangipana was born, having personally relieved the distress of the poor in Rome during a flooding of the Tiber with a quantity of bread. For this reason he was called by the the Latin word *frangenspanem*. He had two sons, once called Stefano, the other Leone. Stefano passed on the name Pierleone and Leone that of Frangipane, which spread both in Istria and in Croatia. Both families died out in Rome.

<sup>1</sup> These words were originally rendered *Germi Annitio*, but the *i* of *Germi* and the *t* of *Annitio* remain.

<sup>2</sup> Text appears to have been changed from *Anocletus*.

<sup>3</sup> Anacletus II (Pietro Pierleone) was the first successful candidate at the contested Papal election of 1130, and lived until 1138. Innocent II (Gregorio Papereschi) was elected by a rival group and lived until 1143. Though a rival to Innocent II was elected in 1138, the schism was healed after eight years by his prompt resignation.

<sup>4</sup> Corrected from an original *multiplicono* (Presumably the plural has been changed to the singular because it refers to the name *Frangipane* rather than the plurality of those bearing it).

[24] **Della famiglia Anguillara.**  
*[The remainder of this page is blank]*

[25] **Della fam: Farnese.**

hebbi origine dalla Germania quando l'imperatori si trasferivanò<sup>1</sup> in Italia con il seguito di molti Cava:[lieri,] uno di quali fermatosi in Orvieto con l'arte militare per venne<sup>2</sup> a molti <sup>3</sup> gradi d'honori, & s'impadronirono delle terre di Farnese gli suoi descendenti<sup>4</sup>, da quali provenne Alessandro Farnese,<sup>5</sup> q[uello] che da Alessandro 6<sup>to</sup>. Borgia<sup>6</sup> fu creato Card: & doppo Clem: 7<sup>o.7</sup> in eta di 70, & più anni fu creato Papa chiamandosi<sup>8</sup> Paulo 3<sup>o</sup>, quale hebbi un figliuolo chiamata Pierre Lui:[gi] Farnese,<sup>9</sup> al quale diede il ducato di Castro, & ad Ottavio<sup>10</sup> figli: di questo diede il ducato di Camerino quale poi commutò con il [26] ducato di Parma, & Piacenza.<sup>11</sup> con annuo feudo di 7000 Ducati d'oro

About the Anguilla family.

About the Farnese family.

It had German origins, when the Emperors were crossing into Italy with a following of many cavalrymen. One of them having remained in Orvieto achieved many kinds of honours with the arts of warfare, and took possession of the lands of Farnese for his descendents. From these came Alessandro Farnese, the one who was created Cardinal by Alexander VI (Borgia), and after [the reign of] Clement VII, at the age of seventy and more years was made Pope, being called Paul III. He had a son called Pier Luigi Farnese, to whom he gave the Duchy of Castro, and to Ottavio his grandson he gave the Duchy of Camerino which was then exchanged for the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza with an annual fief of 7000 golden ducats.

<sup>1</sup> Double correction for *trasferivani* and *trasferivana*.

<sup>2</sup> Though separate here, these form one word *pervenne* - acquired.

<sup>3</sup> *ho* (from *honori* ?), now struck through, stands here.

<sup>4</sup> The *s* is an interlinear correction with insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>5</sup> Alessandro Farnese (1468-1549) Elected Pope as Paul III in 1534.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia) 1431-1503. Elected Pope in 1492.

<sup>7</sup> Clement VII (Giulio de Medici) 1478-1534. Elected Pope in 1523.

<sup>8</sup> Corrected from *chiamatosi*.

<sup>9</sup> Pier Luigi Farnese (1503-47) – illegitimate son of Alessandro Farnese, later Pope Paul III.

<sup>10</sup> Ottavio Farnese (1521-86) – the son of Pier Luigi and grandson of Paul III.

<sup>11</sup> Text altered from *Placentia* to *Piacenza*.

due dunque furono i rami di questa famiglia, il primo in Roma dei Principi di Farnese, quale sono pochi anni che è finito nella persona del Cardinal Farnese,<sup>1</sup> havendo prima venduto il Principato alla casa Chigi. il 2<sup>do</sup>. ramo è dei Duchi di Parma,<sup>2</sup> & di Piacenza quale si è reso famosissimo non solo per le parentele, ma anco per gli huomini illustri tanto militari come il grand Alessandro Farnese,<sup>3</sup> come nell' Ecclesiastico di molti [27] Cardinali. hà in Roma il più famoso palazzo, che vi sia, dovè altre le rare picture, & statue celebri, vi e la famosa caccia del torro,<sup>4</sup> & <sup>5</sup> & altre poi è gardini, & altro di raro.

#### Fam: Bonella & Ghisliera

sono da Bologna, uno dei quali passò in Alessandria della paglia<sup>6</sup> dal quale provenne il Pont: Pio 5<sup>to</sup>.<sup>7</sup> che hebbi una sorella maritata ivi nella casa Bonella. quale casa fù esaltata dei Rè di Spagna.

There were, therefore, two branches of this family, the first in Rome from the Princes of Farnese, came to an end in a few years ago in the person of Cardinal Farnese, having first sold the Principality to the House of Chigi. The second branch is that of the Dukes of Parma and of Piacenza, which became illustrious not only through their [closest] relatives, but also through famous men as soldierly as the great Alessandro Farnese, or as eminent in the Church as many Cardinals. [The family] has the most famous *palazzo* in Rome, where, besides the rare pictures and celebrated statues, there is the famous *Hunting of the bull*, gardens and other rarities besides.

#### The Bonella and Ghisliera families

are from Bologna, one of whom settled in *Alessandria della Paglia* from which came Pope Pius V, who had a sister there [who] married into the House of Bonella – a House which was much advanced by the Kings of Spain.

<sup>1</sup> (*Cardinal Farnese*. Odoardo (1573-1626) Renouncing his right to the Dukedom of Parma he became a Cardinal. His nephew, Duke Odoardo II of Parma, lost the fiefdom of Castro in the Papal States, after the Wars of Castro, 1649-54, and with it, presumably, the Farnese title. Pope Alexander VII, a Chigi, gave the Chigi family the title *Principe di Farnese* in 1658. The Cardinal did not sell the Chigi the title.

<sup>2</sup> The contemporary head of this branch was Ranuccio II of Parma (1646-94).

<sup>3</sup> *Alessandro Farnese il grand* (1520-89).

<sup>4</sup> Correction for *tauro*.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the massive sculpture found in the Baths of Caracalla in 1546.

<sup>6</sup> A Diocese in Piedmont.

<sup>7</sup> Antonio Ghisleri (1504-72) Elected Pope and reigned as Pius V from 1565. He was later canonised. It may be noted that the order in which the families are described in Morpeth's account are from this point on determined by the Papal succession.

**hà in Roma un palazzo azzai commodo nella piazza del<sup>1</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Apostoli,  
[28] & godono<sup>2</sup> il titolo di Duchi.**

### **Fami: Buoncompani<sup>3</sup>**

**questa è anchi nobili di Bologna dalla quale provenne<sup>4</sup> Grego: 13<sup>o.5</sup>  
il quale tenne lontani i nepoti che furono poi da Filippo 2<sup>d.6</sup> Rè di  
Spagna, rimunerati con il ducato di Sora & Arpino.<sup>7</sup>**

### **Fam: Burghese.**

**È antica della citta di Siena havendo havuto gradi supremi in quella  
repub:[lica] hebbi molti huomini illustri in<sup>8</sup> guerra, mà più di ogni  
altro Camillo Burghese,<sup>9</sup> che fù [29] Pont: chiamato Paulo 5, che  
finni la chiesa di S<sup>t</sup> Pietro. Possiede palazzi.**

In Rome it has a fairly comfortable *palazzo* in the *Piazza dei Santi Apostoli* and they have the style of Dukes.

#### The Buoncompagni family

is also [composed of] noblemen of Bologna from which came Gregory XIII who kept at a distance relatives who were later rewarded by Philip II, King of Spain, with the Duchy of Sora and Arpina.

#### The Burghese family

is an ancient family from the town of Siena. Having held foremost positions in this republic [this family] had many men famous in warfare, but none more than Camillo Burghese, who was the Pontiff called Paul V, [and] who finished the Church of St Peter. They own *palazzi*.

<sup>1</sup> This is translated as *dei*.

<sup>2</sup> The change in number in this sentence makes translation awkward.

<sup>3</sup> Originally *Bonecompani*, the *u* added above with an insertion-mark beneath and the *e* struck through.

<sup>4</sup> Originally *provienne*. The *i* has been struck through.

<sup>5</sup> Gregory XIII (Ugo Buoncompagni). 1502-85. Elected Pope in 1572. He was a noted opponent of nepotism.

<sup>6</sup> Philip II of Spain (1527-98).

<sup>7</sup> This is only partially true. The titles to Aquino and Arpino were sold around 1583 to Giacomo Buoncomagni by Alphonso III, the Duke of Avalos.

<sup>8</sup> *in* is an interlinear addition with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>9</sup> Camillo Borghese (1550-1621) Elected Pope in 1605 as Paul V. His reign was distinguished by his strengthening the military resources of the Papacy – as Morpeth mentions in the companion *Notes on Italy*.

### Fami: Ludovisia

**Antica di Bologna, & di Napoli per la Regina Giovanna,<sup>1</sup> hà havuto un Pont: detto Grego: 15<sup>2</sup>**

### Famiglia Barbarina

**Famosa nello stato di Fiorenza, & più per il Pont: Urbano 8<sup>0.3</sup> che visse Pont:<sup>4</sup> sopra 21 anno. hanno comprato della casa Colonna il principato di Pelestrina, che al presente gode, sono un Cardinale.<sup>5</sup> & 3 nepoti fratelli.**

**[30] Fami: Pamfilia proviene dalla citta Augubio,<sup>6</sup> & sino dall'anno 800 di Christo vi sono chiari memorie, fece poi casa nel Roma su la gran Palazzo Navone,<sup>7</sup> dove naque, crebbi, & fu esaltato al Pont: Innocentio 10,<sup>8</sup>**

#### Ludovisia family

An ancient family of Bologna, and of Naples through Queen Giovanna, it had a Pontiff known as Gregory XV

#### Barbarina family

Famous in the state of Florence, and even more so for Pope Urban VIII who lived as Pontiff for over twenty-one years. They bought the Principality of Pelestrina from the House of Colonna, which they possess at present. They have one cardinal and three nephews who are brothers.

The Pamfilia family comes from the town of Augubio, and until 800ad there are clear traces [of the family]. It later made a home in Rome in the great *Palazzo Navone* where Innocent X was born, grew up, and was raised to the Papacy.

<sup>1</sup> Queen Giovanne II of Naples (1371-1435)

<sup>2</sup> Gregory XV (Alessandro Ludovisi). 1554-1623. Elected Pope in 1621.

<sup>3</sup> Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini). 1568-1644. Elected Pope in 1623.

<sup>4</sup> *Pont:* has been added above the line, with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>5</sup> At the time of writing this would have been Cardinal Carlo Barberini.

<sup>6</sup> *Augubio* i.e. *Gubbio*.

<sup>7</sup> Text altered from *Nevoni* to *Navone*.

<sup>8</sup> Innocent X (Giovanni Battista Pamphili). 1574-1655. Elected Pope in 1644.

**che hebbi per cognata Donna Olimpia,<sup>1</sup> che hebbi più del virili, che del donesco. vi è il Principe con due figliuoli, & il Cardinale fratello d'il Principe.**

**[31]<sup>2</sup>**

**Des mœurs de la  
plus part des gens  
du monde.**

**Les Mœurs dès Europe**    *[The remainder of the page is blank]*

He had as sister-in-law Donna Olimpia, who had more manly than womanly qualities. There is [now] a Prince with two children, and the Cardinal, the brother of the Prince.

About the Customs of most of the peoples of the world

The Customs of Europe

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<sup>1</sup> Donna Olimpia Maidalchini (1592-1657). She married (i) Paulo Nino before 1611, then (ii) Pamphilio Pamphili in 1612. She was the sister-in-law of Innocent X. It was said her wealth was used to secure his election. She was thought to have an extraordinary influence over the Pope, often used for the aggrandisement of members of her own family. Her son, Camillo Francesco Maria Pamphili (1622-66) became a Cardinal. He resigned in 1647 to marry Olimpia Aldobrandini, 2<sup>nd</sup> Principessa di Rossane, becoming himself the 1<sup>st</sup> Principe di Valmontone. There were two male children of this marriage: (i) Don Giovanni Battista Pamphili (1648-1709) 2<sup>nd</sup> Principe di San Martino e Cimino, who in turn married and had the two children mentioned here, and (ii) – the Cardinal-brother of the Prince - Benedetto Pamphili (1653-1730) who was appointed a Cardinal in the Consistory of 1681 – and was incidentally a librettist for both Alessandro Scarlatti and George Frideric Handel. See p.86 n1.

<sup>2</sup> It seems clear that this page was intended to begin a new section, hardly begun before the author returned to a further development of his original description of principal families by describing those of other important Italian cities.



[32]

**Notitia d'Alcune  
famiglie nobili  
di Siena.**

**Piccolomini.** questa famiglia è delle piu<sup>1</sup> antiche d'Italia; benche divisa in più rami si mantiene con splendore quanto alle ricchezze, e riguardevole per molti huomini<sup>2</sup> illustri. poiche ha havuti due Ponteficii Pio 2<sup>d.3</sup> e Pio 3<sup>do.4</sup> un Generalissimo dell' Imperadore chiamato il Duca 8 Ottavio,<sup>5</sup> et ultimamente il Conte Enea morto l'anno passato in carica di Generale dell' Imperadore,<sup>6</sup> ha havuti molti Cardinali generali di religioni,<sup>7</sup> vescovi, generali delle Galeri<sup>8</sup> di Malta.

**Chigi.**

**Questa famiglia è molto anticha et oggi risplende per le ricchezze [33] ha havuto un Papa, chiamato Alessandro 7<sup>o.9</sup> più Cardinali. dei quali vive solo Don Flavio.<sup>10</sup> sono Principi di Farnese.**

Information about some noble families of Siena

**Piccolomini.** This family is amongst the most ancient in Italy. Although it is divided into more branches it maintains with splendour much wealth, and is notable for many eminent men, since it has had two Pontiffs, Pius II and Pius III, a commander-in-chief of the Emperor known as Duke Ottavio VIII, and finally Count Æneas who died last year in the office of General of the Emperor. It had many Cardinals, Cardinal-Protectors of different Orders, bishops, and Generals of the Galleys in Malta.

Chigi

This family is very ancient and today is resplendent in wealth. It has had one Pope, called Alexander VII, more Cardinals, of whom only Don Flavio is still alive. They are Princes of Farnese.

<sup>1</sup> *delle piu* has been added above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *homini* – a Latin form corrected by the interlinear addition of *u*. See pp. 120-21 & p. 90 n1.

<sup>3</sup> Pius II (Eneas Silvio de Piccolomini). 1405-64. Elected Pope in 1458.

<sup>4</sup> Pius III (Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini). 1439-1503. Elected Pope in 1503.

<sup>5</sup> Duke Ottavio: Prince Octavio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi (1599-1656)

<sup>6</sup> Don Enea Piccolomini, *Capitano delle Armata Imperiali*. He was the youngest son of Principe Alfonso I di Valle de Casala and Donna Eleonora Loffredo, 4<sup>th</sup> Principessa di Maida. He is otherwise only known to have died some time after 1683: Morpeth establishes it as taking place in 1689.

<sup>7</sup> Major religious Orders like the Benedictines, Dominicans and Franciscans would generally have at least one member in the College of Cardinals. Those who did not would have a "Cardinal-Protector" to represent their interests in the sacred College.

<sup>8</sup> *Galere* corrected to *Galeri*.

<sup>9</sup> Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi). 1599-1655. Elected Pope in 1644.

<sup>10</sup> Flavio Chigi (1631-93): Cardinal 1657. His nephew Sigismondo (b.1649): Cardinal 1667, died 1678.

### Bandinelli.

**Questa famiglia ha havuto un Papa chiamato Alessandro 3<sup>o.1</sup> benche hoggi divise in più rami. gode mediochri ricchezze ha havuti molti Cardinali, e Prelati.<sup>2</sup>**

### Cervini.

**Questa famiglia ha havuto un Papa chiamato Marcello 2<sup>d.3</sup> 1555. ha havuti altri Cardinali, e Prelati.**

### Ptolomii.<sup>4</sup>

**Questa famiglia è riguardevole per l'antichità,<sup>5</sup> essendo venuti di Germania con Ottone<sup>6</sup> Primo.<sup>7</sup> ha havuti molti illustri huomini<sup>8</sup> in lettere, et in [34] [leggi?]<sup>9</sup>**

### Bandinelli

This family has had one Pope, called Alexander III, although it is now divided into more branches. It possesses middling wealth. It has had many Cardinals and Prelates.

### Cervini

This family has had one Pope, called Marcellus II in 1555. It has had other Cardinals and Prelates.

### Ptolomii

This family is remarkable for its antiquity, having come from Germany with Otto I. It has had many eminent men in letters and in [law].

<sup>1</sup> Alexander III (Orlando Bandinelli). Pope from 1159-81.

<sup>2</sup> It would be surprising for a family successful in amassing high appointments would not have been equally successful in amassing wealth. This is the only occasion when Morpeth qualifies wealth in this slightly negative way.

<sup>3</sup> Marcellus II (Marcello Cervino). 1501-55. Elected Pope in 1555.

<sup>4</sup> Text altered from *Ptolomei*.

<sup>5</sup> Originally *l'antiquità*, the *ch* written above the erased *qu*.

<sup>6</sup> The second *t* in *Ottone* has been crossed out, and the *e* is a correction for an *i*.

<sup>7</sup> Otto I (912-73) King of the Germans. First Holy Roman Emperor.

<sup>8</sup> Originally *homini*, the *u* has been added above the line with an insertion-mark below.

<sup>9</sup> It is clear that a word is intended here – but apart from the trailing line of a *g* little else is clear.

## Malavolti, Cacciaconti

**Due famiglie antichissime, l'ultima è estinta. della Prima ci sono stati molti huomini riguardevoli in lettere, et in armi, et uno chiamato Orlando,<sup>1</sup> che hà scritto l'istoria di Siena.**

### Tommasi.

**questa è famiglia antichissima in Siena, e si vantano di discendere da un Imperatore Greco. ha havuti molti huomini illustri et uno di questa casa chiamato Giagurta,<sup>2</sup> ha scritto ancora l'istoria di Siena.**

### Sozzini

**Altamente detti soccini e famiglia antichissima, ha havuti huomini<sup>3</sup> [35] illustri in lettere, particolarmente in leggi, dei quali tre<sup>4</sup> hanno stampati alcuni volumi di consulti, et interpretationi della legge civile, e canonica**

### Malavolti, Cacciaconti

Two very ancient families, the latter is extinct. Of the former there have been many men eminent in letters and in arms, and one called Orlando, who wrote the history of Siena.

### Tommasi

This is a very ancient family in Siena, and they boast of descending from a Greek Emperor. It has had many eminent men, and one of this family, called Giagurta, also wrote the history of Siena.

### Sozzini

Otherwise known as Soccini, it is a very ancient family. It has had men eminent in letters, particularly in Law, three of whom have published some reference volumes and interpretations of civil and canonical law.

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<sup>1</sup> Orlando Malavolti (1515-96). Author of *History of Siena* c.1592.

<sup>2</sup> Giagurta Tommasi (*fl.* 1592) Author of a ten-volume *History of Siena*.

<sup>3</sup> Originally *homini* – as p.120, n8.

<sup>4</sup> As Morpeth says, this family produced many distinguished lawyers. The three mentioned are probably Marianus Socinus I (1397-1467); Bartolomeo Socinus (1436-1507) and Marianus Socinus II (1482-1556). No less distinguished was Alexander Socinus (1509-41), the *princeps subtilitatum*.

### Petrucci

**Questa famiglia è nobilissima, et antichissima, ha havuti molti huomini illustri in armi, e Cardinali. uno di questa famiglia chiamato Pandolfo, fu Padrone, ò Tiranno di Siena l'anno 1500, ò circa, che teneva fin alla morte sua<sup>1</sup>**

### Petroni

**Questa famiglia è antichissima, et ha [36] havuti più Cardinali tra quali uno,<sup>2</sup> che hebbe gran parte nella compialatio<sup>3</sup> compositione dell' sesto de Decretali.<sup>4</sup>**

### Bichi.

**Questa famiglia è antichissima benchè divisa in due rami gode molte considerabili ricchezze ha havuti molti Cardinali, et a presente ne hà due cioè Antonio<sup>5</sup> eletto da Ales: 7<sup>to</sup>. et Carlo<sup>6</sup> elet: da Ales: 8<sup>o</sup>.<sup>7</sup>**

### Petrucci

This family is most noble and ancient. It has had many men eminent in arms, and Cardinals. One of this family called Pandolfo was Ruler or Tyrant of Siena in the year 1500 or thereabouts, which he held until his death.

### Petroni

This family is very ancient, and has had more Cardinals, one of whom had a great part in the final form of the sixth volume of Decretals.

### Bichi

This family is very ancient. Although it is divided into two branches it has considerable wealth. It has had many Cardinals, and at the moment it has two, namely Antonio, appointed by Alexander VII and Carlo, appointed by Alexander VIII.

<sup>1</sup> Pandolfo Petrucci (1450-1512). Ruler of Siena. *Tiranno* is not necessarily a pejorative description, meaning essentially a sole ruler functioning more by popular consent than hereditary right.

<sup>2</sup> Riccardo Petroni (*d.* 1314) Created Cardinal in 1298. Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church.

<sup>3</sup> As earlier on p.87 there seems no reason for the underlining.

<sup>4</sup> *sesto de Decretali* i.e. A compilation of Papal decisions and precedents made in the *Sextus Liber Decretalium* promulgated by Boniface VIII in his Bull *Sacrosanctae* of 3 March 1298.

<sup>5</sup> Antonio Bichi (1614-91) Diplomat & Bishop of Osimo. Created Cardinal in April 1657.

<sup>6</sup> Carlo Bichi (1638-1718) At one time Lieutenant-General of the Papal Galleys in Candia and a prominent member of the Order of St John of Jerusalem (the Knights of Malta). Created Cardinal in the Consistory of February 1690, receiving the red hat a few weeks later. An important reference for dating these *Notes*.

<sup>7</sup> Alexander VIII (Pietro Vito Ottoboni). 1610-91. Elected Pope 6 October 1689. The latest Pope mentioned. See also p. 85, n4 & n5.

[37] <sup>1</sup>**Delle Famiglie conspiciose di Fierenze**

(Some of the notable families of Florence)

<b>Corsini</b>	<b>ant:</b>		<b>Aldobrandini</b>
<b>Corsi</b>	....		<b>Cierchi</b> .....
<b>Gerardesca</b>	...		<b>Altoviti</b> .....
<b>Guichardini</b>	...		<b>Rucellaio</b> ....
<b>Valori</b>	...	<b>mancata</b> (i.e. failed)	<b>Buondelmonte</b>
<b>Alberti</b>	...		<b>Caponi</b> .....
<b>Acciasoli</b>	...		<b>Nerli</b> .....
<b>Pitti</b>	...		<b>Pandolfini</b> .
<b>Pazzi</b>	...		
<b>Strozzi</b>	...		
<b>Salviati</b>	...		<b>Ricasoli</b> .....
<b>Cavalcanti</b>	...		<b>Ridolfi</b> .....
<b>Magaloti</b>	...		<b>Richardi . ricco</b> (i.e. rich)
<b>Gondi</b>	...		
<b>Bonzi</b>	...		

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<sup>1</sup> It is hardly necessary to translate these bare lists. Presumably the *ditto* marks indicate that all families are considered ancient.

**[38] Il y a deux sortes de familles nobles a Genes, les anciennes, & les nouvelles, les premieres sont au nombre de 28, entre lesquelles il y en a quatre principales<sup>1</sup>**

(There are two kinds of noble families in Genoa, the ancient and the new. The former number twenty-eight, amongst whom the four principal are)

**Grimaldi  
Doria**

**les autres 24 sont**  
(The other twenty-four are)

**Calvi  
Cattanei  
Centurioni  
Cibo  
Cigala  
Fornari  
Franchi  
Giustiniari  
Grilli  
Gentilli  
Imperali**

**Fieschi  
et Spinola.**

**Interiani  
Lescari  
Lorellini  
Marini  
Negro  
Negrone  
Pallavicini  
Pirelli  
Promontorii  
Sauli  
Salvaggi  
[39] Vivaldi  
& Vesodimare**

**les autres nobles familles de Genes au nombre de 437 sont agregees a ces 28 principales.**

(The other noble families of Genoa to the number of 437 are gathered into these twenty-eight principal ones.)

**Alcune famiglie nobilie antiche di Luca**  
(Other noble and ancient families of Lucca)

**Buonvisi ri:  
Trenta  
Forteguerra  
Cenami  
Mansi ric.  
Nieri  
Diodati  
Boccella  
Guinigi  
Spada  
Gualanducci**

**Lantini ric.  
Lommori  
Manfredi  
Arnolfini  
Garzoni  
Cagnoli  
Parensi  
Andreozzi  
Galganetti.**

<sup>1</sup> There seems no obvious reason why Morpeth should have written in French in this small section, especially when he reverts to Italian for his brief notes on the families in Lucca.

[40]

Oro sofisticato<sup>1</sup> & 2

Il mercurio quanto voi mettilo in una padella di ferro con acqua di ferrari, et un poco di verderame, falla bollire sino che sia consumata la d<sup>a</sup> acqua, et troverai il mercurio, che non è più corrente, mà fermato, mettilo in una pezza, e spremi e quello, che resterà nella pezza sarà buono & servirsene, come soto.

Fa pasta di fichi, zebibo,<sup>3</sup> e calieviva in polvere, e metti il tutto in un crociolo, facendo un strato di detta pasta,<sup>4</sup> et un strato di mercurio congelato, e sopra il mercurio un strato di tutia alessandrina,<sup>5</sup> e curcuma in polvere, e continua così sino che il crugiolo sia pieno, e fà che l'ultimo strato sia di calieviva in polvere, poi cura bene il crociolo, e dagli fuoco di circolazione per sei hore, il primo lontano dal crociolo un palmo, il secondo mezzopalmo, et il 3<sup>o</sup> coprisi tutto il crociolo e si troverá, quando sarà rafreddato il crociolo, il mercurio tinto in oro di venti caratti, il quale si puol<sup>6</sup> battere, farne anelli et altre cose &.

Altro

Il Rame, e zingo fondi &amp;.

7

Adulterated Gold

Mercury, as much as you like – Put it in a pan with *acqua di Ferrari* and a little verdigris; let it boil until the water has boiled dry, and you will find mercury which is no longer running, but fixed. Put it in a cloth and wring it, and what remains in the cloth will be good to make use of as below.

Make a paste of figs, *zibibo* and bright gold dust, and put it all into a crucible, making a layer of the paste and a layer of the congealed mercury, and on top of the mercury a layer of Alexandrine *tutia* and powdered turmeric, and continue in this way until the crucible be full; and arrange that the final layer be of bright gold dust. Then pay attention to the crucible and put it over a flame to keep it boiling for six hours – at first a palm's span from the crucible; then second, half a palm's span, and third right against the whole crucible; and, once the crucible has cooled down, mercury coloured gold of twenty carats will be found, which can then be wrought, to fashion rings and other things, &c.

Alternatively

Copper, and zinc smelted, &amp;.

<sup>1</sup> As noted in the introduction, this page has been written in another hand than Morpeth's, though probably not that responsible for pages [1-4]. This page has also been written upside-down – as if it were the first page of the booklet rather than the last.

<sup>2</sup> *sofistico* might mean a number of things here, but as a word which could apply to adulterated wine it seems appropriate here.

<sup>3</sup> *zebibo* i.e. *zibibbo* (a fortified wine similar to Marsala).

<sup>4</sup> *pasta* has been inserted over a crossed-out *polvere*.

<sup>5</sup> *tutia Alessandrina* - something similar to zinc oxide (*tutia* or *tucia* is an Arab word for zinc oxide).

<sup>6</sup> *puol* Understood and translated as the third person singular present of *potere*.

<sup>7</sup> The Castle Howard Catalogue mark "CHJ8/35/2" has been placed here, upside-down. It may have been crossed through, but it seems as likely that the Catalogue mark has been stamped over an authorial flourish at the end of the page.

*v*

**Document 5**

**A BOOK OF COATES & CRESTES**

**J8/35/13**

***[1699]***



## INTRODUCTION

Manuscript J8/35/13 is placed here, chronologically following the Grand Tour Notebooks. Somewhat misleadingly listed in the Catalogue as “Title page of ‘A book of coates of armes’ by Charles Carlisle 1699”: “Title page” begs the question; “of armes” replaces the original “and crestes”; “by” fancifully interprets some curlicues, and finally “Carlile” is rendered “Carlisle”.

This is a piece of heavy, 20” x 15”, laid paper with an uncertain water-mark. Folded to form a 10” x 15” leaflet, the Catalogue number appears in the top right hand corner. Only the outer front cover carries text, with the weight of the paper suggesting it was intended a cover for contents yet to be stitched in. Rather than a book in a modern sense this might have been intended as a folder for material of heraldic interest to Carlisle. The writing is ornate - unlike any other attributable to him. Additionally, no other example survives in these documents of the form “Carlile”. This is not to argue the impossibility that this is Carlisle’s own hand: this is not ordinary handwriting, but decorative, rendering comparison inconclusive. The ink appears a quality he might have used. At some point it has been folded twice again, and the thickness and absorbency of the paper allow a faint “John the” to show at several places in the topmost LH quarter. (Used as blotting-paper, the ink must have soaked through from the inner side of the paper.) An arc of regular parallel raised bumps in the upper part of the document suggests that whatever caused the marks had been held between the front and back pages for the pattern to appear at the front.

Positively, there is no doubt when, and for whose use this document came into being. Although appointed Earl Marshal on 8 May 1701, Carlisle could have had no expectation of this office, and therefore the document under consideration has no formal connection with that appointment. Nevertheless, it demonstrates Carlisle's enduring interest in heraldry, borne out by his library, containing Elias Ashmole's *The Institutions, Laws & Ceremonies of the most Noble Order of the Garter* (London: Brooke, 1672; with Pressmark 3EC); Ralph Brooke's *Catalogue of the Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Viscounts of this Realme of England, since the Norman Conquest* (London: Jaggard, 1619; with Bookplate of Charles W.G. Howard); Robert Dale's *An Exact Catalogue of the Nobility of England, and Lords Spiritual, according to their Respective Procedures* (London: Grafton, 1697; with Pressmark 3EC); Sir William Dugdale's *The Baronage of England, or an historical account of the lives and most memorable actions of our English Nobility* (London: Roper, 2 vols, 1675; with Pressmark 3EC); Sir William Segar's *Honor, Military and Civill, contained in foure Bookes* (London: Barker, 1602; with Pressmark 3EC); the third edition of John Selden's *Titles of Honour* (London: Dring, 1672; with Pressmark 3EC), James Yorke's *Breife Catalogue of the raines, wives and lives of the Kings and Queens of England*, and James Yorke's *The Union of Honour, containing the arms, matches and issues of the kings, dukes, marquesses and earles of England from the Conquest, etc.* (London: Edwin Griffin, 1640).

The document, sadly, reflects a tenure of office distinguished less by efficiency than controversy. Two documents survive over Carlisle's name as "E.M." in connection with the Coronation of Queen Anne on 23 April, 1702. Normally the Earl Marshal supervised the College of Heralds, resolving such matters that came within its

jurisdiction. When visible expression of rank was important, issues of precedence, and claims to display arms could be contested as matters of moment. Cases heard before the Court of Heraldry instance many improper uses of arms at funerals. Once:

An ingenious painter named William Russell had ... set up as a coffin-maker and at length undertook to furnish everything relating to funerals, which before had been provided by each respective trade. Thus he became the first Undertaker... Having made his great invention, Russell hastened to outbid his old colleagues by proposing to the heralds to ensure their frequent use at funerals provided that two heralds would serve at £20 a time. This was thought a good offer and at a Chapter in November 1689 was agreed to, but probably little came of it. Ten years later the heralds were considering prosecuting the undertakers for marshalling funerals...<sup>1</sup>

John Gybbon, Bluemantle (an official of the College), wrote a tract, addressing it to the Duke of Leeds in September 1695 complaining of “one Russell, the funerall-monger, who had conducted a funeral for Lord Carlisle’s daughter,<sup>2</sup> with heralds of his own creation.”<sup>3</sup> i.e. Russell’s employees: not the proper officials.

Carlisle’s interest in heraldry became oppressive when:

In July 1704 the Deputy Earl Marshal extended his detailed supervision of the granting of arms to its extreme point when he required that the King of Arms should submit a sketch of the proposed design of arms for his approval before granting them... Such was the cumulative effect of internal and external difficulties that between November 1704 and June 1707 no grants of arms were made.<sup>4</sup>

These difficulties were intensified by Carlisle’s behaviour. There was a rumour – from a named and reputable source – that Carlisle had accepted £1000 from Sir Henry St George for nomination as Garter King-at-Arm in March 1703. “If the charge be true, it is a blot upon the fame of a nobleman whose general reputation was for

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Anthony Wagner, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London: H.M.S.O. 1967), pp.302-03.

<sup>2</sup> Probably an aunt or great-aunt of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl. (But see p.200, n4 for another suggestion.)

<sup>3</sup> HMC XI Report VII. p.42. (See BCH p.11.)

<sup>4</sup> Wagner, p.342.

honesty with his ample wealth and intelligence in his patronage.”<sup>1</sup> More damaging was Carlisle’s blatant use of his prerogative in appointing Vanbrugh Carlisle Herald Extraordinary in June 1703, promoting him Clarenceaux in 1704 - thus rewarding him at no cost to himself. Vanbrugh had no background in heraldry, and had published a play – *Aesop* – which gratuitously ridiculed heralds.<sup>2</sup> The controversy led to the Privy Council’s intervention in March 1703/4 – but in reality it was hardly resolved until the young Duke of Norfolk attained his majority and Carlisle was replaced by Lord Howard of Bindon on 26 August 1706.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Wagner, p.326. (But *The Official Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1722-1747* edited for the Royal Historical Society by John Charles Fox (London, Royal Historical Society, 1912), Camden Society. Third Series, 22. p.70 charges Carlisle with similar transactions. Though repugnant to later generations, this exploitation of office was by no means unusual – or generally thought reprehensible – at this period.)

<sup>2</sup> Kerry Downes, *Sir John Vanbrugh – A Biography* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1989), p.229, is generous: “The pages of the Account Books suggest not only that the office of Clarenceaux King of Arms was lucrative, but also that he discharged it with care and efficiency as well as profit: he was a good learner”.

<sup>3</sup> Wagner, pp.326-34 describes these events in tortuous detail. Equally eloquent are the nine entries *Catalogue of Earl Marshal’s Papers at Arundel Castle*. Prepared by Francis W. Steer (London: Harleian Society Vol. 115. 1964), p.44. - memoranda concerning the rights of the Earl Marshal., and *Letter to a Peer, Concerning the Honour of Earl-Marshal*, by John Anstis (London: 1703).

**J8/35/13**

**A BOOK OF COATES & CRESTES**

**TEXT**

***[1699]***

**CHJ8/35/13**

# **A Book**

**of Coates & Crestes**

**Charles Carlile**

**Anno Domini 1699**

## CHAPTER 2

### *THE PRIME OF LIFE*

<i>i</i>	<i>Draft Inscription for the Obelisk</i>	<b>134</b>
<i>ii</i>	<i>Copy of a Sermon</i>	<b>142</b>
<i>iii</i>	<i>The Introduction to an Epistle from Antiochus to Stratonice</i>	<b>163</b>
<i>iv</i>	<i>The Seven Wise Men of England</i>	<b>177</b>

*i*

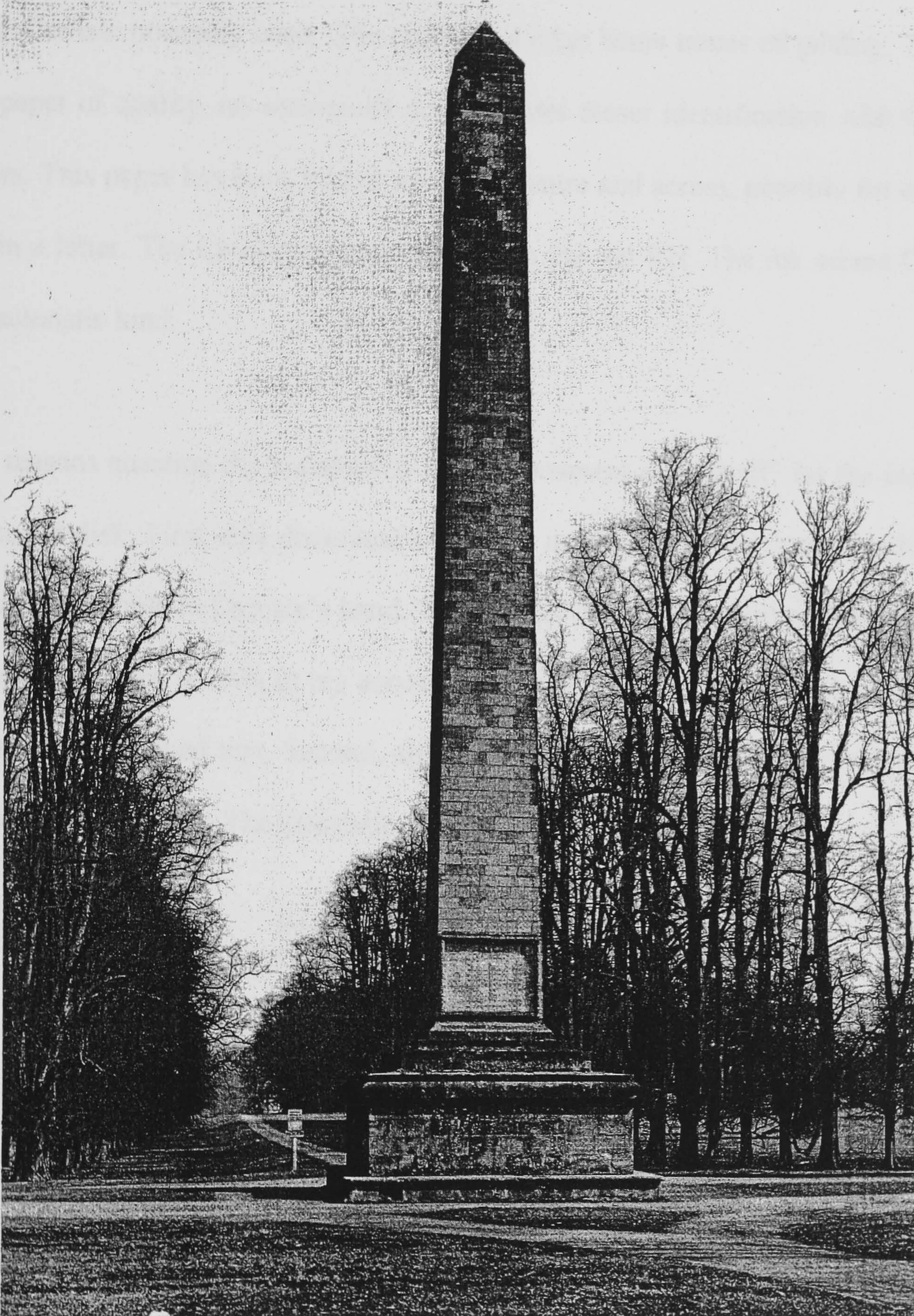
**Document 6**

**DRAFT INSCRIPTION FOR THE  
OBELISK**

**J8/35/19**

***[1714?]***





*The Obelisk leading to the house, built in 1714  
to commemorate the Duke of Marlborough's victories.*

Photo: Country Life. Reproduced from *The Building of Castle Howard* p.131.

## INTRODUCTION

Manuscript J8/35/19 is a paper measuring 7" x 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>" – a quarter-section of the writing-paper Carlisle normally used. The right-hand edge bears traces of gilding. Though a laid paper of quality, no watermark demonstrates closer identification with Carlisle's papers. This paper has been folded down the centre and across, possibly for enclosure within a letter. The Catalogue mark appears in the top RH. The ink seems Carlisle's characteristic kind.

Two reasons question the authenticity of the document as a "draft" for the inscription on the Obelisk. First, this document is printed in block capitals – unprecedented by any other example in Carlisle's hand. The "drafts" for the Pyramid and the Portraits – though later – are written in his accustomed hand, with little attempt to indicate the layout of the finished text. Second, although bearing some relation to the text on the Obelisk, it is different. The inscription runs:

VIRTUTI ET FORTUNÆ  
IOANNIS MARLBURIE DUCIS  
PATRIÆ EUROPÆQUE DEFENSORIS  
HOC SAXUM  
ADMIRATIONI AC FAME SACRUM  
CAROLUS COMES CARLEOL POSUIT  
ANNO DOMINI  
MDCCXIV

As a translation of the Latin, J8/35/19 is reasonably accurate – though not completely so. The grammatical form of the Latin makes "Charles, Earl of Carlisle" the subject, "this stone" the object: the English makes "this monument" the subject, whilst "Charles, Earl of Carlisle" is made the agent with the verb in the passive. The other difference is the absence of any date. The Latin of the inscription is important, for it underlines something difficult to render in English - that what is commemorated here

is not simply John, Duke of Marlborough, but Charles, Earl of Carlisle raising the Obelisk to his fame. Since the Latin version was carved, the pillar becomes a statement about the political orientation of Castle Howard and its owner.

The issue of the language, English or Latin, is made more significant by the choice of Latin for the inscriptions over the Pyramid Gate. These date from 1719, and run:

CAROLUS COMES CARLEOLENSIS  
HOC CONDIDIT ANNO DNI MDCCXIX

Though completed a little earlier than the  $\frac{5}{8}$  mile of “Roman” wall in which it is set, (Plate 4, Figure 1, p.139), the Pyramid Gate appears part of that Roman concept including walls, gate, avenue and the 100ft Obelisk (Plate 3, p.135) standing on the intersection of the principal avenues as the centre of a Roman camp was marked by the intersection of roads. As part of this classical concept, it is unlikely Carlisle intended the inscription on the Obelisk to have been other than Latin; nor is it likely, given his interest in Roman antiquity and the normal education of his station and times, that he would find difficulty writing it in Latin. In what sense a “draft” in an uncharacteristic form, or an English translation made by Carlisle or by another for some unknown purpose remains unanswered and unanswerable.

Nevertheless something may be learned about this inscription from its historical context. The months preceding Queen Anne’s death were full of political uncertainty. Some of her leading Tory ministers were committed supporters of the Stuart cause, and last-minute attempts were made by Bolingbroke to prevent the accession of George I. Marlborough’s position in all this was critical. Like many others, he had maintained correspondence with the exiled Stuarts, and had endured particularly shabby treatment in England before moving to the continent in 1712 in order to avoid

further humiliation and possible impeachment at the hands of the Government.<sup>1</sup> On 29 April 1712 Carlisle was stripped of his Lord Lieutenancy of Cumberland and Westmorland; in the same Summer Whig Justices of the Peace were deprived of their Commissions; and in the Autumn the Whig Opposition, until now threatening the Government, suffered badly at the General Election. The Tory ascendancy gave reason to fear the Act of Succession might be over-ruled – intensifying as the Queen’s health began to fail. Whether the fear was well-grounded or not, it takes little imagination to realise these months represented the nadir of Carlisle’s political fortunes, and the historical background for commissioning the Obelisk.

In 1714 George I’s accession was uncontested, and arriving at Greenwich he was especially gracious in singling Marlborough out. But this could not have been foretold in 1713. This is why it is important to remember just when (Autumn 1713) the Obelisk was commissioned. The complexities of politics, and the possibility of a Stuart restoration, make it difficult to interpret – or condemn - the apparent duplicity of those risking much if they backed the wrong side. Yet Carlisle’s intentions were unambiguous. On 2 January 1714 Sir William Robinson’s wife (Sir William was MP for York) was writing about it to her son: “Mr Vanbrook is at Castle Howard, my Lord is about erecting a noble pillar in memory of the Duke of Marlborough.”<sup>2</sup> On 29 May 1714 Vanbrugh sent details to Marlborough: “I send with this a Draught of the Obelisk my Lord Carlisle is raising to express his grateful sense as an Englishman, of

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<sup>1</sup> G.M. Trevelyan *England under Queen Anne Vol III The Peace and the Protestant Succession* (London: Collins, Fontana Edition, 1965), pp.154-55, 347 & 353-54.

<sup>2</sup> Vyner MSS 13151, VR Correspondence file, *cit.* Richard Hewlins, *Ripon’s Forum Populi*, in *Architectural History*, 24, 1981, p.49, quoted in BCH p.130.



Figure 1. *Mock Fortification Walls at Castle Howard.*  
 Photograph by the author.



Figure 2. *The Walls of Rome and the Mausoleum of Caius Cestius.*  
 Photo: The Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London,  
 and reproduced from *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque  
 England, 1690-1730.* p.148.

what he thinks the Nation owes your Grace.”<sup>1</sup> Erecting such a pillar not only honoured Marlborough at a time he was still in official disgrace and in self-imposed exile, but committed Carlisle publicly to a political creed expressed in Marlborough’s victories, maintaining the English Protestant Succession and Europe from the twin threats of French absolutist Monarchy and Roman Catholicism. The Obelisk defined Castle Howard a key concept in the maintenance of such a constitution – tested in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715.

Considered in its 1714-1720 setting the Obelisk relates to the Pyramid Gate and the walls. Much has been written about these walls and their similarity to those of classical Rome.<sup>2</sup> Particular attention has been drawn to the similarity of those ancient walls in conjunction with the mausoleum to Caius Cestius and the memorial Pyramid raised to Lord William Howard, which stands a little further way along the projected line of the walls at Castle Howard.<sup>3</sup> Even so, any interpretation given to these walls can hardly depend on Lord William’s Pyramid, which was not conceived until the walls themselves had been completed. The rationale behind that Pyramid will be explored in the next Chapter; for the moment it is enough to observe that, although the walls of Rome may provide the rationale of the walls at Castle Howard, it seems at least as likely that their inspiration lay as much in the Roman wall built by Hadrian which defined many of Carlisle’s estates as any he had seen in the Eternal City. The three titles he held: Baron Gilsland, Viscount Morpeth and Earl of Carlisle, as well as the Castle at Naworth virtually follow the line of Hadrian’s Wall from coast to coast,

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<sup>1</sup> BCH p.132.

<sup>2</sup> See Plate 4, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Plate 10, Figures 1 & 2, p.255. See the interesting discussion in the late Giles Worsley’s contribution “After ye Antique,” Chapter Eight in *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England 1690-1730*, edited by Christopher Ridgway and Robert Williams (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2000), pp.147-49.

and underpin the historic role of the Howard family as guardians of England's northern border. This observation is even more suggestive because these walls at Castle Howard only frame and define the southern boundary: in any military sense they are meaningless. If one were to look for the northern walls, it would be necessary to look as far north as Hadrian's Wall to find them - the entire point.

Saumarez Smith perceives an ambiguity in the Obelisk, describing it as "ostensibly to commemorate the Duke of Marlborough's victories, but also as a way of marking the completion of the house".<sup>1</sup> There is partial truth in this – the Obelisk proclaims an ideology to which Castle Howard was committed - but the house remained notoriously incomplete for the remainder of Carlisle's lifetime.<sup>2</sup>

These symbolic ideas are confirmed when examining the scale and ornamentation of the later inscription on the western side. The 1731 inscription, surrounded with an ornamental carved border, runs:

If to perfection these plantations rise  
 If they agreeably my heirs surprise  
 This faithful pillar will their age declare  
 As long as time these characters shall spare.  
 Here then with kind remembrance read his name  
 Who for posterity performed the same.  
 Charles the III Earl of Carlisle  
 of the family of the Howards  
 erected a Castle where the old castle of  
 Henderskelfe stood, and call'd it Castle Howard.

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<sup>1</sup> BCH p.132.

<sup>2</sup> Intentionally so, according to Daniel Defoe, "[Castle Howard] by far the finest design, but it is not finished, and may not, perhaps in our time; they say his Lordship sometimes observes noblemen should only design, and begin great palaces, and leave posterity to finish them gradually, as their estates will allow them". *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies*, Introduction by G.D.H. Cole, 2 vols (London: Printed for PETER DAVIES, No 30, Henrietta-Street, near Covent-Garden, MCMXXVII), II, p.642.

He likewise made the plantations in this park  
and all the out-works, monuments and other  
plantations belonging to the said seat.

He began these works  
in the Year MDCCII  
Anno D: MDCCXXXI

If this is compared with the restrained eastern inscription to Marlborough, it could be thought that once the Protestant Succession was secured and the Jacobite threat began to recede, Carlisle used the Obelisk to celebrate an alternative agenda - his own part in the genesis of Castle Howard. Nevertheless this explanation of the Obelisk and its two inscriptions is unsatisfactory. Had Marlborough's inscription become redundant Carlisle might easily have altered it. Instead, he added that further inscription in 1731 in which he described the Obelisk as "this faithful pillar". Admittedly, such a description might mean different things – but none exclude that which Carlisle is likely to have intended, that the Obelisk stands witness to the faithfulness of John, Duke of Marlborough, of Charles, Earl of Carlisle, and of Castle Howard itself, to a particular concept of the Britain and Europe they served.



**J8/35/19**

**DRAFT INSCRIPTION FOR THE  
OBELISK**

**TEXT**

***[1714?]***

**CHJ8/35/19**

**TO THE VALOUR AND FORTUNE**

**OF JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH**

**THE DEFENDER OF HIS COUNTRY AND OF EUROPE**

**THIS MONUMENT**

**SACRED TO ADMIRATION AND TO FAME**

**WAS ERECTED**

**BY CHARLES EARL OF CARLISLE**

*ii*

**Document 7**

**COPY OF A SERMON MADE BY  
THE EARL OF CARLISLE**

**J8/35/14**

*[November/December 1715?]*

## INTRODUCTION

The Sermon consists of four 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>" x 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>" pages, folded across the centre, presumably for storage purposes, and stitched at the side. This paper is not of the quality Carlisle was accustomed to use. The first page is used as a cover. Like the others, this has been folded. The page however has been turned so that a title appears at the top right hand of the Quarto page near the central fold. This reads:

A Sermon made  
by the Earl of Carlisle

This writing is unlike Carlisle's hand. It is also distinct from the text itself, being similar only to writing on another part of the cover, indicating a continuation from the last page of the extant Sermon to a page subsequently lost. The Sermon consists of three Foolscap pages set "portrait" fashion, employing recto and verso sides. Five pages are numbered centrally at the bottom, but the sixth remains unnumbered. This numbering seems a later addition, squeezed into a narrow bottom margin on pages two to five. The hand of the main text is best described as "secretarial" – well-formed with few ambiguities. The unused ends of lines are filled in with "x"s on the first page, but not on others.

The text is incomplete, lacking any final punctuation mark, and the sense unfinished. However, granting contemporary pulpit conventions that three points be developed, the text may only lack the completion of the third point and conclusion. The scale of the opening and first two points suggest completing the text would extend the whole by only another page.

The interest of this document, and the problems it poses, arise from the form of its survival, and elucidating its connection with Carlisle. Nothing in the text itself indicates authorship, although a comment on the unsuitability of clergy making political points from the pulpit does not exclude the possibility of lay authorship. This is not to claim that lay-folk might not preach: they did – but only those outside the established Church. Carlisle’s grandfather himself preached – but during Cromwellian times when the established Church was abolished.<sup>1</sup> By Carlisle’s time such usages were marks of Quaker practice. Despite the fact that Carlisle’s Quaker sympathies are well-attested,<sup>2</sup> there is no reason to think that someone maintaining a Chaplain would contemplate preaching himself. Preaching in the Established Church is technically restricted to those holding the Bishop’s Licence. In the eighteenth century such restrictions were further limited because only graduates were allowed to preach their own Sermons.<sup>3</sup> White Kennett, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, wrote to the Bishop of Lincoln on 15 May 1703, advising him of an “Act of Discipline” done upon a layman who had preached a sermon in a parish church, “making a solemn acknowledgement of his fault at a public meeting of clergy in Hemel Hempstead on 21 April 1703”.<sup>4</sup>

Earlier, Thomas Tenison, Vicar of St Martin-in-the-Fields, attended the Duke of Monmouth before his execution:

Bishop Ken and Hooper were talking to him but the Duke drew Tenison aside to the window, and (according to Tenison’s own account, given to White Kennett in 1713) held a long conversation with him ‘too much upon his own follies’. Tenison was anxious for Monmouth to make a full confession, and in the course of his examination he mentioned a report that the Duke himself had preached while in the army. Monmouth still possessed

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<sup>1</sup> G Burnet, *Bishop Burnet’s History of His Own Time*, 6 Vols (Oxford, 1823), II, p.265.

<sup>2</sup> Story, *Journal*, pp. 616-61.

<sup>3</sup> Canons of 1604, especially XXXIV, XLVI & L. In J P Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.138-39.

<sup>4</sup> Kennett to Charlett, 15 May 1703, Bod., Ballard MSS. 7, fol.111. Quoted in Gary Bennett, *White Kennett, 1660-1728, Bishop of Peterborough* (London: SPCK, 1957), p.197.

some spirit: 'No', he replied, 'I never preached; nobody preached but Ferguson, and he very foolishly many times; that Man is a bloody Villain'.<sup>1</sup>

That such matters were considered sufficiently important to be remembered and recorded a quarter of a century later indicates something of the scandal caused. Yet this Sermon is clearly attributed to Carlisle. Why?

One answer lies in the hand in which it is written - evidently not his own, but of a secretary. It is unlikely Carlisle produced this for personal contemplation, or for those accustomed to his writing. It was, therefore, produced for someone else - probably for several others. Such a hand was commonly used for the issuing of official documents, warrants, and for their copying and transmission.<sup>2</sup> As Lord Lieutenant Carlisle often received such documents requiring copying and onward transmission to his local subordinates. Although the content is different, its production is so reminiscent of these warrants that one looks for some parallel reason calling this document into being. Carlisle did not often employ secretarial help. When he did, it was for official business, or when gout made writing painful. That a secretary should have written the Sermon, therefore suggests that it was an extension of Carlisle's official function - an assumption borne out by internal evidence identifying the circumstances in which it was written. This official copying of the document might also explain another oddity. Setting the paper portrait-fashion makes it unsuitable for a pulpit - whereas portrait-fashion appears to be the normal way for administrative documents to be set. This does not mean the Sermon was originally written by someone unused to the practicalities and conventions of the pulpit - internal evidence suggests the reverse -

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<sup>1</sup> White Kennett, *Complete History*, iii. 437. Quoted in Edward Carpenter, *Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury: His Life and Times* (London: SPCK, 1948), p.80.

<sup>2</sup> See the penmanship of the Lowther Vice-Admiralty Correspondence of 1701/2 held in the Cumbrian Archive in Carlisle.

but that on this occasion it was being prepared for transmission by a hand more accustomed to working with administrative documents.

The appropriateness of this explanation is suggested by the opening of the Sermon. After the formal announcement of the text, reference is made to the occasion for which the Sermon has been written. This was a royally-appointed Fast Day: an institution about which little seems known, but was a feature of contemporary life, and well-known half a century earlier.<sup>1</sup> The internal evidence of the Sermon suggests its connection with the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715.<sup>2</sup> As the warrants were issued for raising the trained bands and *posse comitatus* on the 16 September,<sup>3</sup> and arrangements made on 20 September to take the Earl of Derwentwater and the Jacobite Thomas Forster, MP for Northumberland, into preventative detention – at which time Carlisle was still the First Commissioner of the Treasury – he would have been aware of arrangements for a national Day of Fasting. As it happened, such a Fast was not appointed. Instead, in October 1715 *Prayers to be used next after the Prayer In Time of War and Tumults* were issued by His Majesties Special Command for Imploring God's Blessing on the Counsells and Arms of His Majesty King George, in order to the Disappointing the evil designs of His and our Enemies, and the Settling of these Kingdoms in Peace. These were to be used as part of the Litany on all Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays “till further Order”.<sup>4</sup> In November a *Declaration of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury and the Bishops in and near London Testifying their*

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<sup>1</sup> John Evelyn records 30 January & 12 June 1661, and 15 January 1662 as Fast Days: Samuel Pepys similarly records 7 February 1666 as a Fast Day for the Plague and 2 September 1667 for the anniversary of the Great Fire.

<sup>2</sup> The absence of a Royal Proclamation for 1715 is discussed later.

<sup>3</sup> Details of the 1715 Rebellion and – in part – Carlisle's role may be read in Bruce Lenman *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980); Bruce P. Lenman & John S Gibson, *The Jacobite Threat: A Source Book* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990), and John Baynes, *The Jacobite Rising of 1715* (London: Cassell, 1970).

<sup>4</sup> London: Printed by *John Baskett*, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, And by the Assigns of *Thomas Newcomb*, and *Henry Hills*, deceas'd, 1715.

*Abhorrence of the Present Rebellion with an Exhortation to the Clergy and People under their Care, to be Zealous in the Discharge of their Duties to His Majesty King George*, was issued by the same King's Printer. Dated 3 November it was not issued for a further week – the delay caused by the reluctance of some potential signatories to put their names to a document modified by the Government.<sup>1</sup> The document either presupposes a formal Fast Day, or, given the exigencies of the situation, replaces it.

The peroration begins:

We do therefore, in the Name of God, call upon all those who are under Our Care, in the first place to humble themselves before God, for the great and crying Sins of the Nation; for that Spirit of Infidelity and Libertinism; of Unthankfulness for the Mercies of the Gospel; of Formality and Hypocrisie; of Strife and Envy, of Hatred and Animosity, which are so rife among Us: And which are generally the Forerunners of the Destruction of any People. Let Us all cry mightily to God, to avert these Judgments, which We have so justly deserved.<sup>2</sup>

This so closely parallels the language of surviving Fast Proclamations and Sermons to think that, circumstances permitting, these would have happened. As it turned out, the delay encompassed traditional 5 November observances. A number of Sermons for that occasion for 1715 survive, bearing useful comparison with the sentiments of the Archbishop and Bishops' *Declaration*.<sup>3</sup>

There is an interesting unity of theme in these Sermons. Elias Sydall, DD, preaching at Canterbury a Sermon entitled *The Insupportable Yoke of Popery and the Wickedness of bringing it again upon these Kingdoms, after so many Deliverances from it, Consider'd and Apply'd, with regard to the Present Rebellion* concludes:<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the letter from Bishop Edmund Gibson (London) to Bishop William Nicolson (Carlisle), 13 November 1715. Add. Bod. MSS. 269, f.45. The story is told in Carpenter, *Tenison*, pp.431-32.

<sup>2</sup> *Declaration*, p.7.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Simon Browne's *Jewish and Popish Zeal* and White Kennett's *Seasonable Discourse* (St Paul's Cathedral) survive as printed 5 November Sermons for 1715.

<sup>4</sup> London: Printed for John Wyat, at the Rose in St Paul's Church-yard. 1715, pp.30-31.



But I hope better Things of you, Brethren, and Things that become true Englishmen and Protestants, tho' my Concern for our holy Religion and our Country hath moved me thus to speak. I hope we shall all stand fast in that Liberty wherewith Christ, our Lord and Saviour, hath made us free, and not draw back again unto Perdition, or wittingly and willingly entangle our selves again in that Yoke of Bondage, which neither our Fathers nor we were able to bear [...]

On the same day at St Paul's Cathedral, London, White Kennett, now Dean of Peterborough, delivered *A Seasonable Discourse of the Rise, Progress, Discovery and UTTER DISAPPOINTMENT of the GUN POWDER TREASON & Rebellion Plotted by the Papists in 1605*. He concluded:<sup>1</sup>

And I would to God that none but the Principal Party, none but the Papists, were involv'd in the Guilt and Shame of it. They are in Truth a little excusable, as far as mistaken Principles and habitual Inclinations, and apparent Interest can excuse them. They have their Motives, and would have their Account in it. But if any Protestants espouse that Cause, any calling them selves Church-men, how to excuse them, how their own Conscience, if they have any such Guide, how their own Reason, if they have any such Rule, can excuse them, I know not. But I well know, that our Church has no Principles to dispense with Perjury, or to sanctifie Rebellion, or to raise an Holy War, for the Good of the Church, a PRETEN-CE that would be the Infamy and Ruin of it. How much has the Providence of GOD been above the Delusions of Men!

Similar ground is covered by the Independent Minister, Simon Browne, preaching at Portsmouth. Anticipating Carlisle's discourse, he shows humanitarian regard for the rebels. Preaching on the text, Romans 10.2 "I witness to them, that they have a Zeal for God, but not according to Knowledge", he said:

Let us never be hurried by our Zeal about Religion, into any Practices prohibited by Divine Laws, or reckon our good Ends, will legitimate Forbidden Means, or the Sanctity of our Purposes hallow our criminal Actions, and transform Vice into Virtue. And let us in an especial Manner be careful, that we be not prompted by our Zeal, to any Acts of Barbarity towards our Fellow Creatures.<sup>2</sup>

By 13 and 14 November the crisis had in fact largely passed with the Battle of Sheriffmuir, and the surrender of the Rebels at Preston and Inverness. These events

<sup>1</sup> London: Printed by T Wood, and T Sharpe, for John Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-noster Row, MDCCXV, p.31.

<sup>2</sup> Browne, *Jewish Zeal*, pp.48-49.

were, however, unknown to the preacher in Chester whose Sermon survives from that particular Sunday, quoted later, and which again reflects much of the *Declaration* of the Archbishop and Bishops of 3 November. That preacher's ignorance of the true state of affairs was necessarily shared by many for some time<sup>1</sup> – including Carlisle – for the outcome of the Battle at Sheriffmuir was certainly far from conclusive – both sides claiming victory, and fighting continuing in Scotland. With Government forces under Argyle pursuing the Jacobites under the Earl of Mar to Perth and Aberdeen, the Rebellion was not over until the Pretender left for France on 5 February 1716 and the Jacobite armies dispersed from Ruthven on 14 February. Even after this, peers convicted under Act of Attainder had until 1 June 1716 to make their peace with the Government, and the Services of Thanksgiving took place on the 7 June.

Within this context, Carlisle's Sermon reflects late November or early December 1715. The Government had already achieved some successes, but future engagements remained possible. As a *terminus ad quem* the Pretender's arrival took place on the 22 December 1715. Since the Sermon makes no reference to this, the inferred dating seems circumstantially confirmed. As a National Fast was commonly observed in December at that period – even without any extraordinary cause – the lack of a published Order of Prayer may not in itself be a powerful counter-argument against this dating. In any case, no such Orders appear to have been issued to support any alternative date.

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Josiah Whately preaching at Bromley St Leonard's, Middlesex, on Sunday 20 November 1715, speaks as though the conflict is still quite unresolved: "Let us then awaken all our Powers to Activity and Diligence in our own Defense, and then commend our Cause unto GOD [...]" (London: Printed for M Lawrence at the Angel in the Poultry, 1715), p.27.

The history of such observances is as yet not entirely clear.<sup>1</sup> Probably Archbishop Laud, when Bishop of St David's, wrote the "Prayer for the High Court of Parliament", which first appeared in an "Order of Fasting" in 1625. The prayer reappeared in 1628 in a form of prayer "necessary to be used in these dangerous times of war". Similar forms were produced for Fast Days on 12 June 1661, and again in the following January. It seems likely that the second of these events was associated with commemorating Charles I. Fast Days for occasions like these might, with at least a degree of confidence, be anticipated some time in advance. Less susceptible to detailed planning, and yet in their nature more urgent, were emergencies brought about by plague, famine and civil unrest.<sup>2</sup>

There is a near-contemporary example of what might be expected on such an occasion from the Sub Dean of Lincoln:

Fasting in the strictest Propriety of the Word [is] when for a whole Day, or much the greatest part of it, we reject all use of Meats, and Drink, and Pleasures, retiring from the World, and confining Our selves to religious Meditation, and to devout and fervent Prayer, with a due Attendance on the Worship of Almighty God in public, if we can have the Opportunity. In this strict manner should be kept these general and solemn Fasts, appointed by Authority for national Humiliation and Repentance: attending at Church both Parts of the Day, to lament before God our own and our Nation's Sins, and to implore those public Blessings, which we are called to pray for at that Time; spending the rest of the Day in the like pious Offices at home, and eating nothing (if our Constitution will bear it) till the Evening.<sup>3</sup>

That such religious exercises could be the vehicle of a pointed political message is illustrated in one of Samuel Clarke's published Plague Sermons:

And since in the Civil Government likewise, it hath hitherto pleased God, by many even miraculous Events, to continue to us our Laws and Liberties; it

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<sup>1</sup> The information in this paragraph has been taken from Procter & Frere *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1949), p 427.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Pepys' Diary entry for 12 June 1661 mentions a fast observed that day at the initiative of the Bishops, whose prayers for seasonable weather had already been abundantly answered!

<sup>3</sup> James Gardiner *A Practical Exposition of the latter part of Our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount* (London: printed for Bernard Lintott between the Two Temple Gates, 1715), Chapter X, p.193.

imports us, (as we would not draw down upon our Heads, that greatest of all the temporal Plagues of God, arbitrary Power;) it imports us, every Man in his Station, to the utmost of his Abilities, to support and maintain a Government so constituted. That the People, under the uniform and stedly Protection of wise and equitable Laws, may serve God quietly and with religious Fear; And that the King may rejoice in thy Strength, O Lord, and be exceeding glad of thy Salvation ... That thou may's't give him a long Life here, and a longer and happier hereafter, even for ever and ever,

(To which the Congregation say 'Amen'.)<sup>1</sup>

A point of interest here is relating the Plague to the 1715 Rebellion - deliverance from the latter reckoned to be miraculous, analogous to the victories of the ancient Israelites; and the whole interpreting earthly citizenship as a symbol of a future heavenly state.

As pertinent is a Sermon by the Rector of Trinity Church in Chester, preached on 13 November 1715, on the day the Jacobite forces threatened them from Preston. This was the day before the Jacobites surrendered, but the preacher was not to know that. He concluded:

O! let us immediately and forthwith, therefore, return to God, as he hath graciously already turn'd to us. Let us put away all strange Gods, if in our Affections, or inner Man we have preferr'd any other Object before him. Let us love him with all our Heart, and Soul, and Strength. Let us loath Sin, because he hates it; and love Virtue and Holiness, because therein is his whole and principal Delight. Let us repent truly and throughly of all our past sinful Omissions or Commissions whatever; and so shall we be meet Partakers of God's pardoning Grace and Mercy: For why should we die, O House of Britain? And during this Time of War and Tumult, let us each Day pray, both in our Morning and Evening Devotion, for our Great and Heroick King George, who is, if we can believe either what he says or does, He is a steady and Religious Sovereign indeed; a known and much applauded Prince, to be sure, before he ever wore our British Crown: and who has really and truly, if that be thought necessary, the Royal Blood of the Stuarts in Him. For such a Sovereign as this let us constantly and unfeignedly all pray [...]<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Clarke *XVIII Sermons: Sermon VII* (December 16 1720) 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (London: Printed for James, John and Paul Knapton at the Crown in Ludgate Street. 1734), pp.171-73.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Sudell *The People and Soldiers Duty in the present Time of War and Rebellion* (London: Printed for Edmund Parker at the Bible and Crown in Lombard Street, and Mrs Page, Bookseller in Chester, 1716), pp 28-29.

These Sermons are all of considerable length. Their formal structure, however, is tight – almost invariably falling into three main divisions and a conclusion, which often ends in a prayer for the Sovereign.

Carlisle's Sermon shares many features - but is considerably shorter. (Samuel Clarke covers twenty-four pages: Carlisle's probably only eight when complete.) Again, why? Is this a blue-print or template for others to use in producing their own local responses to the situation? There is much to commend this. Carlisle, though hardly instructing others in their own expertise, might have wished to ensure appropriate themes were developed in churches for which he had special responsibility as patron. In that case, hand-written documents might have sufficed for the numbers of copies required. But it is also possible that the Sermon was produced in a fair hand for printing and distribution throughout the counties for which Carlisle was responsible as Lord Lieutenant. That no printed copy exists might be explained by the failure of the expected fast to take place. Both explanations are plausible, but can only remain conjectures.

How far, therefore, the Sermon can be considered Carlisle's can only be speculative. Written in another hand, reflecting neither Carlisle's customary punctuation nor spelling, there is little to support immediate, direct authorship. That it is not possible to identify the hand ascribing the text to Carlisle presents further cause for caution. However, the internal evidence consistently suggests a very narrow period of time in which this text could have been produced; and the manner of its production is such that the suggestions advanced here seem plausible. The Sermon's brevity is certainly a feature of his style, and the treatment of the defeated rebels and the desire for

reconciliation, so far as we can judge from his temperate conduct as Constable of the Tower of London, seems entirely characteristic. The occasion of this Sermon was single and exceptional. It would therefore be mistaken to explain the additional marks on the text in terms of further pulpit use. Those not there to help a printer may be ascribed to an archivist rationalising these documents. In essence therefore, that such a Sermon should have been attributed to Carlisle seems most unlikely unless there were some foundation for it.

It is tempting, finally, to speculate on the possible content of the missing conclusion. Given the way in which the author refers to the “Hour of Reconciliation” it seems at least possible that he might have ended with a reflection that his congregation’s desire to make a new beginning might encourage all, friend and foe alike, to make a similar move: their renewal of allegiance to their earthly sovereign being a symbol of their reconciliation with the King of Kings... The idea that Carlisle was eager to promote such reconciliation is supported in a report by John Macky, written in 1722. Until Carlisle’s intervention, the two weekly Assemblies held in York had been attended on Mondays by the Tory sympathizers and on Thursdays by the Whigs. But then,

My Lord Carlisle hath been so good, as to endeavour to remove the Names of Distinction from the two Assemblies, by carrying mixt Company to both, and the Officers of the Army making no Distinction, Strangers go equally to both [...]<sup>1</sup>

This Sermon is important for its association with Carlisle - engaged in the practicalities of the 1715 Rebellion, who, as First Commissioner of the Treasury from the May to October of that year, knew rather more than most about the issues at stake, and who moreover had clear ideas how such conflict should be resolved.

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<sup>1</sup> Macky, *Journey*, p.211.

**J8/35/14**

**COPY OF A SERMON MADE BY  
THE EARL OF CARLISLE**

**TEXT**

*[November/December 1715?]*

## A Sermon made by the Earl of Carlisle<sup>1</sup>

St. Matt. Chapter 6<sup>th</sup>, Verse 16<sup>th</sup>,

Moreover when ye fast, be not as the Hypocrites of a sad Countenance, for they disfigure their Faces, that they may appear to<sup>2</sup> men to fast. Verily I say unto you, they have their Reward.

This Day<sup>3</sup> being appointed by his Majesty<sup>4</sup> for a general Fast, it is incumbent upon us very seriously to examine, what is required from our Hands in the Observance of his Command; what Duties, besides that of simply abstaining from food, are expected<sup>5</sup> from us on this solemn occasion.<sup>6</sup> In this Enquiry<sup>7</sup> it will clearly appear, that external shew of Mortification, or mere corporal Austerities are not the means recommended to us by<sup>8</sup> any Precept of our Religion,<sup>9</sup> to appease the Wrath, or gain the Favor of the Almighty. It is as impious as it is foolish to believe that he is pleased because we are in a Pain and Suffering.

What more can be meant by the Institution of fasting, than that by a discreet Abstinence, not a superstitious Denial, of Nourishment the cool Imperament<sup>10</sup> of the Body should rather promote than interrupt

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<sup>1</sup> This title only appears on the folded sheet that acts as a cover. It is physically independent of the text.

<sup>2</sup> The Authorised Version has *unto* here.

<sup>3</sup> Not finally established, but almost certainly November/December 1715.

<sup>4</sup> George I, who succeeded Queen Anne 1 August 1714.

<sup>5</sup> The *c* of *expected* has been written above the line with an insertion mark beneath.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic*.

<sup>7</sup> *Enquiry* is the only word used to identify the nature of this text. cf Carlisle's description of his so-called "Essay", which he repeatedly describes as an "Inquiry".

<sup>8</sup> *by* Written above the line with insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>9</sup> The author almost certainly means "the practices of the established Church of England" which he would have understood to be a perfect reflection of the precepts of Christ in the New Testament.

<sup>10</sup> An archaic Latinism, unknown to the *OED*, presumably meaning "regimen" or "control".



**those Sentiments of Sorrow & Contrition, which must ever attend the Sober Review of our Actions, and which lead to that Repentance so acceptable to our Creator?<sup>1</sup> What more can be intended, than that our Minds freed from the Clouds arising of an indulged Appetite, may have Scope and Leisure to ruminate upon our<sup>2</sup> past failings, and resolutely to form Plans of a more upright Conduct for the Future.**

(1)<sup>3</sup>

**Having said thus much concerning the first principal Intention of abstaining from Food I shall proceed<sup>4</sup> in the first place to the Enquiry what ought to be the Reason for enjoining and the Observance of a general Fast.**

**Secondly, in what manner we are to make such fasting acceptable to God.**

**Thirdly, what are the Benefits we hope to gain by the religious and obedient Regard to so sacred an Institution.**

**In the Consideration of the first of these Divisions, we find that the Horrors of civil Dissention<sup>5</sup> have induced our Sovereign to command, that we who remain in our Duty and Allegiance,<sup>6</sup> should unite in beseeching the Almighty, to turn the Hearts of those who infatuated**

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<sup>1</sup> Probably referring to the Absolution at Morning and Evening Prayer: "Almighty God, [...], who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness, and live [...]"

<sup>2</sup> *our* has been written above the line over an *or* - struck through, with an insertion mark below.

<sup>3</sup> The page numbers appear on pages 1-5, but not on page 6. They also appear to have been squeezed into very narrow margins – perhaps intended as indications to a printer.

<sup>4</sup> The announcement of a three-point "programme" was a common contemporary structural convention.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>6</sup> Although part of the strength of Jacobite claims lay in the continued obligation of allegiance to James Edward as James II's legitimate heir, office-holders were required to take an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign, and "heirs and successors according to law" and a special Oath repudiating the claims of the Pretender.

with erroneous Principles of Disobedience and Resistance,<sup>1</sup> have let loose upon their Country the Disolation of Wars. But it is far from my Intention to deviate into any Account of our present Situation.- The Annal of our History have too many melancholy Examples of the Prostitution of the Pulpit to the Violences of Parties;<sup>2</sup> The Ignorance of Men whose Lives, if rightly Spent, remove them too far from the real Springs and Causes of Political Events, must render any Discussion on such a Subject either unedifying<sup>3</sup> to the Congregation, or creditable<sup>4</sup> to the Preachers themselves.<sup>5</sup>

War is in itself a serious Calamity; it carries to the Doors of numberless Individuals unexpected Sorrow, and (2) unmerited Destruction. Is it not in itself sufficient to demand the united prayers of every good Christian, in imploring the Almighty, that he may evert<sup>6</sup> from us these Miseries, that too usually follow the Violation of the Public peace,<sup>7</sup> & that self preservation, & the Difence<sup>8</sup> of the whole may not any longer inforce the necessity of making use of so destructive<sup>9</sup> an Engine against the Violences of misguided men.-

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<sup>1</sup> A pertinent appeal to the distinctive Church of England doctrine of non-resistance to lawful authority.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the author had the notorious 5 November Sermon of 1709 by Dr. Henry Sacheverell in mind. Sacheverell was a High-Church Tory whose outspoken criticism of Whig and Latitudinarian attempts to secure a Church Comprehension to include both Anglicans and Dissenters led to a much-publicised and divisive trial. Also, George I's *Directions* of 11 December 1714 complain of clerical "inter-meddling with the Affairs of State and Government, and the Constitution of the Realm, Both which may be of very dangerous Consequence[...]" and require the practice to be discontinued save "only on such Special Feasts and Fasts as are or shall be appointed by Publick Authority; And then, no further than the Occasion of such Days shall strictly require".

<sup>3</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>4</sup> The context demands "discreditable"

<sup>5</sup> While the preacher – presumably a clergyman – refrains from preaching politics himself, it remains possible that the Sermon has been written to maintain "political correctness" by someone better-placed to do so. It certainly reflects Carlisle's views about the proper activities of the clergy in the "Essays".

<sup>6</sup> "Upset" or "overthrow" *OED*.

<sup>7</sup> Originally written *pease* with a *c* written above and an insertion mark beneath.

<sup>8</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>9</sup> *Sic.*

**Obedience to just Government is a christian Duty; The Refusal to submit to legal Establishments is very contrary to the Example given us by the great Teachers of our<sup>1</sup> Religion, with meek Obedience to human Institutions. They never attempted to stir up the People to the Resistance of the Law. Render unto Caesar the Things which are Caesars, & to God the Things which are <sup>2</sup> Gods<sup>3</sup> was the divine Injunction of our first Martyr.<sup>4</sup> Happy had it been for our deluded Brethren, had they never deviated from so salutary a Maxim.<sup>5</sup>**

**There was a time when we lived in brotherly Affection with those whom we are so unhappily at Variance with – We rejoiced in each others Prosperity, the Obedience of the Child rewarded the fostering Care of the Parent<sup>6</sup> – A mutual Interchange of Benefits & good Services Promoted the Content & Happiness of both Countries.- Can there be in Human Imagination a more laudable Inducement, a more compulsive Motive, than that we should all join in our Intreaties to the Almighty, that former Harmony & Friendship should be again restored to us? The Simplicity of our Church admits no Rite more austere and solemn than that which is this Day enjoined.**

**(3)**

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<sup>1</sup> The *u* is written above the line with an insertion-mark beneath. Presumably the author is referring to writers like Hooker and Jewel, and preachers like Tenison – all of whom maintained the distinctively Anglican tradition of “non-resistance” expressed in Homily 21 *Against Rebellion* and Article XXXVII.

<sup>2</sup> at this point the following words had been written, subsequently struck through: *Caesar’s, & to God the things which are.*

<sup>3</sup> Matthew 22.21 and Luke 20.25. Both texts run “Render therefore [...] and unto God [...]”

<sup>4</sup> To describe Jesus as the first martyr rather than Stephen reveals the Latitudinarian tendency to see Christianity as an ethical system introduced by Christ rather than a religion centred on devotion to his Divine Person.

<sup>5</sup> This reflects a very odd understanding of Jesus’ saying, which surely distinguishes between what is due to God and Caesar. Clearly the author assumes them to be inseparable in this instance.

<sup>6</sup> A very English view of the Act of Union between England and Scotland of 1707. Bruce Lenman, q.v. argues that contributory causes originated in economic inequalities. Carlisle had been, of course, one of the Commissioners for the Union.

**The ordination of Fasts among those of the Catholick Persuasion,<sup>1</sup> has proceeded<sup>2</sup> from such trivial Causes in commemoration of Events, which Superstition has either invented or mistated, in the Sanctification of Persons, whose lives little Meritted Imitation has been as ditrimental to the Public, as injurious to that Religion which was meant to be exalted by them.- They became so familiar by their frequent Occurrence, that Religion only served as a Pretence for the neglect of Industry, & every Occupation<sup>3</sup> beneficial to Society.<sup>4</sup>- But when a great national Calamity is impending, the Accumulated Miseries of Thousands of our fellow Creatures are daily before our Eyes, surely this is an Hour that must impress very serious thoughts indeed upon every one who hears<sup>5</sup> me & clearly evinces the Necessity of appointing this solemn Fast.**

**I shall now proceed to the second Consideration – What means we are to use to make fasting acceptable to God?**

**Many Nations, previous to the coming of our blessed Saviour, adopted the use of fasts: But they all seem to have misunderstood the real Intention of them. In private, as well as in public Distress, In the Hour of Famine, Inundation, Pestilence or War, they had Recourse to these<sup>6</sup> Idols which their own Ingenuity had created: They thought**

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<sup>1</sup> This refers to the historic association of fasts with the vigils, or eves, of religious festivals. General fasts for national humiliation & repentance were a relatively recent – and English – development. From an English perspective, much Jacobite sentiment sprang from Catholic sympathies, and especially in the northern counties for which Carlisle had special responsibility. Contrasting religious practices, therefore, serves a dual purpose here. It identifies the assumed superiority of Protestant religious observance with the British national interest, whilst tacitly identifying the Jacobites with alien Catholic practices.

<sup>2</sup> Originally written *preceeded*. An *o* has been written above with an insertion mark beneath.

<sup>3</sup> Originally *Occurrence*. *pation* has been written above the deleted letters *rrence* with two insertion marks beneath.

<sup>4</sup> This objection reflects the Book of Common Prayer's prefatory chapter *Of Ceremonies*.

<sup>5</sup> The use of *hears* suggests this Sermon is for delivery in verbal rather than written form.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic*, but surely *those* was intended?

to appease them by every Suffering, that the human Body could sustain: & conceived that Excess of Mortification would compensate for the want of solid Piety, & unaffected Repentance. The Jews also observed the external Ceremonies of Fasts: But they were not attended by any Humiliation of Spirit, or an Humble Confession of Sins to God, with Shame & Confusion of the Face & an unfeigned Sorrow of the Heart. They indeed Hung down their Heads like (4) a Bulrush for a Day, & they spread Sackcloth & Ashes under them: But the Sorrow ended with the Ceremony: They prayed that they might not be liable to Inconvenience attending evil practices, without purposing any Reformation of Conduct.

The Text says moreover when ye fast, be not as the Hypocrites of sad countenance, for they Disfigure their Faces, that they may appear to men to fast, verily I say unto you, they have their Reward – Now this was addressed to those, from whom was required no superstitious Mortification of the Body prejudicial to Health: But that as on this occasion public Distress & national Miseries demanded ostensible Proofs of Public Repentance, Sorrow & Purposed Reformation, that there should not be the vain hypocritical Appearance of fasting, but that such a proper abstinence should be observed that might make Room for real Grief & sincere Humiliation. –

Our successes in this War which we have all the Reason to trust originates from the justest Cause. (unavoidable necessity,<sup>1</sup>) have been great & surprizing.<sup>2</sup> – But let us not be too much elated with our

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<sup>1</sup> Invasion & rebellion were traditionally “just” causes for war from mediaeval times.

<sup>2</sup> The Jacobite campaign was extraordinarily ill co-ordinated, allowing minor risings in the South and West of England to be put down long before the Earl of Mar crossed the Scottish Border. But the writer is probably alluding to the events of 13 & 14 November at Preston, Sheriffmuir and Inverness.

prosperity, let us not say too soon, that we shall never be moved, thou Lord of thy Goodness hast made our Hill<sup>1</sup> so strong unless our Consciences inform us we have a right to lay Claim to the Favor & Protection of God, by a streit<sup>2</sup> observance of his Commands. – Conscience that Monitor, which we are too apt to turn aside from, because it knows not to dissemble and will not disguise the Truth, will perhaps point out such innumerable Failings & Transgressions, which we have been guilty of, that the arrogant claim to future favor must be lost<sup>3</sup> in wonder that we ever could have been the Objects of his Protection. –<sup>4</sup>

## (5)

But granting that tomorrow shall be as this day and more abundant, that Defeat & Shame shall not follow<sup>5</sup> upon the Heels of Victory; & that our Successes shall continue to flow in the same copious Stream,<sup>6</sup> yet we must be ever on our guard that the Opportunity of acquiring private Fame, & that the Pleasure (or Satisfaction, which must always be indulged with extreme Caution) of raising the Glory of our Country, do not lead us to entertain a Secret wish, that till our Conquests are more complete, the Hour of Reconciliation should be delayed.<sup>7</sup> This indeed would be perverting all the Ends of this Solemn

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<sup>1</sup> Psalm 30.6 “And in my prosperity I said, I shall never be removed: thou, Lord, of thy goodness hast made my hill so strong.” The special relevance of this verse is seen in the succeeding verses: “Thou didst turn thy face from me: and I was troubled. Then cried I unto thee, O Lord: and gat me to my Lord right humbly.” *BCP*.

<sup>2</sup> This word is unclear. It might be *streit*, *strait*, or even *strict*. The meaning, however, is “close” or “particular”.

<sup>3</sup> There is a large blot above the *o* of *lost*.

<sup>4</sup> The author’s language here is very similar to that in his *Essay on Man and Nature* p.[M39].

<sup>5</sup> *Sic*.

<sup>6</sup> This is the critical argument for the dating of this text. Sunday 13 and Monday 14 November saw the surrender of the Jacobite armies at Inverness and Preston as well as the engagement at Sheriffmuir – claimed by both sides as a victory, but in reality resulting in the Earl of Mar’s gradual retreat.

<sup>7</sup> The opacity of this is allayed by observing that whereas conflict between countries may be terminated by treaty, civil war can be ended only by reconciliation. The Civil Wars would still have been a bitter memory – a conflict renewed by Charles I’s refusal to consider a negotiated settlement or reconciliation. Baynes’ *Jacobite Rising* mentions a “hawkish” faction in the Government urging harsher retaliatory measures in early December (but gives no authorities).

**Meeting, and instead of making this Fast acceptable to God, it would be insulting him with interested Petitions for the Acquisition of worldly Renown at the Expence of the Blood & Sufferings of our fellow Creature!<sup>1</sup>**

**I shall now examine the third & last Consideration, - What these benefits are, which we ought to Pray for; and what we hope god in his mercy will grant, upon a right Application of this Day. – The Happiest of men are subject to this Infirmary, that they are willing to abandon a State of content and ease, to risk blessings they ought to know the Value of, for something, the Attainment of which is infinitely<sup>2</sup> precarious, or if attained hardly worth the Trouble of the Pursuit. The first Principal object of our Intercessions shoud<sup>3</sup> be that our deluded fellow Citizens<sup>4</sup> should not any longer render this Remark so applicable to themselves: That these Turbulent Spirits, whose Abilities are never called out but to distract mankind, who possessing none of the milder Virtues, remain unnoted and insignificant unless poduced<sup>5</sup> to light by the general Confusion<sup>6 7</sup>**

*(Added in another hand[?] on the cover)*

**that these insidious Destroyers of the Peace of Nations**

<sup>1</sup> The exclamation-mark is conjectural. The manuscript could equally signify a closing bracket.

<sup>2</sup> The *e* of *infinitely* has been written above, with an insertion mark beneath.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>4</sup> In this instance *fellow Citizens* needs to be construed as “fellow Subjects”. The reference to the rebels as *deluded fellow Citizens* rather than “enemies” reinforces the argument that Carlisle was alive to political realities and the need for eventual reconciliation.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>6</sup> The text ends here, clearly requiring the third point to be concluded. The added phrase written on the cover may indicate a conjectural or remembered continuation, but this is only one of several possible explanations. The final page may have become detached, but was still extant, so the continuation simply identifies the opening words of the detached sheet; or the hand responsible for the addition could have wished to end the Sermon rather differently from the existing text, and has from this point on substituted his own.

<sup>7</sup> There is no number at the foot of this page.

*iii*

**Document 8**

**THE INTRODUCTION TO AN  
EPISTLE FROM ANTIOCHUS TO  
STRATONICE**

**J8/35/8**

**[1717+?]**



## INTRODUCTION

Manuscript J8/35/8 consists of a sheet of Carlisle's characteristic paper, 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>" x 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>", watermarked "IV" (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figure 3, p.x.) and gilt-edged. The quality, size, style, water-mark and gilding, are consistent with papers that Carlisle used. The ink is quality black ink, and the document remains in good condition. The folded sheet provides four pages. Only pages one and two are used: pages three and four are blank. The Catalogue mark is placed on the top right hand corner of the first page. This manuscript bears few alterations, suggesting, considering Carlisle's general practice, that this is a fair version which, once completed, did not engage his continued interest as, for example, the "*Essays*" or "*Milk White Heifer*" did. In this respect the manuscript resembles "*Reason, a goddess*" (Chapter 6).

Dating this poem is largely conjectural informed by definite points of reference. The first is the writing-paper itself sharing characteristics with manuscripts from the 1720s and 1730s. The second are those bringing the subject-matter, Antiochus and Stratonice, into the public domain, whilst the third are those making the issues raised, or their contemporary interpretation, of especial interest to Carlisle.

The first consideration – the writing-paper itself – has already been considered. As a fair copy the manuscript might originate considerably after the poem's conception. Drafts would carry alterations: their absence suggests a fair copy – but cannot demonstrate when that original had been composed.

The second consideration, contemporary references to Antiochus and Stratonice, offers more possibilities. In 1702 Mrs Jane Wiseman wrote a piece performed at

Lincoln-Inn Fields, subsequently printed as *Antiochus – A Tragedy*.<sup>1</sup> This portrays an utterly loyal Antiochus – but makes no mention of Stratonice or letter. An Italian opera by Francesco Gasparini for Venice in 1705 appeared on 12 December 1711, at the Queen’s Theatre, Haymarket.<sup>2</sup> This tells of Antiochus’ steadfast loyalty triumphing over Ptolemy’s perfidy. Again neither Stratonice nor letter appear – neither does Ptolemy figure in Carlisle’s poem.

*The History of the Loves of Antiochus and Stratonice in which are interpos’d some accounts relating to Greece and Syria* by Lewis Theobald was printed for Jonas Browne at the Black Swan without Temple Bar in London in 1717. Lewis Theobald (1688-1744) was a literary figure of standing, immortalised in *The Dunciad* for criticising Pope’s liberties in editing Shakespeare. His treatment of Antiochus and Stratonice, (290 pages), gave him opportunity to air other classical interests. Theobald claims the story is ancient, related by several classical authors, naming Galen, Lucian and Valerius Maximus amongst them. His preface acknowledges indebtedness to T Corneille<sup>3</sup> for adaptations made in the plot. Theobald’s is the first version in the early eighteenth century mentioning Stratonice and a letter from Antiochus as key elements in the story. It seems probable that this was the version that Carlisle knew, though it is evident that Antiochus himself was already established in contemporary texts as a symbol of virtue and loyalty.

There is no evidence Carlisle owned Theobald’s 1717 work as his library was catalogued in 1716. However, there was much that would have interested him. For

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<sup>1</sup> London: Printed for William Turner and Richard Bassett, 1702.

<sup>2</sup> *Antioco, Opera Da rappresentarsi nel Reggio Teatro d’Haymarket* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, at Shakespear’s Head over against Catherine Street in the Strand, 1712.)

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Corneille (1625-1709) the brother of the fashionable French dramatist at the Court of Louis XIV, P. Corneille, produced a piece under the title “*Antiochus*” in 1666.

example, the following admirable description of the aesthetic shaping the gardens at Castle Howard appears:

Ariobarzanes stood still with Admiration of the delicious Prospect; “This is indeed” says he “a Scene of Grateful Solitude! Why may we not presume that Such a Retreat is the Abode of Lovers in Elizium? What can the Bounty of the Gods supply, that is wanting here, to inspire new Passion, or assist Delights? I’m charm’d, transported with this Gaiety of Wilderness! So much are Art and Regularity outdone by this Deshabilé of Nature, if I may call it such.”  
(pp.130-31.)

Describing the house, Theobald might have been describing Castle Howard itself:

as we approach’d the Entrance, I was still more convinc’d, it was the Residence of some Person of peculiar Note, since what appear’d at Distance seem’d but a Structure of Magnificence, now appear’d to be a Palace fit for a Monarch’s entertainment. As we pass’d thro’ the Portico’s which led to the Hall ... I was convey’d, as you may suppose, into the most splendid Apartment of the spacious Dome...  
(p.139.)

Besides these points of interest, the basic plot concerns King Seleucus who in old age intends to marry Stratonice, a young, beautiful woman with whom his son, Antiochus, has fallen in love – honourably, not realizing his father’s intentions at the time. When he realises these, not having declared himself, he finds himself unable out of duty to his father to confess his love either to his father or to Stratonice. Antiochus’ virtue is made clear in his declaration to his friend Ariobarzanes:

Nature and Instinct point us to our Duty; and recommend the practise of those Virtues, which Art and Letters have reduc’d into Laws: And when we deviate from these imbred Institutions, the Hand of Heaven either corrects our Frailties, or makes ourselves the Instruments of its dire Decrees! (p.129.)

Unable to resolve matters, he goes into a decline and, after a number of vicissitudes, about to die, he decides to risk all and die happy knowing Stratonice understands what has happened. He therefore sends Stratonice a letter requesting an interview, which in

Theobald’s version runs:

Madam,  
I know not whether I am to thank, or accuse you for your fatal Kindness; since the Zeal you express in the Compassion of my Sufferings, being grounded on

an Error turns to their Aggravation. I could in a Word convince you of the Mistake, but my Silence on that Head will give you least Uneasiness, and acquit me of a Crime which might attend the Confession. The King's Transports hurried him so far, that he would not lend an Ear to my Protestation; or suffer me to clear myself from the Imputation of admiring the Princess. Permit me to conjure you, Madam, no farther to interest yourself in my Cause, till I have been bless'd with the Opportunity once more of seeing you. Perhaps my next Conference with your Highness may assure you better of the Cause of my Distress. I own, that I am indebted to Arsinoe for part of my Sufferings; but wherein, I beg to defer till I am favour'd with an Interview. But as your Soul is endued with Pity, or as you believe me capable of Honour, entertain not a Suspicion that I love the Princess. I wish the Secrets of my Heart stood reveal'd to you; or that you could divine, without my Discovery, the Passion of

Antiochus (p.119.)

Although, probably indebted to French seventeenth-century heroic romances,<sup>1</sup> the plot has more twists before the final resolution, this letter forms the turning-point of the story. The resolution comes when King Seleucus, realising all, relinquishes his claims on Stratonice in favour of his son:

O my Antiochus! – said He, Your only Crime has been the constancy of your Virtue, which put a Life so dear to me and these Empires in hazard. (p.289.)

This last comment by Seleucus explains to the modern reader what contemporaries may have found especially important in this story - the relationship between the Sovereign and heir when the kingdom was endangered.

Although not coming to a head until November 1717 at the baptism of the Prince's son, relationships between George I and the Prince of Wales were strained before George I's return from Hanover the previous March. In the wake of this, Walpole fomented an opportunistic schism in the Whig administration considerably weakening the King's government. With the intervention of subsidiary characters of dubious

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<sup>1</sup> See entries for La Calprienède and D'Urfé in *The Oxford Companion to French Literature*, compiled and edited by Sir Paul Harvey and J. E. Heseltine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959).

integrity in the story, it is perfectly possible to read Theobald's text as a commentary on the unedifying behaviour of Britain's present leaders compared with the heroic virtues of golden antiquity. Focussing on the Royal Family, if Seleucus were George I, Antiochus the Prince of Wales, and Stratonice Britannia, then the virtues of antiquity are read as a commentary on contemporary politics.

That this might have had significance for Carlisle deserves consideration. In 1717 the Duke of Kingston and Lord Sunderland had approached him to become Lord President of the Council: the one mentioning his singular ability to relate well to both the King and Prince of Wales, and the other to his reputation for integrity. The Duke of Kingston:

You are perhaps the only man in whose power it is to create a good understanding between the King and the Prince; you have talked with them both, and they have both a good opinion of you. You have spoke of all matters so plain to the King, that if you are in his councils and near his person, he must think of what you have said, and nothing can happen better for Britain than his being of your opinion [...]<sup>1</sup>

Lord Sunderland:

[...] there is no man so qualified in the kingdom, in whom both the King and the Wig can have an entire confidence, but yourself.<sup>2</sup>

Pulling these threads together, a number of possibilities emerge as a prime focus for Carlisle's poem.

First, having read Theobald's book with an interest in the apparent references to the house and gardens he was building at Castle Howard, Carlisle may have written these lines in a spirit of imitation which inspired Pope's *Imitations* of Waller and Cowley.

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<sup>1</sup> HMC Carlisle Papers p.21.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p.22.

These appeared in July 1717, and Carlisle may have written these lines simply as a literary exercise. Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard* might well have furnished the stimulus: published in 1717; written in heroic couplets, its subject-matter an illicit love resurrected through letters Abelard sent Eloisa after she had taken the veil. Pope's poem met immediate acclaim, where its affective qualities, enhanced by "gothick" settings, were particularly admired. Considerably shorter, Carlisle's poem is also written in heroic couplets,<sup>1</sup> taking a parallel situation where he can describe in similarly affective terms the distress experienced by lovelorn Antiochus. His love cannot find honourable fulfilment, and the letter which occasions the poem, like Pope's, gives expression to passion while, paradoxically, excluding its fulfilment. This exclusively literary reading shows Carlisle aware of Theobald and Pope, and responding through these lines at no other level - possibly entirely privately.

Alternatively Carlisle may have had contemporary events in mind. As noted, Carlisle was trusted by both George I and the Prince of Wales. Possibly he felt, given the increasing tension between them, that virtue had gone out of politics. Imbibing the spirit, if not the actual terms of reference of the Antiochus theme, he uses these lines to express his disenchantment and disengagement. As a contemporary motif for virtuous and honourable withdrawal from a distasteful world, this last may be possible. But there are problems with this type of reading. If the poem were written between 1717 and 1719 such a reading would carry greater conviction. But certainty is impossible. How would Carlisle's poem be understood if it became clear it had been written later? Reed Browning has reminded us of the potency of classical symbols, describing in particular the importance of the "Cato" and "Ciceronian"

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<sup>1</sup> The non-rhymes of lines 15/16 and 38/39 are technically interesting. In a fair copy they must be considered intentional, though opinion may differ about their effectiveness.

motifs in the literature and theatre of this period.<sup>1</sup> Though important, Cato and Cicero were by no means the only ancient heroes employed at this time. Antiochus and Stratonice were transported to the London stage a few years later in 1721, but, importantly, in different guise as they commented on a new situation:

ANTIOCUS – A Tragedy as acted in Lincoln-Inn Fields  
Written by Mr Mottley 1721 & Dedicated to the Earl of Ferrers<sup>2</sup>

Prologue (spoken by a Friend)

From the black Scene of a late guilty Year,  
Ill may it seem to be invited here,  
To see imaginary Woe's display'd,  
When half the Nation is a victim made,  
And to a real Tragedy betray'd...

By 1721 references have clearly changed. Relationships within the Royal Family, the concern of 1717, were replaced by the bursting of the South Sea Bubble in September 1720. This brought financial hardship to an enormous number, and ruin to some – including, perhaps significantly, Carlisle's son-in-law, Viscount Irwin. Apart from financial implications and the disgrace of obviously compromised politicians there was that the nation's misfortunes were multiplied by disloyalty at home and abroad. Abortive Jacobite risings of 1719 and 1721 (leading to Norfolk's arrest and the impeachment and banishment of the Bishop of Rochester), were forceful reminders of "dangers within" the state. Theobald's "happy ending" becomes tragedy in Mottley's play: Stratonice poisons herself, and Antiochus stabs himself saying:

The injur'd Brave make head against their Wrongs,  
Rob heaven of its anticipated Blow.  
Strike for themselves, and make their Doom their Choice.

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<sup>1</sup> Reed Browning *Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Court Whigs* (Boston Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1982). (But consider the criticism in J. C. D. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion, State and Society in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Cambridge: University Press, 1986), pp. 107-08.)

<sup>2</sup> London: Printed for T. Harbin in the New Exchange; W. Meadows at the Black Bull in Cornhill; J. Peel, at Locke's Head in Pater-noster Row; and J. Graves in St James Street, MDCCXXI.

The South Sea Bubble altered British politics. Robert Walpole, returning to serve in the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry in April, 1720, secured partial financial stability. Since speculation had been widespread, full compensation was impracticable: neither could the guilty be distinguished from the foolish or unfortunate, without disastrous results for the stability of society. Shielding the guilty earned Walpole the title “Skreen-master” – but more importantly pragmatism, probably always part of politics – but hitherto unacknowledged - became policy.

An unpublished letter of Carlisle to Sunderland of 28 September 1720,<sup>1</sup> illustrates how Walpole could pursue such measures: those as politically observant as Carlisle realised only determined action could succeed. Sunderland’s reply may be read in HMC Carlisle Papers, pp. 24-25. Explaining steps Carlisle advocated were already being taken, Sunderland demonstrates appreciation of Carlisle’s support and advice. These and subsequent letters show that although no longer at the epicentre of political decision-making, Carlisle was still influential. Sunderland’s unexpected death in April 1722 resulted in Walpole’s emergence as the King’s first Minister – and a reshuffling of the Whig administration which led in turn to Carlisle’s dismissal from his post as Constable of the Tower at the end of that year. Given the probably suspect evidence of his deputy,<sup>2</sup> Carlisle may have been ineffective or inattentive, and his removal possibly inevitable. Other evidence<sup>3</sup> suggests that Carlisle was considered badly treated, while his own correspondence suggests ministerial collusion for his removal from the political scene.<sup>4</sup> That he himself felt badly treated over the issue cannot be doubted from the evidence supplied by these sources.

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<sup>1</sup> Castle Howard Archive: J8/1/696. Transcribed in full in the Supplement at p.484.

<sup>2</sup> *The Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson*, p.159.

<sup>3</sup> HMC Portland MSS vii p.344 (Dr Stratford to Lord Harley: 3 January 1722/3)

<sup>4</sup> HMC Carlisle Papers. p.45. (Letters from Townshend and copy of letter from Carlisle to George I.)



To conclude: just when Carlisle wrote “The Introduction to an Epistle” is unknown. If it were, definite contemporary significance could be read into these lines. That this cannot be done does not mean that Carlisle had no such intention – only that it cannot be deduced with any certainty at present. Meanwhile, allowing for such a possibility, his lines may still be read with pleasure and profit at a purely literary level.

**J8/35/8**

**THE INTRODUCTION TO AN  
EPISTLE FROM ANTIOCHUS TO  
STRATONICE**

**TEXT**

*[1717+?]*

**The Introduction to an Epistle<sup>1</sup> from Antiochus to  
Stratonice.<sup>2</sup>**

**CH J8/35/8**

**From a sick bed close by who's side dos stand**  
**Grim Death, yt Tyrant by who's dire command**  
**The young, ye old, ye Monark, & ye Slave**  
**Are doom'd alike to ye devouring grave;**  
**I hear him call, his summons must attend; 5**  
**A few hours hence, & all my sorrows end.**  
**From this sad Scene, where horrou, & dispair**  
**Bespeak ye sufferings, yt my Friends do bear.**  
**Around my bed struck with ye sharpest grief**  
**Mournfull they stand, but can give no relief. 10**  
**My Faithfull Servants with fatigues opprest**  
**Labour in vain to give their L<sup>d</sup>. some rest,**  
**Their cares repeat, their last efforts they trye,**  
**But ye stern Monark, all their cares defye<sup>3</sup>**  
**The Fame'd<sup>4</sup> Physician,<sup>5</sup> who's unerring skill 15**  
**Can trace ye Source from whence diseases spring<sup>6</sup>**  
**His just remarks with deepest judgment makes,**  
**Yet still ye cause of ye Disease mistakes;**  
**Amaze'd Hee stands; his baffled art allows,**  
**And in this case his ignorance avows. 20**  
**And well he may, for who ye cause can find,**

<sup>1</sup> The "le" has been added above the line with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>2</sup> "Stratonica" in the 1978 Catalogue is mistaken.

<sup>3</sup> A blot on the final "e" of this and the previous line suggests an attempt to correct the number.

<sup>4</sup> Originally preceded by a deleted "Fam 'd"

<sup>5</sup> Originally spelt "Phisician"

<sup>6</sup> See p.172, n1.

**Of a distemper seated in ye mind[?]<sup>1</sup>**  
**In this condition hopeless & forelorn**  
**(My Friends withdrawn) one Trusty Slave alone**  
**Waite's my commands, while my sad fate they mourn.<sup>2</sup> 25**  
**Rear'd in my Bed, supported by his aid,**  
**No time to loose<sup>3</sup> thus to ye Gods I pray'd,**  
**A short reprieve, a respite for an hour,**  
**Is all I ask, then execute your powe'r!**  
**Bright Queen of love your aid I now implore, 30**  
**Raise my sunk spirites, my lost Sense restore,**  
**New<sup>4</sup> vigour give, my wast'd strenth<sup>5</sup> repair,**  
**Whilst I ye fatal secret do declare.**  
**When to ye Queen my story I relate,**  
**When Stratonice shall know my wretched state: 35**  
**O Goddess then her gentle mind inspire**  
**With soft compassion, I no more require;**  
**Let Pitty in her tender breast prevaile,<sup>6</sup>**  
**Of rigid Fate I will not then complaine.**  
  
**The Queen of Beauty instantly comply'd, 40**  
**Fresh spirits gave, vigour, & strenth supply'd,**  
**No time I lost, ye precious moments seiz'd,**

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<sup>1</sup> The question-mark is editorial. cf *Macbeth* 5.3.40 ff. *Macbeth: Can thou not minister to a mind diseas'd,/Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,/ Raze out the written troubles of the brain,/And with some sweet oblivious antidote/Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff/Which weighs upon the heart? Doctor: Therein the patient/Must minister to himself.*

<sup>2</sup> *mourn* While rhyming with *forelorn* eighteenth-century pronunciation might have allowed a rhyme with *alone* as well. Against this, in other poems Carlisle usually indicates a trio of rhymes with a bracket. Again, there may be some point in having the word *alone* unrelated to the rhyming-sequence.

<sup>3</sup> A deleted *then* or possibly *thus* stood here.

<sup>4</sup> Unclear. Carlisle may intend "*Now*" but his original seems to have begun with a "W". Was his eye deceived by the three following lines – all beginning with "W"?

<sup>5</sup> *Sic.* See line 41 for similar spelling.

<sup>6</sup> See p.172, n1.

**And of its burden my sick mind I eas'd;**  
**In haste I call'd, my trusty Slave obey'd,**  
**And strait my Tablets<sup>1</sup> on ye bed he lay'd. 45**  
**Now Beauteous Stratonice prepare to know**  
**The secret cause from whence my sorrows flow,**  
**Of cruel Fate why justly I complain,**  
**And why I'm<sup>2</sup> destin'd to eternal pain;**  
**The pittying Goddess dos these lines indite,<sup>3</sup> 50**  
**And thus Antiochus to ye Queen dos write.**

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<sup>1</sup> *Tablets* - Wax tablets on which letters would be written using a stylus in classical times. Privacy would be ensured by closing the tablets together with the written faces inside and sealing the tie securing them.

<sup>2</sup> The “*m*” is added above the line with an insertion-mark beneath, replacing a deleted “*was*”.

<sup>3</sup> *indite* i.e. “compose” or “write”. An archaic verb (*OED*) whose ambiguity might leave it uncertain how far Antiochus credits Venus with responsibility for what follows. However, the last line sets a parallel whereby ‘what Venus indites Antiochus then writes’ - suggesting that Carlisle uses “indite” to mean “dictate”.

*iv*

**Document 9**

**THE SEVEN WISE MEN OF  
ENGLAND**

**J8/35/18**

*[Summer 1719]*

## INTRODUCTION

Manuscript J8/35/18 is a paper 11¾” x 14 ½”. The paper is good-quality, laid paper showing wire-marks and watermarks (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figures 4 & 5: A Maid of Dort and “19”, p.x). The ink seems a quality ferro-tannic type. The paper has been folded, first forming four pages each 11¾” x 7¼”, on which the poem is written. The paper has then been twice folded, finally yielding a document sized 5⅞” x 2⅜” - suitable for inclusion in a letter. The document has been damaged – the top third of page 4 is very discoloured.

Little can be deduced from these details: but that little is important. Since the handwriting is dissimilar to Carlisle’s we might think this document was sent to him – probably within a letter. Although not identical, as the paper and ink are comparable with those Carlisle used, the correspondent may well have enjoyed similar social status. The contents confirm the idea that Carlisle’s correspondent was on familiar terms, for this is a political ballad lampooning Whig politicians recently gone into opposition to the Stanhope/Sunderland ministry.

In the typescript Archive Catalogue this manuscript is ascribed to his daughter, Lady Anne Irwin. It is not clear on what authority this attribution is made, but the similarity in the handwriting is marked when compared with her letters to her father.<sup>1</sup> Adding weight to this, few would have known Carlisle’s deepest political sympathies as well as she - fewer able to share them in this way. The ballad did not appear in print – or if it did, no record seems to have survived.

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<sup>1</sup> See CHJ8/1/192: Lady Irwin to Carlisle, 31 January 1731/2.

The politicians lampooned, and references to hopes of peerages point to sometime after February 1719 – when Stanhope<sup>1</sup> first abandoned the Peerage Bill introduced that session. (Revived later in 1719, part of the ministry’s legislative programme outlined in the King’s Speech of 23 November, it was soundly rejected by the House of Commons on 9 December.) Though dating the ballad in early 1720 is not impossible, the breach between George I and the Prince of Wales was at its widest during 1719 – when dissenting Whigs were identified with the Prince’s “opposition” Court at Richmond. After December 1719 their strength in the Commons made it inevitable they would be drawn back into government – not wait for a change of monarch.<sup>2</sup>

Lady Anne married Viscount Irwin in December 1717, and proved herself an informed and shrewd political observer. It seems perfectly plausible she copied this ballad for Carlisle’s enjoyment. A committed supporter of the Whig ministry of Stanhope and Sunderland – his heir married Sunderland’s daughter, Lady Frances Spencer, in 1717 - Carlisle would naturally appreciate these lampoons. His alliance with Stanhope and Sunderland was to have consequences, for after Walpole’s resumption of office a “Government reshuffle” in late 1722 occasioned Carlisle’s dismissal from his post as Constable of the Tower.

There is reason to think these verses were written in Lady Anne’s hand, but little to suppose she was their author. A gifted poet, publishing *Castle-Howard* in 1732, and

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<sup>1</sup> James, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl Stanhope (1673-1721) was First Commissioner of the Treasury in 1717 and Secretary of State (Northern Department) from March 1718. Together with Charles Spencer, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722), First Commissioner of the Treasury from 1718-22, Stanhope led the Whig ministry from which Walpole and Townsend temporarily seceded – but retained the King’s confidence throughout these troubled years.

<sup>2</sup> The political background to these events is given in considerable detail in J.H. Plumb, *Sir Robert Walpole: the Making of a Statesman*, 2 vols (London: Cresset), 1956.



certainly able in her *Epistle from a Lady*<sup>1</sup> to engage effectively with Alexander Pope, her later work does not suggest an attraction for ballads.

Though the political ballad occupies a lowly station as an art-form, it has a literary and musical history which invites exploration for its frequent and characteristically direct references to specific events and issues. Here the literary pre-history may be traced back to a printed ballad pre-dating 1704 entitled *The Seven Wise Men from a Correct Copy*. London: Printed in the Year MDCCIV. It opens:

Seven Sages in these latter Times are seen,  
The Glory and Support of Albion's Queen,  
Whose wisdom will the Gordian Knot undo:  
And be our Isles Palladium 'gainst the Foe.  
Unstable Britain may like Dilos float,  
Yet still she's safe while Patriots guide the Boat.

In succeeding verses it lampoons the seven principal members of Queen Anne's Tory Government, concluding:

O Albion, on these Shoulders ne'er Repose,  
These are thy Dangerous, Intestine Foes,  
These are the Tyrants who would thee Enthral,  
Resolve to govern, or o'erthrow the Ball,  
Tho' they, like Sampson, in the Ruin fall.

The message is critical, accusing the Queen's ministers of dubious loyalty since their duty to her appears compromised by suspected sympathies with the exiled Pretender. The language expressing this is full of classical and biblical allusions, presupposing a fairly sophisticated readership – a characteristic shared by other contemporary ballads.

Tunes to which ballads were set might in themselves be significant – carrying associations with well-established verses. “Shackley Hay”, or “To All You Ladies

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<sup>1</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1736, p.736.

Now at Land” was well-known throughout the seventeenth century: to Samuel Pepys, for example, in association with *Young Palmus was a Ferriman, Whom Sheldra faire did love* – a ballad licensed 16 March 1613. The fate of a ballad-tune’s popularity was to find itself pressed into use for entirely different words. Samuel Pepys’ Diary for 2 January 1665 runs:

to my Lord Brouncker’s, by appointment, in the Piazza, in Covent Garden; where I occasioned much mirth with a ballet I brought with me, made from the seamen at sea to their ladies in town [...].

An entry in the Stationers’ Register lists this only three days’ earlier, 30 December 1664 – a tribute not only to Pepys’ interest but also the speed with which ballads became known. By now the tune was identified as “To All You Ladies” rather than the original “Shackley Hay”, and a number of the ballads to which it was set displayed a distinctively nautical flavour. One of the best-known of these was “The South Sea Whim”, printed in 1711 and sufficiently successful to assimilate the name of the tune, so that “To All You Ladies” now became identified as readily by the title “South Sea Whim”.<sup>1</sup> This latter ballad provides tune and metre for the *Seven Wise Men* of 1719, and in using a nautical figure it gives point to the barge in which the crew are portrayed travelling up the Thames to Richmond. The culmination of the “South Sea Whim” is expressed in nautical terms in the final verse:

But come, my Lads, together Stand,  
Let’s suffer this no more:  
Shall we that on the Seas command,  
Be bullied thus ashore?  
No, no, my Boys, pull th’Helm a-lee,  
And Heave the Rogues into the Sea.  
With a fa, la, etc.

---

<sup>1</sup> For most of the information in this and the preceding paragraph I am indebted to the magisterial work of Claude M Simpson in his *British Broadside Ballad & its Music* (New Brunswick & New Jersey: Rutgers University Press. 1966), pp.647-51. He does not mention, however, the important transitional stage in which the tune first became associated with the *South Sea Whim* and subsequently acquired its name.

Though nautical imagery is not pursued with the same insistence in the *Seven Wise Men* (the climax of the ballad being the ultimate futility of only – perhaps – ending up with the offices they held before the Schism) the nautical associations may still be important for two reasons: first, the association of the tune with the older ballad suggesting the crew were untrustworthy; and second, the contrast between a “barge” and “ship of state” emphasising the insignificance of Walpole’s secession.

The Seven Wise Men of  
of ye South Sea Whim

**J8/35/18**

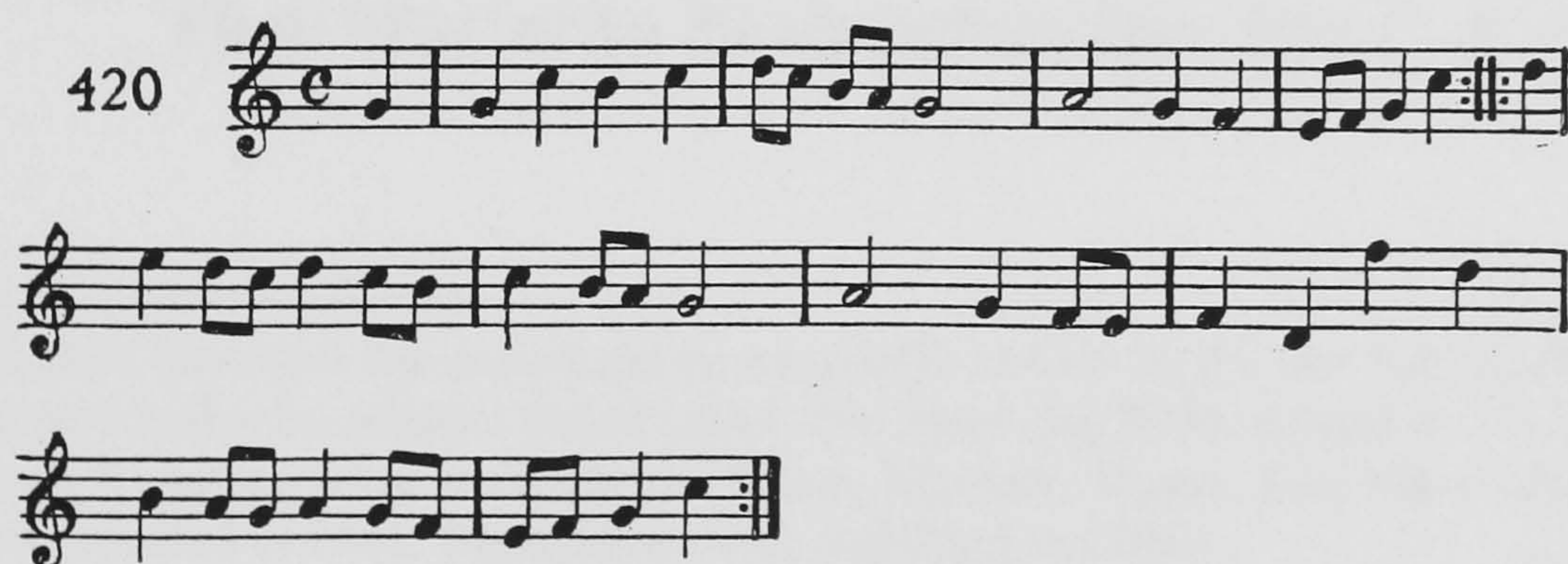
**THE SEVEN WISE MEN OF**

**ENGLAND**

**TEXT**

*[Summer – 1719?]*

**Tune: South Sea Whim<sup>1</sup>**



Original a fourth higher.

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from Claude M Simpson *The British Broadside Ballad & its Music* (New Brunswick and New Jersey: Rutgers University Press), 1966. Ex.420 p.650.

**The Seven Wise Men of England, to ye Tune  
of ye South Sea Whim<sup>1</sup>**

**CH J8/35/18**

1

**Seven Planetts they do Grace ye Skies,<sup>2</sup>  
Seven Bishops Grac'd ye Tower,<sup>3</sup>  
In Greece were Only Seven Men Wise<sup>4</sup>  
In England are no More,  
The Eighth to make these Number Even,  
Is He thats Govern'd by ye Seven.<sup>5</sup>**

*Wth<sup>6</sup> a fa la la la,*

2

**Now Shall I tell each Title O're,  
& Different Degree,  
The Peers they are in Number four,  
The Commoners but three,<sup>7</sup>  
Which Peerless three, they dont see why  
They May'nt be Peers before they Die,-<sup>8</sup> & c'**

---

<sup>1</sup> This well-known tune (see the Introduction) originally known as *To you Fair Ladies now at Land* became associated with a broadsheet ballad called *The South Sea Whim* printed in 1711.

<sup>2</sup> In the eighteenth century these would be the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. (Uranus was discovered in 1781; Neptune in 1846, and Pluto in 1930.)

<sup>3</sup> The Seven Bishops who resisting James II's requirement they order his Declaration of Indulgence be read from Anglican pulpits in 1688, were imprisoned in the Tower, and acquitted after trial to considerable royal embarrassment. They were William Sancroft (Archbishop of Canterbury), and the Bishops of St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Bristol, Chichester, Ely and Peterborough.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. Bias of Priene, Chilos of Sparta, Cleobolus of Lindus, Periander of Corinth, Pittacus of Mitylene, Solon of Athens, Thales of Miletus. These were Greek sages of the fifth and sixth centuries BC.

<sup>5</sup> George, Prince of Wales, later George II (1683-1760)

<sup>6</sup> *Wth* This contracted form is used consistently in the refrain.

<sup>7</sup> There were, in fact, four; but as stanza 4 goes on to say, the Walpoles are counted as one.

<sup>8</sup> The two Walpoles, Richard Edgecumbe and William Pulteney were especially vigorous in their opposition to Stanhope's plans to limit any new creations in the peerage both in February and December of 1719. All did, in fact, receive peerages, but not until 1742.

## 3

There's Orford,<sup>1</sup> Sunderlands<sup>2</sup> fast friend,  
 There's Townshend<sup>3</sup> Fam'd for Speeches,  
 Earl Cowper<sup>4</sup> never known to bend,  
 While he did Wear ye Breeches,<sup>5</sup>  
 But I should Name his Grace of Devon,<sup>6</sup>  
 Almost ye Tallest of ye Seven,<sup>7</sup> - *wth & c'*

## 4

The Wallpooles<sup>8</sup> twain but One I Count,  
 For say what e're they can,  
 Alth'o two Waggs,<sup>9</sup> they do amount,  
 But just to One Wise Man,  
 The Next are Edgcombe,<sup>10</sup> Short & Comely,  
 & ye Son of Muster Master Gumley,<sup>11</sup> *wth c'*

<sup>1</sup> Edward Russell, Earl of Orford (1<sup>st</sup> creation) (1652-1727) He was First Lord of the Admiralty in 1714, leaving office with the Duke of Devonshire in the Schism of 1717.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Spencer, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722). Lord Privy Seal, 1715. Secretary of State, 1717. First Lord of the Treasury, 1718-21. With Stanhope the effective leader of the Whigs until Robert Walpole's emergence in the wake of the South Sea Bubble Crisis of 1721. In 1717 Sunderland's daughter married Carlisle's eldest son and heir.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Townshend, 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Townshend, (1674-1738). Close neighbour of the Walpoles in Norfolk, and brother-in-law of Sir Robert Walpole. Secretary of State for the Northern Department, 1714. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1717, leaving office in the Schism of that year. According to Plumb, he was "a poor speaker, he forced himself to overcome this defect by constant participation in debates". *Walpole*, I. p.113.

<sup>4</sup> William Cowper, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl Cowper, (1665-1723). Lord Chancellor & Keeper of the Great Seal, 1705-1710, & September 1714 – April 1718. Noted for his independence of mind, (Plumb, *Walpole*, I p.281). Cowper did not leave office and join in the Schism for some months. He finally did so because of the failure to reconcile the quarrel in the Royal Family. (Plumb, *Walpole*, I. pp. 264-65.)

<sup>5</sup> *wear the breeches* Breeches formed a distinctive part of the Lord Chancellor's official costume.

<sup>6</sup> William Cavendish, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Devonshire, (1698-1755). A close friend and associate of Robert Walpole from as early as 1702. (Plumb, *Walpole*, I. p.100). Lord President of the Council, July 1716 – April 1717.

<sup>7</sup> George II was famously short, and was known to cultivate the company of those of similar size. This issue forms one of the linking points of the not-very-subtle humour of the ballad as a whole.

<sup>8</sup> Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745) and his brother Horatio Walpole (1678-1757)

<sup>9</sup> *Two Waggs* Both Walpoles were noted for their rather broad humour – see later in stanza 14. But there may be a trace of an earlier usage noted in the OED: "a person likely to be hanged".

<sup>10</sup> Richard Edgcumbe, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Edgcumbe, (1680-1758). Junior Commissioner of the Treasury, June 1716 – April 1717. M.P. for St Germans and Plympton, and a powerful local figure in Cornwall, where he did much to further Walpole's political interests.

<sup>11</sup> William Pulteney, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Bath, (1684-1764). He married Anna Maria, daughter and co-heiress of John Gumley of Isleworth, Middlesex, army commissary general, and a frequent butt of lampoons.

## 5

To Richmond<sup>1</sup> these Seven Wise Men went,  
 Gall. Wallpooles<sup>2</sup> Barge it bore them,  
 Our Hope<sup>3</sup> his Course to meett them bent,  
 Six Footmen March't before him,<sup>4</sup>  
 In his Embroiderd Coat<sup>5</sup> they found him,  
 W<sup>th</sup> all his Struting Dwarfs around him. *wth &c'*

## 6

Wellcome My Lords & Gentlemen,  
 I'me glad to see your Faces,<sup>6</sup>  
 First kiss my Royal Hand,<sup>7</sup> & then,  
 Walk in, & take your Places,  
 Set me My Chair – On either hand,  
 I give you Wise Men Leave to Stand,<sup>8</sup> &c'

<sup>1</sup> Richmond was the Royal residence where the Prince of Wales and his wife, Caroline, established their rival "Court" with a London residence in Leicester House.

<sup>2</sup> Galfridus Walpole (1683-1726) the youngest brother of Sir Robert and Horatio, who occupied a minor, but lucrative, post as Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital as well as representing the Walpole interest in the House of Commons as an MP. *Gall.* may simply be a contraction of his Christian name, although it might also be a contraction for *Gallant* – referring to his naval background.

<sup>3</sup> *Our Hope* = a conventional contemporary term for the heir to the throne.

<sup>4</sup> Common-sense would suggest the wisdom of a bodyguard: the Prince of Wales' was distinguished by modest height.

<sup>5</sup> The Prince of Wales had a Hanoverian passion for military uniforms, often of his own design, which may explain the reference to the *Embroidered Coat*. It is significant that his attendants are *footmen*. The Sovereign alone was attended by Gentlemen Yeomen as a personal escort. But in this masquerade *Six footmen March't before him*, as the Prince lays claim to sovereign dignities.

<sup>6</sup> *Faces* Its use in this ballad suggests *visible presence*. In stanza 9 it is contrasted with *Head* suggesting a contrast between visible, perhaps voting support, and an intellectual grasp of policy.

<sup>7</sup> *Kissing hands* was the way in which office was conferred and accepted under the Crown – a ceremony maintained to this day. The point here is, of course, that the Prince is *not* the monarch, nor has he, although maintaining in some sense a rival court, any offices under the Crown to grant.

<sup>8</sup> Developing the earlier idea, this is a burlesque on the tradition of the Privy Council, at which only the monarch would sit. As Regent, as the Prince of Wales had been on the King's absence in Hanover in 1716, he might quite properly have held such a meeting. After the rift of 1717 he was not allowed to hold the Regency again.

## 7

**The Lord of Chattsworth,<sup>1</sup> that Grave Peer,  
 Attempted first to Speak,  
 For Wit Renown'd through Derbyshire,  
 The Wonder of ye Peak,  
 Whose Wisdom O're his Visage Spread,  
 Lies on ye Outside of his Head.<sup>2</sup> - &c'**

## 8

**His Words were few, his Bows were low,  
 He lik't this Meeting well,  
 But why they did come here, or how,  
 He<sup>3</sup> Wise Man could not tell.  
 Lett Townshend tell ye Reason Why,  
 He knows my Mind, much more than I,<sup>4</sup> &c'**

## 9

**Full Thirteen Fools,<sup>5</sup> Quoth Townshend then,  
 They are who Rule this Realm,  
 The which Shall fall, by us Wise Men,  
 That you may Steer ye Helm,<sup>6</sup>  
 My Brothers both<sup>7</sup> your Cause to Aid,  
 Have brought their Faces, I my Head, &c'**

---

<sup>1</sup> i.e. The Duke of Devonshire. Chatsworth House was the family seat in Derbyshire.

<sup>2</sup> Cavendish's tenure of office may be thought more the result of his rank and friendship with Walpole than his inherent ability. It may be significant that on the healing of the Schism in April 1720, Cavendish did not resume his old office (or undertake any other) until March 1725. *Lies on ye outside of his head* might be a reference to his ducal coronet: i.e. His rank signified more than his intelligence.

<sup>3</sup> *He* The manuscript is clear, though one might have thought *The* rather better.

<sup>4</sup> As stanza 9 makes explicit, Townshend was the natural leader of the group of peers who seceded from the ministry in March 1717.

<sup>5</sup> *Full Thirteen Fools* – Clearly a reference to the reconstituted Stanhope/Sunderland Ministry. *Full Thirteen* might be the correct number for the number of senior political appointments – but it might refer to a “Baker's dozen”.

<sup>6</sup> *Steer ye Helm* A somewhat mixed metaphor – but consistent with the “ship of state” imagery of the older ballad *South Sea Whim* to which the present ballad is closely related.

<sup>7</sup> Townshend was brother-in-law to both Robert and Horatio Walpole having married their sister Dorothy in 1713.



## 10

**Hold, Hold, all foaming out w<sup>th</sup> Rage,**  
**Wise Orford then did Cry,**  
**I to impeach them will engage,<sup>1</sup>**  
**Th'o Heart nor Head have I.**  
**Then Such poor Fools I've something better,**  
**Impeach, & I'le produce ye Letter,<sup>2</sup> &c'**

## 11

**To this Earl Cowpers Smiling Face,**  
**Seemd pretty well inclind,**  
**But since he Wisely drop't ye Mace,<sup>3</sup>**  
**He dont well know his Mind,<sup>4</sup>**  
**Tush Quoth ye Prince, Me fears some Strifes,**  
**Letts go my Lort, & ask our Wifes<sup>5</sup> - &c'**

---

<sup>1</sup> Orford led the attack against Stanhope's administration after the King's Speech seeking means to fight the short war with Spain following Byng's pre-emptive strike at Cape Passero in summer, 1718. He, with Walpole, accused the ministry of incompetence, and Byng with violating the Law of Nations by engaging in battle the fleet of a country on which war had not been declared.

<sup>2</sup> *I'll produce ye letter.* Impeachment was essentially a Parliamentary process – but as such it had to be formally initiated. It may be that the letter referred to here is a formal complaint that Orford might have been prepared to make to do just this. Alternatively, the letter might have been a reference to some decisive piece of evidence of the kind that Carlisle had produced to secure the impeachment of Sir John Fenwick in 1696, or that Walpole had used in his impeachment of Bolingbroke on 9 June 1715.

<sup>3</sup> *dropt ye Mace.* Cowper resigned as Lord Chancellor in April 1718.

<sup>4</sup> *dont well know his mind* Plumb, *Walpole*, I. pp.281 and 283 quote a letter from Lord Cowper written on 9 December 1719 which suggests that he wasn't, in principle, opposed to every part of the ministry's proposed legislation for the parliamentary session – simply its expediency.

<sup>5</sup> A double point is made. (1) The Prince of Wales spoke English with a strong German accent, and (2) both he and Lord Cowper were married to wives known to be both intelligent and articulate in political matters.

## 12

Quoth Robin then in mighty Glee,  
 Of whom it is much doubt,  
 Whether more Wise, or honest he,<sup>1</sup>  
 Doth now at last Shine Out,  
 To lay these Thirteen Fools quite flat,  
 We must do something Wise, - but What, &c'

## 13

We'l say ye King is in Possesion,  
 Ergo t'will plainly Seem,  
 They're Enemys to ye Succession,  
 Who're Just & True to him,<sup>2</sup>  
 & therefore S<sup>r</sup> We Seven Wise Men,  
 Do pray for you know what, Amen,<sup>3</sup> &c'

## 14

To purpose Horace said not much,  
 But made a heavy Splutter,  
 Of Treatys where he Bitt ye Dutch,  
 In ye Fam'd Point of Butter,<sup>4</sup>  
 W<sup>th</sup> Noisy Tale, & Bawdy Sham,  
 & Jokes he Stole<sup>5</sup> from Rotterdam,<sup>6</sup> &c'

---

<sup>1</sup> This underlines the perception that Walpole's opposition was more expediency than principle.

<sup>2</sup> A parody of Walpole's "opposition for opposition's sake". Though touching "politically correct" attitudes (here the "Protestant Succession") the result is perverse. N.B. the double-entendre of *Who're*.

<sup>3</sup> *do pray for you know what. Amen.* By implication the death of George I and the accession of George II. Though George I died in 1727, this was ten years earlier than might have been expected. However, the important point is the perversity of the scarcely-veiled treason, where loyalty was expressed in the formularies of the Church (and required of dissenting congregations) in prayers for the Sovereign's life.

<sup>4</sup> Horatio Walpole was wont to claim rather greater diplomatic success than was warranted – hence the sarcasm concerning the pedestrian achievements of his diplomacy.

<sup>5</sup> *Stole* Superimposed alteration over original *learnt*.

<sup>6</sup> Horatio Walpole had been appointed Minister and Plenipotentiary to the United Netherlands in January 1715, where he secured some minor successes with the Dutch during the negotiations which eventually produced the Quadruple Alliance were being pursued – somewhat lethargically – by Townshend. His appearance and behaviour at Court and in Parliament were often considered coarse and uncouth, becoming a cause of offence to Queen Caroline later on.

## 15

When Edgcombe Spoke ye Prince in Sport,  
 Laugh't at ye Merry Elf,  
 Rejoyc'd to see wthin<sup>1</sup> his Court,  
 One Shorter than himself,  
 I'me glad, Cry'd Out ye Quibbing Squire,<sup>2</sup>  
 My Lowness makes your Highness Higher. &c'

## 16

Somebodys Son<sup>3</sup> of Ruefull Hue,  
 Did his Wise Head Advance,  
 Next Sessions I'le be true to you,  
 Unless I sneak to France.<sup>4</sup>  
 Mean while I'le make your Maidens Merry,  
 With Bargains, Puns, & Hey Down Derry,<sup>5</sup> &c'

<sup>1</sup> *within* The letters *th* are written in superscript, using the contracted form for *with* used in this piece.

<sup>2</sup> *Quibbing Squire* Clearly here a reference to Edgecombe, whose landed interests in Cornwall and lack of any other title would certainly justify the description as *Squire*. *Quibbing* strictly means “cavilling” or “making much out of matters of small importance” – which is the criticism levelled at the whole faction by the ballad. The Manuscript shows evidence that *quilling* had been considered. In context, however, (and especially if the ballad had been copied out from an actual performance where *quibbing* with its plosives sounds similar to *quipping*), it may actually mean *quipping* – “making a witty remark” – which is certainly not impossible.

<sup>3</sup> *Somebodys Son* By elimination this is William Pulteney. *Somebodys Son* might be an obvious euphemism for “bastard” – although possibly nothing stronger than “of insignificant origins”. Neither, need be factually accurate to be effective in this kind of literature. History confirmed the judgment here that his allegiance was more opportunism than conviction – he broke with Walpole in the 1720s. Here, however, the reference may be more to the fortune he had inherited from his father - acquiring another by an advantageous marriage already mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> *unless I sneak to France* The implication is made that, as everyone is pragmatically serving only his own personal interests, Pulteney might do as another frustrated politician had done – Bolingbroke – and go over to serve the Jacobite cause in France.

<sup>5</sup> Two points are made here: (1) that the Prince of Wales was surrounded by a number of young women, repeated in the next stanza, and (2) that Pulteney is essentially a trifler. *Hey Down Derry* might have been just as ambiguous then as now.

## 17

**Thus Wisely Spoke these Seven Wise Men,  
 & thus ye Eighth Reply'd,  
 O, what Reward my Friends, & when,  
 Shall I for you provide,  
 As yett I must to save Expences,  
 E'en Starve you, as I Starv'd my Wenches,<sup>1</sup> &c'**

## 18

**Th'o Should you fail to gain ye Prize,  
 Mistaken in your Rules,  
 Yee Wise Men hear what I advise,  
 Go Fight these Thirteen Fools,  
 \*For next to hearing of a\*<sup>2</sup> Drum Beat,<sup>3</sup>  
 I should delight in Such a Combat,<sup>4</sup> &c'**

---

<sup>1</sup> *E'en Starve you, as I Starv'd my Wenches* Unlike the Sovereign, whose income was provided, and whose expenses were met by Parliamentary supply, the Prince of Wales throughout this period had insufficient resources to finance what was often, effectively, a rival Court. That the Prince of Wales had mistresses seems of less significance here (George I had two very public mistresses in the Duchess of Kendal and the Countess of Darlington) than the fact that he could barely afford them.

<sup>2</sup> The asterisks reproduce asterisks in the text, suggesting that the copyist was uncertain about the line: it certainly goes awkwardly with the tune here.

<sup>3</sup> The Prince's liking of martial music was legendary, and his patronage of Handel as George II was to result in much quasi-martial, ceremonial music instanced by the *Dettingen Te Deum*, *Music for the Royal Fireworks* and *The Water Music*.

<sup>4</sup> *I should delight in Such a Combat* Quite apart from his interest in martial matters, the point is made here that the only purpose served by encouraging the continued opposition is the rather personal one of embarrassing the Sovereign.

## 19

**But twice ten long years hence & more,  
 When tis my Turn to Reign,<sup>1</sup>  
 If you don't Die, or Doat<sup>2</sup> before,  
 & I these thoughts retain  
 You that have lost your Places then  
 Perhaps may have them all again<sup>3</sup>**

*w<sup>th</sup> a fa la la la*

---

<sup>1</sup> In 1719 George I was 59. He might easily have reigned longer than the eight years remaining to him.

<sup>2</sup> *Doat* - "Grow old" – an archaic form surviving in our "dotage" (*OED*).

<sup>3</sup> *Perhaps*. The purpose of the ballad is underlined in the pointlessness of the undertaking. At best the Walpole faction could only hope – and after time – to regain what they need never have lost in the first place. The note of mockery is sustained by the *fa la la la* of the refrain – intensified considerably, when repeated as the musical source suggests.

## CHAPTER 3

### *CONSOLIDATION*

<i>i</i>	<i>A Milk White Heifer</i>	197
<i>ii</i>	<i>Draft Inscription for the Pyramid</i>	254
<i>iii</i>	<i>Draft Inscriptions for the Portraits</i>	264

*i*

**Document 10**

**A MILK WHITE HEIFER**

**J8/35/6**

***[c.1725-31?]***

## INTRODUCTION

This manuscript is a notebook - not the folded foolscap writing-paper characteristic of Carlisle's other writings. This is significant, for the poem must have reached a stage of completion before being written out in this fair version. The notebook was formed by folding and stitching six sheets of paper, 11¼" x 6¾", with watermarks (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figures 6 & 7, p.x.) similar to the "City of London" examples of W. A. Churchill, but indicating only general eighteenth-century provenance. The watermark of the accompanying corrections shows the "IV" characteristic of Carlisle's writing-paper from the mid-1720s - evidence for revisions while commissioning the *Pyramid and Portraits*, or composing his *Essays*. There is a cover of blue, laid paper. Inside one piece of paper is folded to enclose the remainder - blank except for the Catalogue mark J8/35/6 on the front - while the back inside page thus formed contains the final lines. The remaining five pieces of paper are folded to form pages 1-4, 5-8, 9-12, 13-16, & 17-20. These authorial numbers, 1-20, appear centrally between brackets in the top margin. The last page carries no number. Although minor alterations occur in the text, major rearrangements are indicated by the accompanying loose-leaf page of corrections. First listed in Judith Oppenheimer's catalogue of 1978, this is described: *A milk white heifer, darling of my herd and other poems. Notebook, 20 pages and 1 loose leaf with corrections*. Possibly hasty reading led Ms Oppenheimer to suppose the gaps between sections indicated separate pieces. Fortunately, specifying 20 pages dispels concerns over lost material.

The finished text suggests more than one set of references. Evoking the gardens and house at Castle Howard, it also expresses Carlisle's reflections on his failed marriage and future hopes. Occasionally the text was adjusted to the changing demands of these



concerns. For example, in line 191 the original “Where citrus trees in pots of silver rang’d” was altered to “Where statly beaches in due order rang’d”. The reason being, either trees in silver pots hardly afforded a “pleasing canopy” whereas “statly beaches” would; or possibly the avenues of beeches became more prominent than potted trees. Where Carlisle anticipates Celia in line 280, “charming” is altered to “faithfull” – a changing perception of essential qualities in a future partner. Such alterations suggest evolution over time. Even after this fair version was completed, Carlisle considered further modifications. A conclusion is indicated by a dash after line 309, but these lines follow:

Here joyn ye sacred Nine. inspire my soul  
Direct my trembling, & unworthy pen  
The beauty’s of this garden to describe

How shall I paint ye beautys of this place  
Joyn all ye sacred Nine, inspire my soul,  
And wing my fancy with poetick rage

These are two groups of three lines, originally conceived as a reworking of lines 170-72: the first group deleted in favour of the second. Though crossed out, the second group are confirmed on the authority of an accompanying page of corrections.

Beginning with a pastorally-inspired sequence, the poet, seeking a “milk white heifer” encounters a nymph disclosed as his divine protectress. She bids him abandon a fruitless search: follow her, and she will provide all he desires. Three temptations follow: worldly riches - refused having wealth enough; fame and power, refused in preference for care-free tranquillity. A third is not refused, but fully indulged:

No longer could I hold, my vows I pay’d,  
And swore obedience at her crowded Shrine.  
Now plung’d in pleasure, ravish’d with delight,  
Each sense I gratifi’d to full desire. (lines 244-47)

Sated, he appeals for lasting satisfaction. The goddess reveals Celia, a shepherdess, and promises happiness when they join in “holy rites”. The goddess vanishes, leaving the poet to breathe thanks, and pray “May thy great prophecy soon be fulfill’d”.

Saumarez Smith and Larsen interpret this as a historically-based autobiographical reflection on the author’s failed marriage. Saumarez Smith thinks it

a literary fantasy, in which Lord Carlisle examines his various preoccupations, first with money, then with power, and, third, with sensual pleasure enjoyed among fountains and statues, only to be dismissed for the sake of a pastoral dream of a fair shepherdess called Celia. It suggests that there was an element of psychosexual projection involved in the extension of the garden into the surrounding landscape, so that Lord Carlisle could wander round it in his gout-ridden old age and believe it to be populated by young classical nymphs, wearing alluringly little.<sup>1</sup>

Ruth Larsen comments “he may have missed his wife, or at least performed the role of a harshly rejected suitor” thinking the poem a vehicle for portraying himself

a caring husband, whose indulgence led to his ungrateful wife leaving home... Charles’ poem appears to have been an imagined response to the absence of an idealized wife; although they had seven children together, there is little evidence of affection through their relationship or their separation, and it is not clear that she was ever his ‘darling’.<sup>2</sup>

Neither explores the termination of the marriage in detail. This, however, is important in understanding the poem. Difficulties in the marriage emerged in June 1698. By then several children had been born: Henry (b.1694) Mary (b.1695) and Anne (b.1697).<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> On June 18 1698 Mr Vernon wrote:<sup>5</sup> “There is a report in town that my Lady Carlisle has surprized her husband with Lady Anne Popham at the old Lady

<sup>1</sup> BCH p.154.

<sup>2</sup> Larsen DD p.140.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* Table 3, p.287.

<sup>4</sup> A confusing reference to a possible fourth daughter is quoted in HMC XI Report VII p.42. (& BCH p.11.) But see *Coates and Crestes*, p.129.

<sup>5</sup> G.P.R.James (ed.): *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III from 1696-1708 Addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury by James Vernon, Esq., Secretary of State*, 3 vols (London, 1841), II, p.108.

Howard's lodgings", and on 30 June 1698 Lord Weymouth wrote to Colonel Grahme:<sup>1</sup> "Wee heare from London that matters are very ill between my Ld. Carlisle and his Lady, and the discourse is they will part, my Ld. coming speedily into the countrey; but this is a secret not to bee divulged".

The first suggests infidelity or indiscretion on Carlisle's part. However, another very confused possibility emerges in a contemporary letter from Martha, Lady Giffard:

September 1698:

My Ld. Portland and Monsr. Overkerke I hear have had a quarrel at Loo [...] this they say has extremely exalted another person, and altogether tis thought more than my Ld. Portland can beare altogether any longer, that he may not want a companion in his afternoons, I heare that Mrs. Howard came t'other day from [...] where Mrs. Billingsly had order to take ye care of the children from her and when she came to my Lord of Essex' lodgings at London, she found a padlock. Upon that she could not get in wch Mr. Billingsly said he had my Lord Essex's order for.<sup>2</sup>

The editor of these letters is plainly confused about the inter-relationship of the Essex and Carlisle families, but if "Mrs. Howard" were indeed Lady Carlisle misbehaving, then her family's actions become intelligible: the Lord Essex mentioned was her brother, Algernon, a close friend of Carlisle. But though Lady Carlisle's misconduct was possible, it is scarcely proved! That Carlisle himself might have fallen from grace sexually was perfectly possible in that licentious age. Nevertheless, evidence remains sketchy. J.H. Plumb writes:

In the Memoir of Dolly Walpole, Lady Mary (Wortley Montagu) mentioned that once Dolly came to spend a day with her at Acton, where her father was giving a great men-dinner. After tea, the two girls, thinking his company engaged with their wine, strolled into the garden; but Lord Wharton and Lord Carlisle, spying them from the dining-room windows, agreed to steal out and surprize them: which they did; and a noble game of high romps followed [...]<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> CROK Levens Mss Box E/W3 (Quoted by CH&CH, p.21. & DD, p.140).

<sup>2</sup> *Martha Lady Giffard: Her Life and Correspondence (1664-1722) A Sequel to the Letters of Dorothy Osborne*, edited by Julia G. Longe (London: George Allen & Sons. 1911), pp.227-30.

<sup>3</sup> Plumb, *Walpole*, I. p.124n. Source: Sheffield Central Library, Wharncliffe Mss, 439. Lady Louisa Stuart to Lord Wharncliffe, c.1838.

But, given that this took place in 1706, this was more the result than cause of the rift with Lady Carlisle. Carlisle's illegitimate daughter is mentioned by the 1st Earl of Egmont, but the date precludes this causing marriage breakdown. On 4-5 May 1737, Egmont notes:

Georgia Office: One Simpson attended with his wife and desired to go to Georgia. [...] The wife is bastard daughter to the Earl of Carlisle and about twenty years old.<sup>1</sup>

Someone "about twenty" in 1737 could not have been conceived until c.1717.<sup>2</sup>

Matters were sufficiently mended for the birth of more children: Catherine, (b.1699), Elizabeth, (b.1701), Harriet, (b.1703), and Charles. (b.1705). Elizabeth and Charles grew to maturity: Catherine and Harriet died in infancy.<sup>3</sup> If there were problems, Sir Samuel Garth's 1703 verses for the Kit-Cat Club toasting-glasses (Carlisle was a prominent member) including these to Lady Carlisle clearly presupposed a continuing marriage:

Carlisle's a name can ev'ry muse inspire,  
To Carlisle fill the glass, and tune the lyre.  
With his lov'd bays the god of day shall crown  
A wit and lustre equal to his own.

At once the sun and Carlisle took their way,  
To warm the frozen north, and kindle day;  
The flow'rs to both their glad creation ow'd,  
Their virtues he, their beauties she bestow'd.

William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, notes on December 14, 1704: "In the Evening, I went (with my Sister) to pay a visit to Mr Waugh: and the Dr gave me the first News of my Lord C[arlisle]'s parting houshold's with his Lady".<sup>4</sup> As a frequent visitor to Carlisle's London home, and a close neighbour in Cumberland, Nicolson was well-

<sup>1</sup> *Diary of the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Egmont*, HMC 63. II. p.399.

<sup>2</sup> DD p.140 quotes this episode claiming "Charles subsequently fathered an illegitimate daughter, and his infidelity upset his wife. She returned to London to live with her mother [...]" This incident alone, however, could not have caused the breakdown in 1698 or 1705.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p.287.

<sup>4</sup> *The London Diaries of William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, 1702-1718*, edited by Clyve Jones and Geoffrey Holmes (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1985), p.253.

placed to know any matrimonial difficulties. Especially informative is the 8 January 1705 entry: “M[ajor] Orfeur saies the Dispute ‘twixt Lord C[arlisle] and’s Lady is an old Sore of 7 years standing”.<sup>1</sup> This might indicate nursed resentment about past indiscretions, but suggests a continuing problem. If so, what? The Essex residence was Cassiobury, near Watford: the family hardly ever far from London. But Naworth, the Carlisle family’s ancestral home, was distant. A letter from Charles Wynne in January 1694/5 describes Naworth’s remoteness: “very often the goods directed for Carlisle through the neglect of the carrier were left att Penreth a weeke, sometimes tenn days”.<sup>2</sup> There was a London house, and Carlisle having made a Grand Tour could hardly be described provincial, but to think a young wife would settle happily in so different an environment might have been optimistic. But as a marriage less made in heaven than for dynastic and political considerations, quite possibly happiness was not much considered.<sup>3</sup>

From letters of this period Lady Essex proved a constant presence in the young couple’s home. For example, a letter to Naworth dated 17 April 1694 ends: “I must beg a most sincere service to Lady Essex and Lady Carlisle”;<sup>4</sup> whilst another dated 19 February 1694/5 concludes: “I am a very humble Servant to my Lady of Essex & Lady Carlisle”.<sup>5</sup> Another dated 27 April 1695 ends charmingly: “noe man breathing can bee more a servant then I am to all at Naworth”<sup>6</sup> – surely including more than the correspondent, his lady and heir. While the temporary presence of a young mother’s

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<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> CH J8/37/9

<sup>3</sup> DD, p.117 and BCH, pp.1 & 2. Attention should be given to the external events of 1688 and their impact on the Essex and Carlisle families. See Robert Beddard *A Kingdom without a King: The Journal of the Provisional Government in the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1988), pp. 67, 79, 85, 92-98, 122, 168 and 201.

<sup>4</sup> CH J8/37/3

<sup>5</sup> CH J8/37/10

<sup>6</sup> CH J8/37/11

parent might be entirely natural, this arrangement may have been more permanent.

Lady Carlisle's brother, wrote to Carlisle:

May 28, 1694:

I have offered my mother...I think a Greatt Deal for Cashiobury, 110 a year, Butt she is nott Satisfy'd with itt. pray my Dear Ld. Be so Kind to Concern yr Self in the Matter, & Lett me know whatt you think is Reasonnable for me to Give. [...] If I have itt I am sure yr Lordship, my mother, or any of the family will be as free to itt as now, butt I only Desire you to talke itt with my mother, & to Give me yr Oppinion [...]<sup>1</sup>

Though thinking problems were accentuated by a mother-in-law might seem rather anachronistic, a letter from Lady Essex to Lady Giffard seems to corroborate the notion:

My Lord Carlisle still persuing his resolution of going into ye North, whatever becomes of me, I am to ye end of my dayes most affectionately your humble servant. Jan. ye 31.<sup>2</sup>

From 1695 Carlisle was spending more time in the London home in Soho Square, so for a period rural isolation was less problematical for the young couple. Nevertheless the incident in June 1698 between Carlisle and Lady Popham occurred at the Dowager Lady Carlisle's London house. Scarcely encouraging or facilitating an improper liaison, she might have offered a sympathetic ear to a grandson adjusting to the demands of marriage and an omnipresent mother-in-law. The same grandmother may have taken the initiative, or have co-operated, in an attempt to remedy matters. Carlisle visited Henderskelfe, a family estate owned by his grandmother, in July 1698. Here was a medieval castle refurbished by the first Earl in the 1680s (where he died) – but damaged by fire in March, 1693.<sup>3</sup> The Diary of Lady Anne Halkett<sup>4</sup> describes

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<sup>1</sup> CH J8/37/4

<sup>2</sup> Giffard, *Letters*, p.241.

<sup>3</sup> BCH, p.8.

<sup>4</sup> *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett* edited with an introduction by John Loftis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 31 and 32.

Henderskelfe as a staging-post on the journey from London to Naworth, and possibly planning to settle here was, in part, a strategy to find a compromise: York being nearer to Lady Carlisle's London roots than Naworth, with a well-developed social life of its own. That Carlisle developed Castle Howard for its proximity to London seems clear, but it has usually been ascribed to his political ambitions. Perhaps so - yet it is also possible that it had partly arisen from the need for more congenial company than the isolated Naworth offered. This, given the birth of further children, finds support in Carlisle's poem, where she:

indulg'd with too much ease,  
 (By which grown wanton, & ungratefull too,)  
 Broke thro' my Folds [...] (lines 2-4)

Nicolson's mentioning a "sore of seven years standing" might not refer to marital misconduct per se, but resentment at moving away from London (and possibly parting from Lady Essex). That Lady Carlisle was "spoilt" is corroborated in John Evelyn's diary for 18 April 1680, where he describes Lady Essex as:

a wise [yet somewhat] melancholy woman, setting her heart too much upon the little Lady her daughter, of whom she is over fond.<sup>1</sup>

Up to this point Carlisle's poem may be read in the broadly historical and autobiographical context assumed by Saumarez Smith and Larsen. But this presents difficulties later, where Carlisle is promised Celia in marriage. Could, historically and realistically, such hopes have been entertained?

After 1705 Carlisle had no dynastic reason for pursuing divorce. He had two sons and three daughters – five healthy children. Proceeding against his wife for desertion, he would have encountered inevitable publicity. His kinsman's experience, the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke

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<sup>1</sup> *The Diary of John Evelyn*, edited E.S.De Beer, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), IV, p.201.

of Norfolk, would have dissuaded him, taking eight years, three separate Bills and enormous expense for the divorce to be secured in 1700. More dissuasive was the way the case became the prime public entertainment in London of the decade.<sup>1</sup> Divorce apart, how else might Carlisle have contracted a second marriage? Only perhaps if his wife's hypochondria<sup>2</sup> had foundation and that he outlived her. Given Lady Carlisle's preference for London life, and the dangers of a city with neither really clean water nor sanitary sewage, such hopes – if entertained – might not be entirely unfounded. But settling in Richmond and, later, Twickenham, (both healthy situations) such an outcome became less likely.

However, only a literalistic reading demands considering the problems of divorce: there is another reading of the text. Other elements exist in the poem as important as marriage. The temptations are central; the third temptation, indulged and found unsatisfying, being especially important. Important too is the way the divine protectress becomes the divine temptress, together with a suspicion that the temptations are not so much a test of virtue as, here, a process of refinement through experience. There are certainly two literary texts to which Carlisle's lines allude. The first is Virgil's *Aeneid*. Granted the normal education given to young men of Carlisle's background, he would certainly have had a fairly close knowledge of the original, even though no great linguist and finding English versions more accessible.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John Martin Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk, A Quincentennial History*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p.146.

<sup>2</sup> DD, p.216 n21 (cf J8/1/139 Mary Howard to 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl 15 January 1733 & J8/1/231 Anne Irwin to 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl 19 November n.y.) These examples, however, relate to the 1730s. Though suggestive, they cannot provide very firm evidence for Lady Carlisle's hypochondria fifteen to twenty years earlier.

<sup>3</sup> Carlisle's Library Catalogues included: *Virgil: Works of Virgil, containing his Pastorals, Georgics, and Aeneis. Translated into English Verse; by Mr. Dryden, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn* (London: Printed by Tonson, 1698). (Pressmark 3EC.) *Virgil's Aeneis translated into blank verse. By Nicholas Brady* (London: Printed by Lintott, 1716). (No Pressmark, but I have only found one pressmark after 1710 for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl – and that was a book published in 1712. The absence of the Pressmark therefore should certainly not be thought especially significant.) CH H2/3/8 and CH H2/3/1



Though Carlisle's narrative and Virgil's differ, the similarities demand consideration. The *Aeneid* tells of Æneas after the fall of Troy, establishing Rome, the new Troy, under the divine supervision of the Gods, and especially under the protection of his mother, Venus. Inviting consideration are Book I, describing Æneas's arrival at Dido's court, and Book IV, containing Jupiter's sharp reminder to Æneas of his divine mission, and his departure despite his attachment to Dido. This is followed by the Funeral Games held in honour of Anchises, Æneas's father, who in an encounter in the Elysian Fields foresees future destiny in Italy. Virgil's latter books describe the arrival in Italy, the wars in Latium, the betrothal of Æneas and Lavinia (the daughter of King Latinus), and the defeat of Turnus.

Driving Virgil's narrative is the discord between the divinities affecting the Trojans' fortunes. Venus, Æneas's mother, intervenes to thwart Juno's support for Carthage. The Trojans, fore-ordained to settle in Italy, blown off course through Juno's machinations are wrecked on the coasts of Carthage. Juno makes Queen Dido fall in love with Æneas, delaying the Trojans as long as possible. Venus thinks it politic to co-operate with Juno, and appears to Æneas in the guise of a Tyrian maiden:

Cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva,  
 Virginis os habitamque gerens, et virginis arma  
 Spartanae:<sup>1</sup>

I. 314-16

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<sup>1</sup> Lo! in the deep recesses of the wood  
 Before his eyes his goddess-mother stood –  
 A huntress in her habit and her mien.

(This and all the other translations from the Latin in this Chapter are taken from the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of John Dryden's translation published in 1698).

It transpires she is no mortal:

at Veneris contra sic filius orsus  
 Nulla tuarum audita mihi, neque visa sororum,  
 O (quam te memorem?) Virgo; namque haud tibi vultus  
 Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat. O Dea certe;<sup>1</sup> I. 325-28

Venus tells him that none of his companions was lost, and counsels him to accept  
 Carthaginian hospitality:

Namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam  
 Nuntio, et in tutum versis Aquilonibus actam;  
 Ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.<sup>2</sup> I. 390-91

and:

Perge modo, et, qua te ducit via, dirige gressum.<sup>3</sup> I. 401

This encounter has great similarities with the opening of Carlisle's poem (lines 1-10  
 and 26-27 especially) – too great to be other than intentional. Æneas goes to Carthage,  
 and Dido's temple to Juno – similar to the temple in Carlisle's poem (lines 41-55):

Hic templum Junoni ingens Sidonia Dido  
 Condebat, donis opulentum et numine Divæ;  
 Ærea cui gradibus surgebant limina, nexæque  
 Ære trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aënis  
 Hoc primum in luco nova res oblata timorem  
 Leniit; hic primum Æneas sperare salutem  
 Ausus, et afflictis melius confidere rebus.<sup>4</sup> I. 446-52

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<sup>1</sup> thus her son replies agen:

None of your sisters have we heard or seen,  
 O virgin! or what other name you bear  
 Above that style – O more than mortal fair!  
 Your voice and mien celestial birth betray.

<sup>2</sup> Your scatter'd fleet is join'd upon the shore:

The winds are chang'd, your friends from danger free;  
 Or I renounce my skill in augury.

<sup>3</sup> No more advice is needful; but pursue

The path before you...

<sup>4</sup> Sidonian Dido here with solemn state

Did Juno's temple build, and consecrate,  
 Enrich'd with gifts and with a golden shrine;  
 But more the goddess made the place divine.  
 On brazen steps the marble threshold rose,  
 And brazen plates the cedar beams enclose:  
 The rafters are with brazen cov'rings crown'd;  
 The lofty doors on brazen hinges sound.  
 What first Æneas in this place beheld,  
 Revived his courage, and his fears expell'd.

and:

Namque, sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo,  
 Reginam opperiens; dum, quæ fortuna sit urbi,  
 Artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem  
 Miratur, videt Iliacas ex ordine pognas,  
 Bellaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem;<sup>1</sup>

I. 453-57

Dido meets Æneas, falls in love, and seeks Juno's help in capturing his heart with a sacrifice of a milk white heifer:

Ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido,  
 Candentis vaccæ media inter cornua fundit;<sup>2</sup>

IV. 60-61

Juno responds, and the two are united. Now Jupiter becomes impatient at the Trojans' protracted sojourn in Carthage, significantly observing:

Non illum nobis genitrix pulcherrima talem  
 Promisit, Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;<sup>3</sup>

IV. 227-29

Jupiter forthwith sends Mercury to rouse Æneas to a proper understanding of his duty and his destiny with this message:

<sup>1</sup> For – while, expecting there the queen, he rais'd  
 His wondering eyes, and round the temple gaz'd,  
 Admir'd the fortune of the rising town,  
 The striving artists, and their art's renown-  
 He saw, in order on the painted wall,  
 Whatever did unhappy Troy befall –  
 The wars that fame around the world had blown,  
 All to the life...

<sup>2</sup> The beauteous queen before her altar stands,  
 And holds the golden goblet in her hands.  
 A milk-white heifer she with flowers adorns,  
 And pours the ruddy wine betwixt her horns:

<sup>3</sup> Not so fair Venus hop'd, when twice she won  
 Thy life with pray'rs; nor promised such a son.

Ipse Deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo  
 Regnator, cœlum et terras qui numine torquet;  
 Ipse hæc ferre iubet celeres mandata per auras:  
 Quid struis, aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?  
 Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,  
 Nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem;  
 Ascanium surgentum, et spes hæredis Iuli  
 Respice; cui regnum Italiæ Romanaque tellus  
 Debentur.<sup>1</sup>

IV. 268-76

Responding immediately, Æneas abandons Dido, and he and the Trojan heroes resume their journey to Italy.

During the delay at Dido's court Virgil ceases to apply his customary adjective of "pius" to Æneas, restoring it only, significantly, when the fleet leaves for Italy.

Dryden's paraphrase, however, restores the title somewhat earlier at the point of Æneas's first horror-struck response to Mercury's message:

The pious prince was fill'd with sudden fear:  
 Mute was his tongue, and upright stood his hair. (Dryden)

Virgil's original, however, runs:

At vero Æneas aspectu obmutuit amens,  
 Arrectæque horrore comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit.<sup>2</sup> IV. 279-80

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<sup>1</sup> All-powerful Jove,  
 Who sways the world below and heav'n above,  
 Has sent me down with this severe command;  
 What means thy ling'ring in the Libyan land?  
 If glory cannot move a mind so mean,  
 Nor future praise from flitting pleasure wean,  
 Regard the fortunes of thy rising heir.  
 The promis'd crown let young Ascanius wear,  
 To whom th' Ausonian sceptre, and the state  
 Of Rome's imperial name, is owed by Fate.

<sup>2</sup> There is a reason for this, which has much to do with the moral problem Virgil's narrative creates. Was abandoning Dido, even at the bidding of the gods, morally defensible? For Virgil destiny and obedience to the gods took precedence, but others as early as Ovid (*Heroides VII*) were highly critical of this view, and thought Æneas's actions shameful. Dryden, though, was writing for a Protestant public, and locates Æneas's restoration at his change of heart – not the point where he acts upon it.

The meaning of *pius* is difficult to translate.<sup>1</sup> It involved, as for us, a proper relationship with the divine; but for Virgil this extends to developing proper relationships with others: social superiors, family and peers or servants and slaves. Delaying in Carthage, Æneas ceases to be “pius” not simply because he forgets his divine destiny, but also because, in his passion for Dido, he gives no proper leadership to the Trojans.

The similarities between the *Æneid* and “*A Milk White Heifer*” are significant: so are the differences. Virgil’s complicated interplay of divine personalities and mortal affairs is simplified in Carlisle’s poem to the confrontation between poet and divine mother, assimilating Venus and Juno in the goddess Fortuna. In Virgil guilt in associating with Dido is not sexual, but a distraction from destiny. In Carlisle, indulging the third temptation acquires its own moral dimension: redemption includes “getting back on track” and rejecting counterfeit experiences in indulged hedonism for true, lasting joys represented by Celia. Carlisle’s is a moral narrative in which the movement and action of the *Æneid* is replaced by the temptation sequences in the “*Milk White Heifer*”.

Once Virgil’s *Æneid* is understood as part of the background of Carlisle’s poem, its interpretation is radically altered. The milk white heifer and her recovery become a distraction from the poet’s destiny. Like Æneas, Carlisle is “preserved” on two occasions, resisting the temptations of wealth and power, but plunging headlong into the third – pleasure and endless gratification. He loses sight of his destiny, avoids his responsibilities to the wider community, finding no satisfaction in the cloying

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<sup>1</sup> An extended discussion of this may be found in James Garrison’s *Pietas from Vergil to Dryden* (Pennsylvania: State University Press, 1992).

pleasures readily available. Only coming to himself, resuming his responsibilities, does the goddess grant the blessing he craves: “Celia the charming faithfull maid”, to whom he is to be united by holy rites. In this sense, “Celia” becomes not so much a future partner as a symbol of life made whole - restored in its proper setting.

It is still possible to read the poem with an emphasis on marriage. If so, Lady Carlisle becomes like Æneas’ first wife, Creusa. She disappears from the story at the sack of Troy: though the mother of the heir, and “legitimate” in that sense, she is irrelevant in the workings of destiny. Borrowing Dryden’s translation of the sacrifice offered by Dido to Juno – the “milk white heifer” - is a reference to Carlisle’s delay in realising his true destiny, not to their relationship. Because Virgil’s Juno and Venus are assimilated into one divinity, so the “milk white heifer” may also be the “black heifer” required by the Sybil in VI. 153-155, enabling Æneas to pass through the Stygian groves safely. Identifying Lady Carlisle with a “milk white heifer” does not mean she was never a “true wife”, though it might suggest that as his was a dynastic marriage, procreation was more important than union of heart and mind. The pointlessness of perpetuating this relationship is expressed where, in lines 10-24, the heavenly protectress bids him abandon his quest and “move on”.

Although the poem ends with a return to this pastoral theme and the prospect of *Celia*, the temptation sequence intervenes, with the third temptation and its gratification being especially important. It is when he is sated, and turns to the goddess for relief that a special dependence on Dryden’s translation is met. Virgil’s text has Æneas’ title “pius” restored to him only when he has committed himself by boarding ship. Dryden, however, restores it as he hears the heavenly messenger recalling him to duty. For

Carlisle, Dryden's interpretation represented an important assimilation of specifically Christian ideas about repentance and restoration – an issue explored in the contemporary reminiscences of Thomas Story, a Quaker acquaintance.

The interplay between Virgil and these lines invite us to see Carlisle's interpreting his life as a Trojan hero reminded of his true destiny and his responsibilities by divine intervention. The failed marriage is understood not as moral failure, but something set aside that destiny might be fulfilled. This reading might seem forced, were it not so fully borne out by Carlisle's history. His retirement from active politics can be dated to 1717, the process effectively consolidated by 1722 and his "turning out" from his office at the Tower, the death of his political ally, Sunderland, and the ascendancy of Robert Walpole. The political correspondence preserved at Castle Howard<sup>1</sup> and John Macky in the second volume of his "Journey through England"<sup>2</sup> confirm this. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu also writes of his love of retirement being the reason why he was not appointed a guardian of the young Duke of Kingston, inheriting his title on 5 March 1725/6 at fourteen.<sup>3</sup> This retirement continued until 1728, when Carlisle was again sworn a member of the Privy Council (inexplicably ignored by his biographers). Carlisle once again took an active part in politics, supporting the Whig administration in the Excise Crisis of 1733; publishing a political pamphlet, albeit anonymously; corresponding with Horatio Walpole and Sir Robert, and assiduously courting Queen Caroline's interest and favour. Such sea-changes call for explanation. That one might be found through allusions to Æneas is no less plausible than the "Catonian" and "Ciceronian" models suggested by Reed Browning.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> HMC Carlisle Papers pp.21-23.

<sup>2</sup> Macky, *Journey*,. pp.214 -15.

<sup>3</sup> Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters*, III, p.162.

<sup>4</sup> *Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Court Whigs*.

Castle Howard was decorated by Pellegrini from 1710-1712 with scenes from the Æneid epic. These disappeared in the disastrous fire of 1940. However, in July 1732 a visitor named John Tracy Atkyns made a detailed account of the scenes depicted in the Upper Saloon: (Plate 5, p.215.)

[...] in seven Compartiments round the Room are represented the Story of the Trojan War, the 1<sup>st</sup> is the Rape of Helen, the 2<sup>nd</sup> the Discovery of Achilles by his Making Choice of a Sword in the School of the Girls, ye 3<sup>rd</sup> the Contention between Ajax and Ulisses for the Armour of Achilles, the 4<sup>th</sup> the Sacrifice of Iphigenia the 5<sup>th</sup> the Town on Fire, the 6<sup>th</sup> Æneas conveying off Anchises and leading Ascanius. the seventh the sailing of Æneas for Italy.<sup>1</sup>

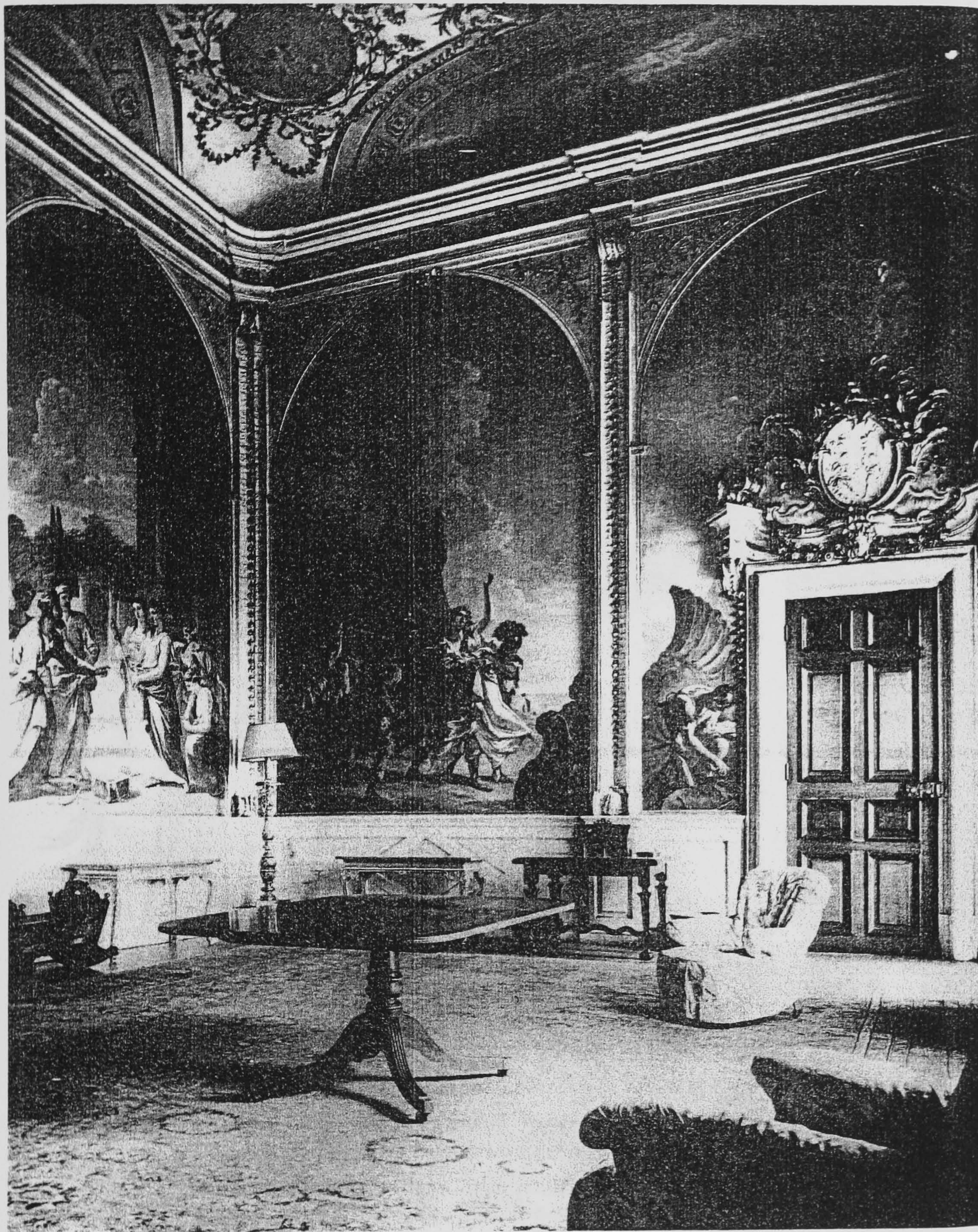
These scenes come from Homer's *Iliad* as well as Virgil's *Æneid* – not forgetting Ovid, whose *Metamorphoses*, and Livy, whose *History* uses these epic themes. Only scenes five, six and seven of Pellegrini's scheme illustrate purely Virgilian contributions. Nevertheless, apart from these there are, or were, others originating in Virgil. Pellegrini's ceiling for the Upper Saloon depicted (according to Atkyns) "Pallas and Venus conferring together". (Plate 6, p.216.) This seems unlikely. The two figures, Venus dominant and the other facing away preclude much "conferring". The martial figure seems to be chasing away three intrusive "putti", whilst Venus gestures to the heavens and to the swan. The swan might allude to the myth where Phaeton's grieving brother is turned into a swan.<sup>2</sup> However, considering the rest of the room this must refer to Book I of the *Æneid*: Venus appears to Æneas, and assures him of the Gods' favour by an augury of swans settling on the water<sup>3</sup> - a turning-point in Virgil's narrative.

<sup>1</sup> John Tracy Atkyns *Iter Boreale* (Unpublished ms in the Paul Mellon Collection at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, USA, available as an uncorrected draft by courtesy of Dr E. Fairman.) p.19.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned in Susan Gordon *The Iconography and Mythology of the Eighteenth Century English Landscape Garden* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 1999). However, she does not mention the swan in this ceiling, but refers to the swan on the exterior stonework in the Garden Front.

<sup>3</sup> [...] ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.  
aspice bis senos laetantis agmine cycnos,  
aetheria quos lapsa plaga Iovis ales aperto  
turbabat caelo; nunc terras ordine longo  
aut capere aut captas iam despectare videntur. I. 392-96.





*Scenes from the Trojan War* by Giambattista Tiepolo, c.1712.  
(Castle Howard High Saloon Walls). Photo: Castle Howard.  
Reproduced from *The Building of Castle Howard*, p.102.



*Minerva and Venus*, by Giantonio Pellegrini, c. 1712.  
Castle Howard High Saloon Ceiling) Photo: Castle Howard.  
Reproduced from *The Building of Castle Howard*, p. 103.

Venus points upwards in a stylised prophetic gesture; and her other hand gestures towards the swan. The three “putti” are unfavourable winds chased away for the fourth (at the hem of Venus’s gown) to carry the heroes onwards. Minerva drives the unfavourable winds away for she was closely identified with the Trojans after her Temple in Troy was desecrated. (Her olive-sprays were worn by the Trojans arriving in Latium.)<sup>1</sup> The dome of Castle Howard became an icon for eighteenth-century evocations of antiquity. (Plate 7, Figures 1 & 2, p.218.) The frontispiece to Pope’s 1717 *Iliad* (Plate 8, p.219) is remarkably similar with Castle Howard in portraying ancient Troy.<sup>2</sup> It may not be entirely fanciful to reinterpret the “Fall of Phæton” under the Dome (Plate 9, p.220.) as “Troilus’ death falling from his chariot” of the *Æneid*, Book I - a scene decorating Dido’s temple.<sup>3</sup> The Great Hall fireplace picture is now recognised as Vulcan forging Æneas’s armour at Venus’ prompting – *Æneid*, Book VIII. 370-730. Atkyns is important, describing the original decoration of Castle Howard. But he is sometimes ambiguous, not always recognizing the significance of what he describes – as the ceiling of the Upper Saloon. His description of the ceilings in the two Summer Houses completed in 1732 may continue this heroic theme:

there are Two Summer Houses that are just finish’d the Painting in each of them very Pretty, in one Ships represented in various Attitudes, Some in full sail Others at Anchor, unlading their Goods, some in an Engagement others Burning. upon the Cieling the Skie with Birds of all kinds. the other has Variety of Landscapes upon the Cieling an Aurora drawn by Cupids the Pavement in each of the Bremen Stone, that has an equal Cast of the Purple and Red [...]<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> tum satus Anchisa delectos ordine ab omni  
centun oratores augusta ad moenia regis  
ire iubet, ramis velatos Palladis omnis  
donaque ferre viro pacemque exposcere Teucris. VII. 152-55.

<sup>2</sup> This is mentioned in Susan Gordon’s *The Iconography and Mythology of the Eighteenth-Century English Garden*, and developed further in Timothy Mowl’s *Gentlemen and Players* (Sutton: 2000), p.67 (and n14). However, Dr Gordon does not actually mention this in her text, although she includes the *Iliad* frontispiece as Illustration 18 to her Chapter 5.

<sup>3</sup> parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,  
infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli,  
fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,  
lora tenens tamen; huic cervixque comaeque trahantur  
per terram et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta. I. 474-78. N.B. “ parte alia”

<sup>4</sup> *Iter Boreale*, p.24.



Figure 1 *Pope's Troy*. An enlargement of a detail from Plate 8.

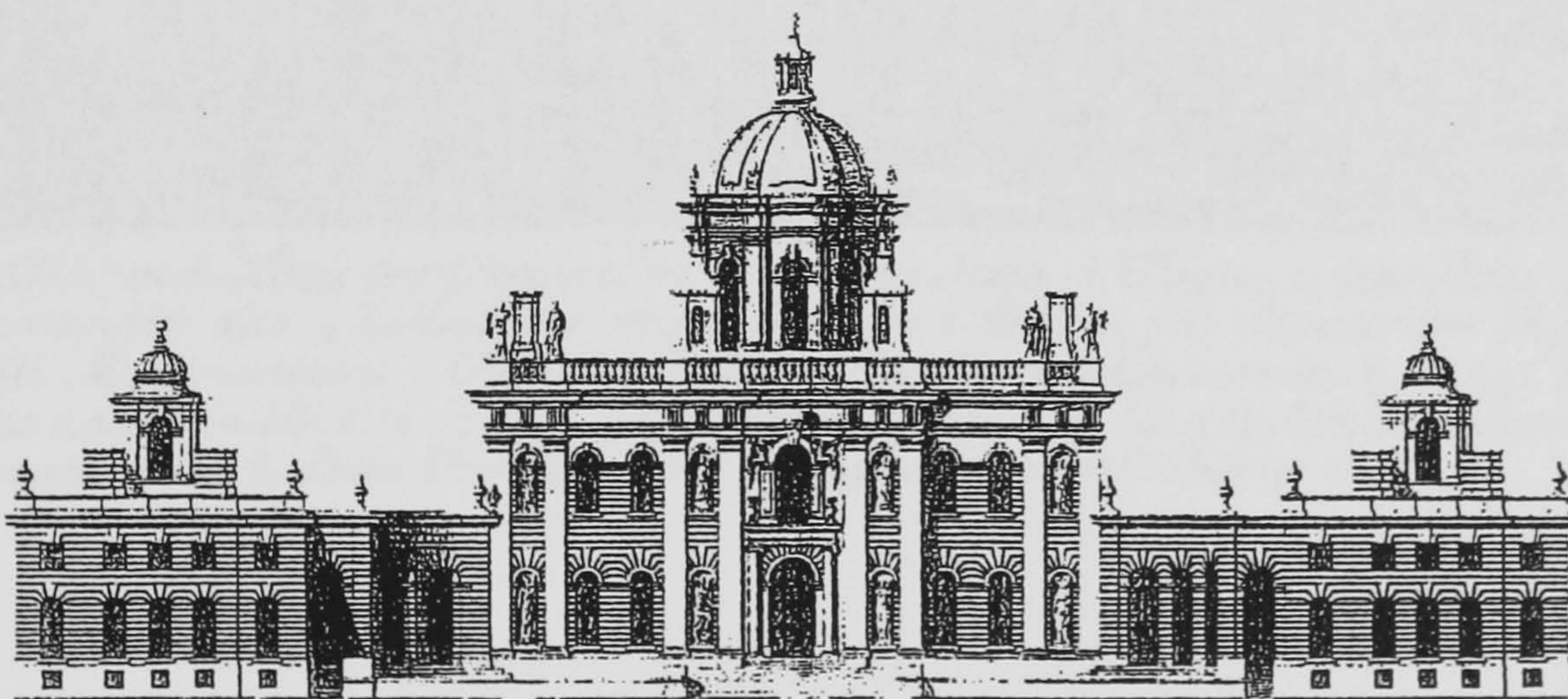
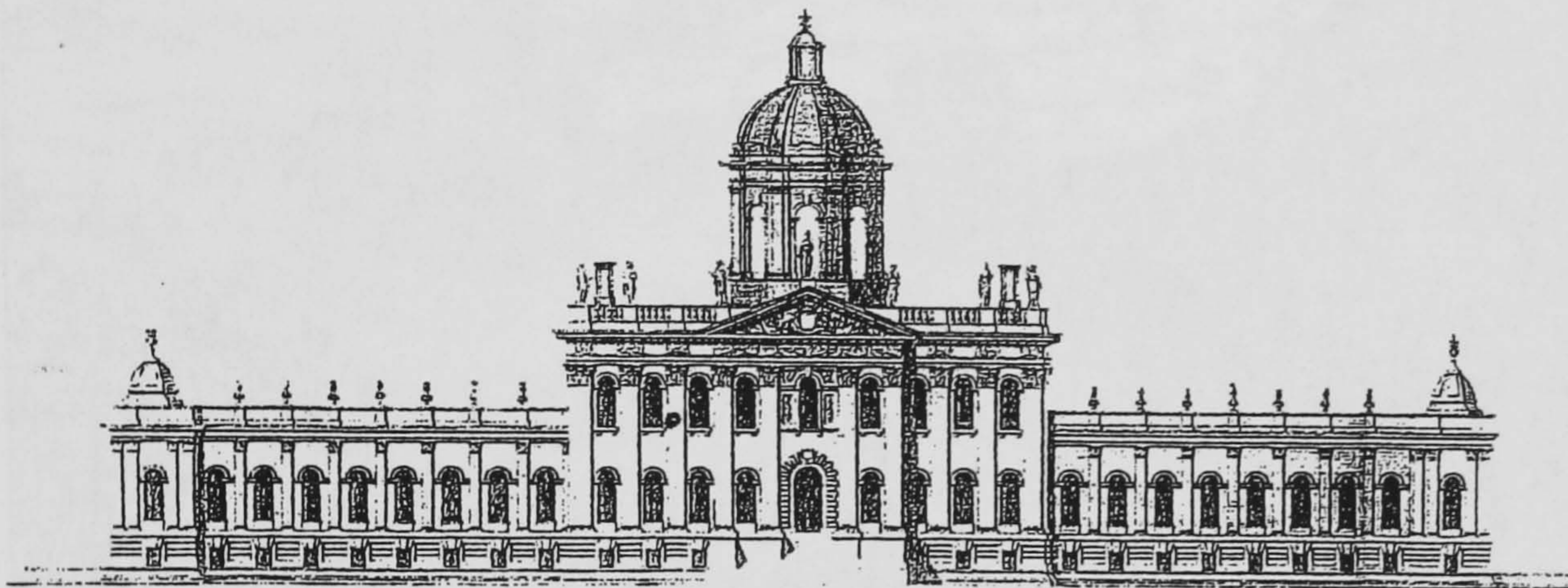
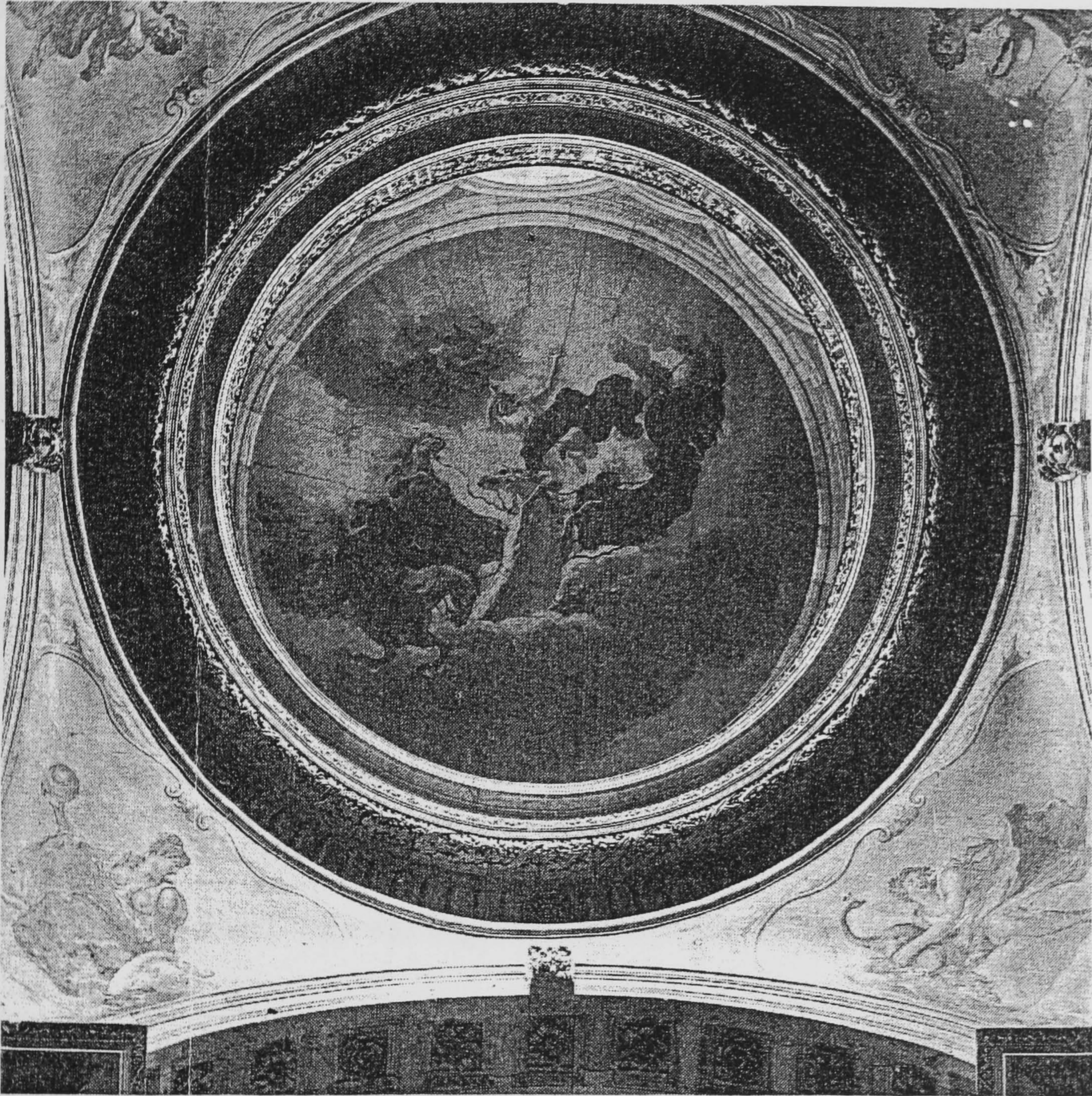


Figure 2. *North and South elevations of Castle Howard* taken from the first volume of *Vetruvius Britannicus* of 1715. Reproduced from *The History of Castle Howard*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2002. p.13.



TROJA cum Locis pertinentibus. 1. Porta Scæa & Fagus. 2. Caprificus. 3. Fontes Scamandri duo. 4. Callicolone prope Simoim. 5. Bateria seu Sepulcrum Myrines. 6. Ili Monumentum. 7. Tumulus Esietis. AA. Murus Achivorum. B. Locus Pugne ante naves in lib. 8. 12. 13. 14. C. Gesta Diomedis hoc loco lib. 5. D. Achillis & Scamandri Certatio lib. 22. E. Locus Pugne in lib. 6. F. Pugna in lib. 11. G. Pugna in lib. 20. L. Huris fecit

*Frontispiece to Pope's Iliad.*  
From a copy of the 1716 edition of Pope's Translation  
in the library at Castle Howard.



*The Fall of Phaeton*, by Giantonio Pellegrini, c.1709-12.  
(Castle Howard Great Hall). Photo: NMR AA77/1354  
Reproduced from *The Building of Castle Howard*, p.99.

It seems the two Summer Houses were complementary. The naval scenes might represent the Trojan journey to Latium. (At Drepanum, after the Funeral Games, the Trojan fleet was partially destroyed by fire before the final stage of the journey to Latium, where they were welcomed, according to Virgil, by all kinds of birds.)<sup>1</sup> The other Summer House may represent scenes in Latium, where Aurora ushers in the dawning of the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> These are only conjectural: Atkyns says too little to justify more. However, even without conjecture, there is strong evidence the *Aeneid* remained potent in Carlisle's thinking. It is not suggested that this "programme" evolved in 1709-12: only that it happened by the mid-1720s, inspiring this poem, Pyramid, Portraits, and perhaps the Summer-houses:<sup>3</sup> Pellegrini's decorations originated before these themes stimulated Carlisle's imagination. Saumarez Smith<sup>4</sup> employs Carlisle's writings – this poem especially – to understand his intentions in adorning house and gardens at Castle Howard: but, *pari passu*, one might employ these to underline motifs evident in his writings.

Dr Jack Donovan suggests a special relevance in the Anchises/*Aeneas*/*Ascanius* motif, reinforcing notions that destiny and blood transcend the political circumstances in which they are found. This was important for Carlisle's family, becoming prominent

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<sup>1</sup> hunc inter fluvio Tiberinus amoeno  
verticibus rapidis et multa flavus harena  
in mare prorumpit. variae circumque supraque  
adsuetae ripis volucres et fumenis alveo  
aethera mulcebant cantu lucoque volabant.  
flectere iter sociis terraeque advertere proras  
imperat et laetus fluvio succedit opaco. VII. 30-36

<sup>2</sup> cum primum crastina caelo  
puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit,  
non Tecros agat in Rutulos, Teucrum arma quiescant  
et Rutuli; nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum,  
illo quaeratur coniunx Lavinia campo. XII. 76-80

<sup>3</sup> It is equally hard to understand the motives behind reshaping and inscribing the portraits of the first three Earls without invoking *Aeneas* and his own critical and defining relationship towards his forebears and successors.

<sup>4</sup> BCH pp.151-54.

under Cromwell, indeed ennobled by him, yet surviving and prospering at the Restoration and under William III. Even more important thought may be the parallel between the royal house of Troy and the Howards. Priam was the last King of Troy, and Troilus, his son and heir, was killed, falling from his chariot, by Achilles. (Hence the earlier suggestion about “reinterpretation”.) Anchises heads a cadet branch of the royal house. Taking Anchises with the household gods and Ascanius from burning Troy, Æneas establishes his cadet line in legitimate succession. Discussing Carlisle’s ancestry, Saumarez Smith suggests he “had little cause for pride”.<sup>1</sup> This seems improbable – the less so when adopting the Æneas imagery allowed Carlisle to claim moral ascendancy over the entire Howard family: plausible after Catholicism and Jacobitism virtually excluded the Norfolk Howards from influence and power. This explains Carlisle’s reverence for Lord William Howard, younger son of the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Norfolk, who founded the cadet line that acquired the Earldom of Carlisle; why he consistently described himself as “of the family of the Howards”; named his London home “Carlisle House” but his Yorkshire seat “Castle Howard” – and how, describing himself as Lord William’s “present heir”.<sup>2</sup> Ignoring intervening generations, Carlisle portrays himself as Æneas, leading his family to its destiny.

Though perspectives might differ from the early eighteenth century, portraying oneself as Æneas might be thought extravagant. But, as argued earlier, the special relevance of the theme is the way it encapsulates Carlisle’s inner sense of “loss of direction” in his years of political withdrawal – something he rationalises in the mythological parallel offered by Æneas’ dalliance with Dido. Nevertheless, it is clear that the narrative is being endued with a morality derived more from Gospel

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<sup>1</sup> BCH pp.9-12

<sup>2</sup> In the inscription to the memory of Lord William Howard on the Great Pyramid built c1728. This is discussed more fully later in this Chapter.



temptations than from classical sources. Whereas Venus protects her son Æneas on two occasions before his sojourn with Dido, these involved physical, not moral, danger. In Carlisle's poem all three occasions have moral implications: though resisting temptations of wealth and power, he succumbs to self-indulgence. Only when acknowledging dissatisfaction is the way opened to return to grace and fulfil his destiny.

An important source confirms Carlisle's self-questioning in these years. A prominent Quaker, Thomas Story, visited Carlisle on three occasions: in 1718 in London, and in 1725 and 1732 at Castle Howard. Story writes from a specialised standpoint: for him, Carlisle represents Festus, the fair-minded, sympathetic Roman Governor, who in the Acts of the Apostles provides an important element in the story of Paul and the spreading Gospel. But Story is also a perceptive "physician of the soul" whose testimony is valuable in understanding Carlisle's mind. Of the 1725 visit, Story writes:

[p.659] On the 11<sup>th</sup> [of the 7<sup>th</sup> month] I made a visit to the Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard, about three Miles from Malton. He was confined to his Chamber in a Fit of the Gout; but sending up my Name, he readily admitted me, and expressed some Satisfaction to see me; and being set down, after a little Pause of Silence, he moved a Discourse to this Purpose: That, as Mankind are incident to many Troubles and Temptations in Life, he observed a great Difference between the Trouble of Mind which ariseth from Losses and Disappointments in the Things of the World, and that which proceeds from a Sense of the Misconduct of Life, in a Course inconsistent with Duty to God and his known Laws [...] With some other important matters, not now to be fully collected.<sup>1</sup>

While Story's account is given in Christian terminology, one may identify concerns Carlisle expresses in classical, poetic guise. The moral dimension to the discussion is important, with the inward, personal response and accountability of the individual to

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<sup>1</sup> Story, *Journal*, pp. 659-61.

his divine Guide. Peeling away Story's contextualising in terms of Quaker orthodoxy, Carlisle's inner turmoil shines through with startling clarity. (Probably Story's "With some other important matters not now to be fully collected" refers to private disclosures Carlisle made to Story, which would, naturally, remain undisclosed). For Carlisle classical motifs become vehicles for articulating Christian concerns, and an epic which famously explored "pietas" in public and private contexts is employed to interpret his preoccupation with personal and family issues.

This becomes even more compelling when considering the structure of his verse. Epic in Virgil shared a distinctive verse-form with the pastoral: the dactylic hexameter. Yet epic and pastoral were distinct.<sup>1</sup> This was sharply differentiated from the varied and sometimes complex forms adopted, for example, by Horace for his shorter pieces. Though Virgil distinguishes the forms by their subject-matter, he writes both in the same hexameter structure. Carlisle also encloses his epic within the pastoral – perhaps seeing epic possibilities within the personal and intimate in the way Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* presents the epic journey of "Everyman" beginning in the dream of a man asleep by the wayside. Again, Carlisle might have remembered Border Ballads like *Thomas the Rhymer*, in which a central sequence of other-worldly and supra-terrestrial significance is contained within beginnings and endings of everyday dimensions. Representing the epic within the pastoral, Carlisle employs blank verse

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<sup>1</sup> Acknowledged by the unknown first-century editor in his prefatory lines to the *Aeneid*:

Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena  
 carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi  
 ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,  
 gratum opus agricolis: at nunc horrentia Martis [...]

I am he who once tuned my song on a slender reed,  
 then, leaving the woodland, compelled the neighbouring  
 fields to serve the husbandman, however grasping –  
 a work welcome to farmers: but now of Mars' bristling [...] *Aeneid*: Loeb 2 vol. edition, p. 261

rather than heroic couplets, possibly in the light of Brady's 1716 blank-verse translation of Virgil.

That Carlisle was writing within a literary "tradition" is made more evident when the affinities with Book II of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* are considered. Literary references to Virgil abound throughout the work – a point specifically acknowledged in Spenser's own dedicatory epistle to Sir Walter Raleigh:

In which I have followed all the antique Poets historicall; first Homere, who in the Persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses hath ensampled a good governour and a vertuous man, the one in his Ilias, the other in his Odysseis: the Virgil, whose like intention was to doe in the person of Aeneas [...] By ensample of which excellent Poets, I labour to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues [...] <sup>1</sup>

Book II of the *Faerie Queene* is devoted to the virtue of temperance under the guise of the adventures of Sir Guyon. As temperance is perhaps most strongly contrasted with ungovernable passion it is natural that Virgil's treatment of Æneas, with his contrast of "furor" and "pietas", should be invoked. Spenser does not, however, translate, or even re-present Virgil: rather, he uses recognizable elements in new, unusual ways for his distinctive ends. So, in Book II, Canto III, Trompart and Braggadocchio (two knights representing the antithesis of knightly virtues) encounter from stanzas XXI-XLVI a "goodly Ladie clad in hunters weed" described in stanzas XXXII and XXXIII in terms which unmistakably reflect the *Æneid* Book I. 321-34:

When she at last him spying thus bespake:           Bk II   Canto XII . XXXII  
 "Hayle, Groome! didst not thou see a bleeding Hynde,  
 Whose right haunch earst my stedfast arrow strake?  
 If thou didst, tell me, that I may her overtake."

Wherewith reviv'd, this answere forth he threw:   Bk II   Canto XII . XXXIII  
 "O Goddesse, (for such I thee take to bee)

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<sup>1</sup> Edmund Spenser, *The Fairie Queene*, 2 vols. Introduction by Prof. J. W. Hales (London: Dent, 1966). I, pp. 1 & 2. (All subsequent page references are to Volume 1 of this edition.)

For nether doth thy face terrestriall shew,  
 Nor voyce sound mortall; I avow to thee,  
 Such wounded beast as that I did not see,  
 Sith erst into this forrest wild I came.  
 But mote thy goodlyhed forgive it mee,  
 To weet which of the gods I shall thee name,  
 That unto thee dew worship I may rightly frame.”<sup>1</sup>

Spenser is using Virgil’s heroic prototype to underline the irony of Trompart and Braggadocchio’s portrayal of knightly virtue – because in the following stanzas (Canto III. XLII) the goddess is subjected to an attempted rape.

Another Virgilian motif is recalled in Canto VIII. After slaying Cymocles, Arthur overcomes Pyrochles and has him at his mercy. Recalling the climax, where Æneas slays Turnus in “furor” at the memory of Turnus’ killing of his friend,<sup>2</sup> yet reversing Virgil’s account, Spenser writes:

But full of princely bounty and great mind,  
 The Conqueror nought cared him to slay;  
 But casting wronges and all revenge behinde,  
 More glory thought to give life then decay,  
 And sayd; “Paynim, this is thy dismall day;  
 Yet if thou wilt renounce thy miscreance,  
 And my trew liegeman yelde thy life for ay,  
 Life will I graunt thee for thy valiaunce,  
 And all thy wronges will wipe out of my sovenaunce.”

Bk II Canto VIII  
 LI

“Foole!” (sayd the Pagan) “I thy gift defye,  
 But use thy fortune as it doth befall;  
 And say, that I not overcome doe dye,  
 But in despite of life for death do call.”  
 Wroth was the Prince, and sory yet withall,  
 That he so wilfully refused grace;  
 Yet sith his fate so cruelly did fall,  
 His shining Helmet he gan soone unlace,  
 And left his headless body bleeding all the place.”<sup>3</sup>

LII

Spenser uses a well-known text to underscore the significance of his own narrative.

<sup>1</sup> Spenser, p.204

<sup>2</sup> *Æneid* XII.930-52

<sup>3</sup> Spenser, pp.267-68

But in Canto XII parallels of greatest interest arise. In the Prologue to the conclusion of the Second Book of the *Faerie Queene*,

Guyon, by Palmers governaunce,  
 Passing through perilles great,  
 Doth overthrow the Bowre of blis  
 And Acrasy defeat.<sup>1</sup>

Bk II Canto XII Prologue

Describing the Bower of blis, Spenser foreshadows the setting in which Carlisle encounters his third temptation:

Thence passing forth, they shortly doe arryve  
 Whears the Bowre of Blisse was situate;  
 A place pickt out by choyce of best alyve,  
 That natures worke by art can imitate:  
 In which whatever in this worldly state  
 Is sweete and pleasing unto living sense,  
 Or that may dayntest fantasy aggrate,  
 Was poured froth with plentifull dispence,  
 And made there to abound with lavish affluence.<sup>2</sup>

XLII

The Bower of blis, whatever its seeming attractions, is a place which represents the antithesis of all good:

They in that place him Genius did call  
 Not that celestiaall powre, to whom the care  
 Of life, and generation of all  
 That lives, pertaines in charge particulare,  
 Who wondrous things concerning our welfare,  
 And straunge phantomes doth lett us ofte foresee,  
 And ofte of secret ill bids us beware:  
 That is our Selfe, whom though we do not see,  
 Yet each doth in him selfe it well perceive to bee.

XLVII

Therefore a God him sage Antiquity  
 Did wisely make, and good Agdistes call:  
 But this same was to that quite contrary,  
 The foe of life, that good envyes to all,  
 That secretly doth us procure to fall  
 Through guilefull semblants which he makes us see:  
 He of this Gardin had the governall,  
 And Pleasures porter was devised to bee,  
 Holding a staffe in hand for mere formalitee.<sup>3</sup>

XLVIII

<sup>1</sup> Spenser, p.314

<sup>2</sup> *ibid*, p.323

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, pp.324-25

Sir Guyon “he his ydle curtesie defide,” entered the Bower, encountering a wanton who offered visitors a golden cup of wine:

So she to Guyon offred it to tast,  
Who, taking it out of her tender hond.  
The cup to ground did violently cast,  
That all in peeces it was broken fond,  
And with the liquor stained all the lond:<sup>1</sup>

Bk II Canto XII  
LVII

Two temptations resisted, Guyon arrives at a fountain, where

Two naked Damzelles he therein espyede,  
Which therein bathing seemed to contend  
And wrestle wantonly, ne car'd to hyde  
Their dainty partes from vew of any which them eyd.<sup>2</sup>

Bk II Canto XII  
LXIII.5

Guyon's resolution weakens:

Whom such when Guyon saw, he drew him neare,  
And somewhat gan relent his earnest pace;  
His stubborne brest gan secret pleasaunce to embrace.<sup>3</sup>

Bk II Canto XII  
LXV.7

The seed of ruin once sown quickly ripens:

Now when they spyde the knight to slacke his pace  
Them to behold, and in his sparkling face  
The secret signs of kindled lust appeare,  
Theire wanton meriments they did encrease,  
And to him beckned to approch more neare,  
And shewd him many sights that corage cold could reare.<sup>4</sup>

Bk II Canto XII  
LXVIII.4

However, Guyon's guide perceives this, saving him from danger:

On which when gazing him the Palmer saw,  
He much rebukt those wandering eyes of his,  
And counseld well him forward thence did draw.<sup>5</sup>

Bk II Canto XII  
LXIX

Spenser's tale reaches its climax:

Now are they come nigh to the Bowre of blis,  
Of her fond favorites so nam'd amis,  
When thus the Palmer: “Now, Sir, well advise;  
For here the end of all our traveill is:

Bk II Canto XII  
LXIX.4

<sup>1</sup> Spenser, p.327

<sup>2</sup> *ibid*, p.328

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, p.329

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*, p.329

<sup>5</sup> *ibid*, p.330

Here wonnes Acrasia, whom we must surpise,  
Els she will slip away and all our drift despise.”<sup>1</sup>

Acrasia's bower is described in the detailed, sensuous manner of Carlisle's garden of temptation. She holds captive her latest conquest:

The young man, sleeping by her, seemd to be	Bk II Canto XII LXXIX
Some goodly swayne of honorable place,	
That certes it great pittie was to see	
Him his nobility so fowle deface: [...]	
His warlike Armes, the ydle instruments	LXXX
Of sleeping praise, were hong upon a tree;	
And his brave shield, full of old moniments,	
Was fowly ras't, that none the signes might see:	
Ne for them ne for honour cared hee,	
Ne ought that did to his advauncement tend;	
But in lewd loves, and wastfull luxuree,	
His dayes, his goods, his bodie, he did spend:	
O horrible enchantment, that him so did blend! <sup>2</sup>	

With the Palmer's assistance, Guyon overcomes Acrasia and her lover; binds her, but releases the young man with “counsell sage”, and then:

But all those pleasaunt bowres, and Pallace brave,	LXXXIII
Guyon broke downe with rigour pittillesse;	
Ne ought their goodly workmanship might save	
Them from the tempest of his wrathfulnesse,	
But that their blisse he turn'd to balefulnesse.	
Their groves he feld; their gardins did deface;	
Their arbers spoyle; their Cabinets suppressse;	
Their banket houses burne; their buildings race;	
And, of the fayrest late, now made the fowlest place. <sup>3</sup>	

The final act comes with the release of all those ensnared by Acrasia in the past:

Streight way he with his vertuous staffe them strooke,	LXXXVI
And streight of beastes they comely men became;	
Yet being men they did unmanly looke,	
And stared ghastly; some for inward shame,	
and some for wrath to see their captive Dame. <sup>4</sup>	

One last reflection is made:

But one above the rest in speciall	LXXXVI.6
That had an hog beene late, hight Grylle by name,	

<sup>1</sup> Spenser, p.330

<sup>2</sup> *ibid*, pp.332-33

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, p.333

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*, p.334

Repyned greatly and did him miscall  
 That had from hoggish forme him brought to naturall.  
 Saide Guyon; "See the mind of beastly man,  
 That hath so soone forgot the excellence  
 Of his creation, when he life began,  
 That now he chooseth with vile difference  
 To be a beast, and lacke intelligence!"  
 To whom the Palmer thus: "The donghill kinde  
 Delightes in filth and fowle incontinence:  
 Let Gryll be Gryll, and have his hoggish minde;  
 But let us hence depart whilest wether serves and winde."<sup>1</sup>

LXXXVII

In this last part of Book II the connection between Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Carlisle's lines become clear. The similarities indicate more than Carlisle's knowledge of Spenser, and – possibly – his wish to see his own poem within this literary tradition. The parallels are complicated by Spenser's use of Virgil. For example, Spenser's Bower of blis is related to the *Aeneid* VI.637-901. But where in Spenser the Bower is overthrown, its captives offered release before Sir Guyon resumes his adventure, for Virgil the Bower is where Æneas encounters his father and views the destiny of the Trojan race. This contrast provides the clue. Spenser uses the Arthurian legend as a framework to support his other literary material: with Carlisle the *Aeneid* provides the framework, but upon that are hung Spenserian allusions. Carlisle's Bower is where, with Spenser, both temptation and potential redemption are found. For Carlisle and Virgil, the "nemus fortunatum" opens out into the "seclusum nemus" of XII.704, and he sees his future: in Carlisle's case "Celia". Possibly Carlisle invokes the distinction between public and private virtue that Spenser makes in the dedicatory epistle quoted earlier. This would coincide well with issues described in the *Milk White Heifer* and the conversation with Story.

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<sup>1</sup> Spenser, p.334



Carlisle finds resonances beyond verbal descriptions with Spenser. In the *Milk White Heifer* Carlisle is the traveller/pilgrim. He is not to be confused with Guyon in the *Faerie Queene* – for though Guyon slips, he does not greatly fall. Indeed, Guyon overcomes Acrasia with the help of the Palmer, giving her victims an opportunity of freedom. Whether Carlisle identified himself with Acrasia's current lover, Verdant, is uncertain; yet he seems to identify himself with those freed from her grasp. Where *Gryll* chooses to wallow in hoggish decadence, the point is made that, for those offered release, a moral choice remains. Redemption and liberation may be offered, but they must be accepted before they become effective. Here Carlisle finds his "place" in Spenser's story: tempted and ensnared, he makes that moral choice, and sees a future beyond the deceits of the Bower of bliss. Where so much is presented within different literary frameworks, it is this central reference point that unifies the whole.

It is interesting that Æneas is used to express moral discourse rather than the contemporary "Judgment of Hercules". This theme, originating in Prodicus, preserved in Xenophon *Memorabilia* II, i. 21, found considerable popularity in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in a variety of artistic forms.<sup>1</sup> Though some of these are preceded by Carlisle's *Milk White Heifer*, he would have been aware of the theme and the possibilities it offered describing moral choice. Carlisle's rejection of it must, therefore, have been deliberate. The most obvious and satisfactory reason is that it did

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<sup>1</sup> Found in paintings by: Paulo Veronese, Nicholas Poussin, Peter Paul Rubens, Annibale Caracci, Sebastiano Ricci, Pompeo Batoni, and Paulo de Matteis. (2) literature: Shaftesbury's *Notion of the historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules* of 1713 (a copy of the realization by Matteis hung at Temple Newsam); Addison in the *Tatler* for 22 November 1709; works by Akenside and Robert Lowth; Joseph Spence's *Polymetis* of 1747 and a poem by William Shenstone of 1741; music: Maurice Greene ( libretto by John Hoadley); a Masque ( John Stanley), an Oratorio *The Choice of Hercules* (words by Thomas Morell) by Handel, HWV69,(1751); a secular cantata by Bach for the eleventh birthday of the Prince Elector of Saxony on 5 September 1733: *Herkules auf dem Scheideweg* BWV213. In Garden design the design at Stowe was structured on the theme, and a case may also be made for the garden at Rousham.

not offer the moral choice required. Central to the Hercules theme are the contending attractions of Pleasure and Virtue offered for choice. As in William Shenston's poem and Bach's cantata, the theme is dedicated to someone on the threshold of life, and for whom choice is unfettered by previous moral compromise or failure.

The moral opportunities of Æneas<sup>1</sup> are different, justifying otherwise dubious actions by the overwhelming need to obey divine commands. Virgil's hero is – from a conventional view - amoral – so Carlisle invokes Spenser's "Bower of Bliss" to ground his narrative within a framework of acceptable morality.

The description of this poem as "a literary fantasy" has already been mentioned. In the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century "fantasy" musical themes would combine and recombine to provide a complex, but satisfying unified musical texture. This, in literary terms, Carlisle achieves here. Although Carlisle uses well-known literary references to locate his poem within a recognized literary canon, it is more important to understand these structures and associations as a grammar and syntax to express coherence and value in his own life. Adopting heroic motifs of enlightenment by divine or quasi-divine agencies allows Carlisle to re-construct – or re-present - major events in his life according to a redemptive paradigm through which he emerges, by intermingling the classical and Christian, a penitent in sackcloth and ashes yes, but a hero still.

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<sup>1</sup> Nor was the use of Æneas in this context without precedent, for it is precisely this incident on which Henry Purcell's *Dido and Æneas* is based. Though formerly thought to have been written for Josias Priest's girls' Academy in Chelsea in 1689, it is now thought that this was a revival of a work originally written for a Court performance in 1684-1685. The story of Dido is contained in Book IV of the *Æneid* - and it may well be thought significant that this Book alone was translated by Sir Robert Stapylton (1634) Sir Richard Fanshawe (1648) Edmund Waller & Sydney Godolphin (1658) Sir Robert Howard – Carlisle's kinsman – (1660) and Sir John Denham (1668). That *Dido and Æneas* remained a dominant literary theme into the 1720s is illustrated by Thomas D'Urfey's spoof "*Dramatic Entertainment called Dido and Æneas: or Harlequin*" in 1727.

**J8/35/6**

**A MILK WHITE HEIFER**

**TEXT**

***[c.1725-31?]***

(1)

A milk white Heifer,<sup>1</sup> darling of my<sup>2</sup> Herd,  
 Nurst up with care, indulg'd with too much ease,  
 (By which grown wanton,<sup>3</sup> & ungratefull too,)  
 Broke<sup>4</sup> thro' my Folds, & from my grounds did stray,  
 In quest of her,<sup>5</sup> as o're ye feilds I rang'd. 5  
 Lowdly complaining<sup>6</sup> of Fate's hard<sup>7</sup> decree,  
 A beauteous Nymph most charming to ye sight,  
 Who's radiant looks, who's gracefull port,<sup>8</sup> & air  
 Spok her Immortal, & of race Divine,<sup>9</sup>  
 Me thus forlorne, thus mournfull did accost. 10  
 Cease, Shepherd cease, thy vain pursuit she cry'd,  
 Far from these feilds<sup>10</sup> thy darling Heifer roves,  
 Nor will she ever to thy folds return.<sup>11</sup>  
 By too much fondness, & indulgent care,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *milk white heifer* See the introductory discussion and the similarities with *Aeneid* IV lines 60-61 and Dryden and Brady's paraphrases. Saumarez Smith describes this image of Lady Carlisle as *not the happiest* (BCH p.152). However, it is argued here that this image, when related to its classical source, provides a significant key to the interpretation of the poem.

<sup>2</sup> *my* Possibly *myn*. See line 155. The manuscript is inconclusive, but a superscript letter seems possible in both cases.

<sup>3</sup> *wanton* i.e. "thoughtless," "unmanageable," "skittish." This might extend, but not necessarily, to the second meaning: "promiscuous."

<sup>4</sup> Originally *Broak*.

<sup>5</sup> *her* Interlinear correction for deleted *whom*

<sup>6</sup> *lowdly complaining* *Aeneas'* second speech to his mother is a complaint about the fate that has brought him to this unknown land. (*Aeneid* I. 372-85.)

<sup>7</sup> *Fate's hard decree* Here and elsewhere, in conjunction with "Fate", *hard* means "immutable" as much as "unpleasant".

<sup>8</sup> *port* i.e. "bearing". Interlinear correction for deleted *mien*. (*Mien* is a characteristic usage of Dryden)

<sup>9</sup> *A beauteous Nymph..did accost*. See the Introduction and *Aeneid* I lines 314-28. The *nymph* is revealed in both as the divine mother and protectress. (Cf also *Faerie Queene*, II, Canto III, XXXIII.)

<sup>10</sup> The Ms gives an ambiguous double correction *fields. feilds* is preferred here, on the analogy of line 5.

<sup>11</sup> A redundant ampersand stands at the end of this line. It clearly originated in a tentative reworking of the following line, but has escaped erasure.

<sup>12</sup> This line has been frequently revised. The final - and original- version was temporarily displaced by *& thy watchfull care*. The first half of the line has a deleted interlinear *yielding her will*. Though never fully implemented, the author may have considered *By yielding her will & thy watchfull care*.

Lost, & undone, these lowd<sup>1</sup> complaints she makes<sup>2</sup> 15

(2)

Cold are thy grounds, & barren is thy soil,

Bleak are ye winds, which from ye hills do blow

No joy, or comfort do thy lands afford.

A richer pasture,<sup>3</sup> & a warmer Sun

Now glad<sup>4</sup> her heart, from Thee she's gone for ever.<sup>5</sup> 20

Grieve then no more.<sup>6</sup> happyer Fate attends thee,

T'was my command, my Will, it shou'd<sup>7</sup> be so,

A mighty recompence I'le therefore give;

And Thou shalt own thy sorrows fully pay'd.

This said she bid me follow her, whilst I 25

With joy, & fear surpris'd, with wonder struck

Read ye bright Deity in her sparkling eyes.<sup>8</sup>

'O Goddess at who's Alters Kings do kneel,

Thou great disposer of Events below<sup>9</sup>

Accept this Sacrifice, my ready Will. 30

<sup>1</sup> *lowd* Interlinear correction. Originally *lowd*, changed to *false* and finally restored to *lowd*.

<sup>2</sup> The absence of punctuation in the original makes the grammar ambiguous here. However, whether direct or reported speech, it is clear that lines 16-18 reflect the feelings of the absent heifer. It would be mistaken in principle, and hardly necessary anyway, to impose an editorial preference.

<sup>3</sup> *A richer pasture* However lines 16-18 are understood, it is clear that the nymph/goddess resumes her own voice at this point.

<sup>4</sup> *glad* Originally *glads* with the final *s* deleted.

<sup>5</sup> *Cold are thy grounds...for ever*. These lines reflect Carlisle's interpretation of his wife's decision to retire, first to Cassiobury, then Richmond and finally Twickenham.

<sup>6</sup> originally '*a happyer*' Though a preceding comma remains undeleted, there is a full stop by the deleted *a*. Presumably the *a* was deleted to avoid an eleven-syllable line, whilst the full stop corrects the fall of the stresses more emphatically than a comma. *happyer* is taken as two syllables.

<sup>7</sup> Originally *should*. Textual emendations seem to have arisen in part from a desire to harmonise usage.

<sup>8</sup> This echoes the description of Venus in the *Aeneid*, I, 228: "lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis" - "bright eyes brimming with tears". Note that here, as in Virgil, the recognition of divinity precedes the revelation of the special relation between the goddess and her mortal son.

<sup>9</sup> Carlisle makes no distinction between the various female divinities of the ancient world, but consistently conflates Venus with Juno, and Fortuna, to whom these attributes individually belong.

## (3)

Lead me, direct me, as to Thee seems best,  
 Thy pow'r<sup>1</sup> I own, against thy hard Decrees,  
 No murmur will I make, or dire complaint[.]  
 In vain ye blessings of this life wee seek<sup>2</sup>  
 In vain ye Statsman his deep project<sup>3</sup> lays, 35  
 In vain<sup>4</sup> ye Lover waites ye happy hour;  
 If Thou be not propitious to his wish.<sup>5</sup>

The Goddess answer'd, rise, my Son, & learn  
 Not to let slip ye moment, when I smile.

With yt she led ye way, nor was it long, 40  
 Before wee reach'd ye Seat of her abode,<sup>6</sup>

That Palace of delight, within who's walls

All yt can please ye appetite of Man

Lay heap'd in store, & when ye Goddess smiles,

From thence his labours, & his hopes are crownd. 45

## (4)

Hither arriv'd, with wonder I beheld

The severall beautys of this Statly Pile.

A work stupendious, dazzling<sup>7</sup> to ye sight,

Beyond conception to a mortal eye,

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<sup>1</sup> Originally *power*.

<sup>2</sup> *wee seek* Addition in RH margin. Originally *In vain wee seek ye blessings of this life*.

<sup>3</sup> *project* Originally *projects* with final *s* deleted.

<sup>4</sup> *vain* Interlinear addition.

<sup>5</sup> *In vain...to his wish*. Carlisle's history as a Statesman and lover contained evident disappointments, discussed at some length in the Introduction to his poem, and in the Introductions to *The Introduction to an Epistle* and *The Seven Wise Men* in Chapter 2.

<sup>6</sup> Carlisle seems to echo Virgil, where the goddess's temple cannot really be distinguished from Dido's palace. Many of the features of the temple here are characteristics of Castle Howard.

<sup>7</sup> A smudge makes it uncertain whether one 'z' or two were intended here. See line 112.

**Immortal Artists did ye Fabrick raise** **50**

**And such alone can ye description make.<sup>1</sup>**

**Thro' severall Gates most beautyfull, & strong,<sup>2</sup>**

**Thro' severall Courts magnificent, & great,**

**Into a spacious, & most sumptuous Hall,**

**Adorn'd by ye most curious hand of Art.** **55**

**My kind, my most indulgent Guide did lead me,**

**Then, turning to me, thus ye Goddess spoak.**

**Know then, & learn Thou Son of Human race,**

**That in ye Imperial Court of mighty Jove,**

**To me great courtship, & respect is pay'd,** **60**

(5)

**Which justly to ye power I hold, is due.**

**To crown, or thwart ye wishes of ye Gods**

**Depends on me, my sole Prerogative.<sup>3</sup>**

**Their great designs vain & abortive prove,**

**When I my favour, or consent withdraw.** **65**

**E'n Mars<sup>4</sup> ye boldest of ye Ethereal Court**

**Trembles when frowns upon my brow appear,**

**And well he may, ye mighty Thunderer<sup>5</sup>**

**When most displeas'd, is not so terrible.**

<sup>1</sup> *That Palace of delight...description make.* Cf Æneas's arrival in Juno's temple, *Æneid* I. 453-93, where he sees scenes from the fall of Troy depicted on the walls, and (in Dryden's paraphrase), a dome.

<sup>2</sup> *Thro' severall Gates most beautyfull & strong* Castle Howard originally possessed a number of heavy gateways, since demolished, illustrated in the 1715 *Vetruvius Britannicus*.

<sup>3</sup> *my sole Prerogative* i.e. *belong to me alone*. These attributes belong properly to Juno than to Venus, and also appear to incorporate at lines 70 – 75 those of the female deity "Fortuna" – not perhaps so important a Roman divinity, but prominent in Augustan England in connection with the Lottery.

<sup>4</sup> *Mars* The Roman God of War.

<sup>5</sup> *mighty Thunderer* i.e. "Jupiter".

I know no Laws, nor is my Will prescrib'd 70  
 By any bounds, I equally delight  
 In giveing pleasure, or creating pain.  
 And all ye accidents of human Life  
 Which Men<sup>1</sup> term happy, or unhappy Chance<sup>2</sup>

## (6)

Serve me as sport, & do my fancy please. 75  
 But Thou my Son, my Darling, & my care,  
 Happyest of Mortals, envy'd by Gods,<sup>3</sup>  
 Shall<sup>4</sup> niver<sup>5</sup> see thy Mother's angry Face.  
 Thou met me in ye lucky hour of joy,  
 And I will smile upon thy days to come.<sup>6</sup> 80  
 With yt she paws'd a while, then thus went on.  
 Within this Palace, & at my dispose,  
 All, yt ye<sup>7</sup> Mortals covet, or desire  
 I guard, & keep. let loose thy eager wishes,  
 Indulge thy fancy, & thy senses cloye. 85  
 Seise,<sup>8</sup> Possession take, I freely give

## (7)

<sup>1</sup> This appears an interlinear correction for a deleted *Wee*.

<sup>2</sup> See supra p.211 and p.237 n3. In his earlier years Carlisle had derived a considerable part of his annual income in successful gambling.

<sup>3</sup> In this line the first word must be counted as three syllables to maintain the scansion. It would be much improved with the insertion of *the* or *ye* before the final *Gods*.

<sup>4</sup> *Shall*. It is unclear whether the blot on the final original *t* is intended as correction or a deletion. Since Carlisle uses *shall* at line 164 the same form is adopted here.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic*. The word is clear in the manuscript – assuming that the dot is indeed the dot over an *i* - not a blot.

<sup>6</sup> This was originally followed by this couplet, later lightly struck through:

*No longer shalt Thou mourn thy Heifer's loss,*

*Let ev'ry cause of sad remembrance die.*

<sup>7</sup> *ye* Interlinear correction for deleted *you* or possibly *yon*. *Ye* must mean *you* rather than *the* here: the goddess is addressing her son, but her son is mortal.

<sup>8</sup> *Seise* must be counted (but not of course sounded) as two syllables to make a complete foot.



**What most can glad thy Heart, & joy inspire.**

**This said, at her command a brasen door  
Fasten'd by bolts, & barrs of wondrous strenth  
Open'd her folded leaves,<sup>1</sup> from whence expos'd 90  
To view in heaps pil'd up a store did lie,  
Great as ye Eastern Monarks do possess,  
Or in ye bowels of yt World lies hid,<sup>2</sup>  
Where weary Phebus is by Thetis met.<sup>3</sup>  
If riches therefore can thy heart engage 95  
And in vast wealth thy pleasure Thou dost place<sup>4</sup>  
The Goddess said, this treasure shall be thine.  
I lowly bow'd, my humble thanks return'd  
And beg'd to be excus'd from such a weight.  
A portion fair, unenvy'd, or dispis'd, 100  
Such as ye wants of nature can supply**

**(8)**

**I now enjoy, I ask, or wish no more.<sup>5</sup>  
Let ye rash prayer of Syria's foolish King,<sup>6</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> *a brasen door...folded leaves.* Castle Howard has heavy brazen hinges and locks on its doors.

<sup>2</sup> The wealth of the East was legendary both in classical and biblical antiquity. But here it is West – the gold of the Incas and the wealth of sugar plantations (The first Earl of Carlisle had been Governor-General of Jamaica) – to which the author is referring.

<sup>3</sup> *Where weary Phebus is by Thetis met.* The New World. *Phebus* i.e. “the Sun”: *Thetis* i.e. “a sea-nymph”, who returned to the sea after the birth of her son Achilles.

<sup>4</sup> *place* is written above the line – not as an afterthought, but to accommodate it.

<sup>5</sup> Lines 100 & 101, applied to Carlisle's actual material condition, appear unbelievably unrealistic. Is this claim part of his pastoral fantasy? Yet Carlisle showed little interest in South Sea speculation, (though there is a receipt for a payment in settlement of a loan for the purchase of shares dated June 25, 1722, indicating a total investment of just over £1000. [HMC Carlisle p.41]), and (so he claimed in his 1722 letter to George I) was not anxious about losing his salary as Constable of the Tower. Though certainly a wealthy man by any normal standards, in the feverish financial scramble of his age, he *may* have remained relatively unaffected, and consequently claim this without undue self-delusion.

<sup>6</sup> *Syria's foolish king* Midas, asking all he touched become gold. See Ovid *Metamorphoses* XI.90-193.

And ye unhappy fall of Crassus,<sup>1</sup> stand  
 A great Example to all greedy Souls.<sup>2</sup> 105

With yt forward she mov'd, & by a nod  
 I learnt her meaning, & her steps pursu'd.  
 And now behold ye tempting scene<sup>3</sup> of Power,  
 Where uncontroul'd, & absolute Command  
 Drest out, & deck'd with gorgeous<sup>4</sup> Pomp, & show, 110

Glorious, & bright, as ye Meridien Sun  
 Dazl'd ye eyes of all, who look't so high.  
 Here drawn up, & in their pride of glory,  
 With equal Fame, & undecided Right,  
 The Son of Jupiter,<sup>5</sup> & Cesar<sup>6</sup> stood, 115  
 Attended by ye Heros of their Age.

(9)<sup>7</sup>

I saw young Ammon<sup>8</sup> gloriously attir'd,  
 As from ye conquest of ye East he came,<sup>9</sup>  
 When Scepter'd Slaves his chariot did attend,  
 And as ye Master of ye World he rode 120

<sup>1</sup> *Crassus* A governor of Syria, who broke into the Temple in Jerusalem in 55BC and robbed it of its gold on his way to fight the Parthians. "His appetite for gold was so intense that when, the next year, the Parthians killed him and sent his head to their king, the king amused himself by pouring melted gold into the dead, sagging mouth." Anne Wroe, *Pilate* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1999), p.66.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 84-105 bear suggestive comparison with Christ's first Temptation in the Wilderness. See St Luke 4. 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> *scene* is an interlinear addition.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly *gorgiuous*. Whether the *i* has been altered to *e* or vice versa is impossible to decide.

<sup>5</sup> *Son of Jupiter* i.e. "Alexander the Great".

<sup>6</sup> *Cesar* i.e. "Julius Cæsar" (rather than "Augustus" normally meant by Virgil when he uses an otherwise unqualified *Cæsar*).

<sup>7</sup> (9) stands slightly to the right of another deleted bracketed number (8).

<sup>8</sup> *young Ammon*. *Amoun*, or *Ammon*, was the name of the Egyptian divinity corresponding with Jupiter. *young* here means "son of" as in lines 115 and 130. Between *young* and *Ammon* is a deleted *J* - presumably for *Jupiter*.

<sup>9</sup> After the Battle of Issus in 331BC, from which the cult of Alexander's divinity seems to have begun.

**Thro' haughty Babylon's full crowded streets,**  
**So great his power, their flattery so grosse,<sup>1</sup>**  
**That ev'ry voice proclaim'd this Man a God.**  
**If he did smile ye conquer'd World rejoyc'd,<sup>2</sup>**  
**If grave, reserv'd, or thoughtfull he appear'd, 125**  
**Th'attentive crowd<sup>3</sup> wisper'd their murmurs round,**  
**All watch'd his eye,<sup>4</sup> happy ye Slave yt could**  
**Prevent<sup>5</sup> his wishes, & his purpose serve.**  
**and<sup>6</sup> now ye Roman Hero stands in view**  
**Not less renown'd then ye great Son of Jove. 130**  
**When after Gaul had yeilded to his power,<sup>7</sup>**

## (10)

**Pompey o'rcome, & Egypt stil'd him Lord,**  
**When Spain, & Afric had submission made,**  
**And None durst now his great Command dispute,**  
**Loaded with lawrels, Ruler of ye World, 135**  
**To Rome he did return,<sup>8</sup> courted, & fear'd**  
**By All, each Citizen him homage pay'd,**  
**And held his Will, as sacred as their Law.<sup>9</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> The *s* is an interlinear correction.

<sup>2</sup> *rejoyc'd* Interlinear correction for deleted *did laugh*. A deleted interlinear *rejoyce* stands alongside.

<sup>3</sup> *crowd* Originally spelt *croud* and corrected by a *w* placed over the deleted *u*.

<sup>4</sup> *eye* Originally *eyes*. The final *s* has been deleted.

<sup>5</sup> *Prevent* i.e. "anticipate". See Collect for Easter Sunday *BCP*: "by thy special grace preventing us..."

<sup>6</sup> *And* Originally *But*.

<sup>7</sup> *had yeilded* Interlinear correction over deleted *un* of *unto* and deleted *did yeild* at the end of the line. The full line originally read *When after Gaul unto his power did yeild*.

<sup>8</sup> After defeating Scipio, Julius Cæsar celebrated four triumphs in one month, then a fifth after defeating Pompey's sons. These triumphs were the Gallic, the Alexandrian, the Pontic, the African and the Spanish. (Suetonius I. 37) After his dalliance with Cleopatra in Egypt, he was worshipped as a god.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly related to the legal maxim cherished by the Stuarts and Sir Robert Filmer in his *Patriarcha* (III.15) – anathema in the post-1689 Whig establishment: *quod principi placuit vigorem legem habet*.

<sup>1</sup> Before his throne ye trembling Senate knelt  
 And gave him Honours due unto their Gods.<sup>2</sup> 140

These glittering Scenes of Power, & Fame  
 These Precedents of attracting Greatness<sup>3</sup>  
 The Goddess shew'd me, & these words did say,  
 If high Ambition dos thy breast inflame  
 And to ye Gods this fervent prayer thou mak'st 145

(11)

That Rule, & Empire may this portion be,  
 A greater Prince, then yet ye World has known  
 I'll make Thee. unto<sup>4</sup> which I thus reply'd.

O sacred Deity, most generous<sup>5</sup>, & kind,  
 Hold not thy Son unworthy of thy love, 150

If thus unmov'd, insensible he stands,  
 Far from ye poise<sup>6</sup> & grandeur of a Court,  
 Far from ye cares, & troubles yt attend,  
 Uneasy greatness, & unweildy Power,  
 My<sup>7</sup> choice I make, an easy safe retreat 155

Where bounteous Nature dos for life provide  
 And anxious cares do not perplex ye Mind,  
 Is what I wish, & what I most desire.

<sup>1</sup> An erased *The trembling Senate knelt* stands above the present line.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the statue erected in a Roman temple to Julius Cæsar as "The Unconquerable God".

<sup>3</sup> No attempt has been made to improve the scansion of lines 141-42, though contemporary pronunciation might have made it possible to smooth the lines out a little.

<sup>4</sup> *unto* Originally written as *to*, the *un* is an interlinear addition.

<sup>5</sup> *most generous* Interlinear correction for deleted *bountyfull*.

<sup>6</sup> *poise*. The first letter might possibly be *n*. *Poise*, if understood as *posing*, better represents Carlisle's objection to Court life as essentially deceitful as he expresses it in his later *Advice to his Son*.

<sup>7</sup> As in line 1 *Myn* may be intended.

If low & humble thoughts had fill'd ye breasts  
Of mighty Cesar, & this Grecian Prince,

160

(12)

That last, yt fatal, dreadfull Scene of death,  
Their most untimely Fall, might not have been.<sup>1 2</sup>

Enough ye Goddess said, my next attempt  
Shall please thy fancy, & successfull prove.

With yt thro' severals<sup>3</sup> Rooms noble, & large

165

Proudly adorn'd, magnificent, & rich,

She led me to a garden of delight,<sup>4</sup>

Where Pleasure, undisturb'd<sup>5</sup> by busy cares,

In sensual joys, kept her luxurious Court.<sup>6</sup>

How shall I paint ye beautys of this Place,

170

Joyn all yee sacred Nine,<sup>7</sup> inspire my Soul,

And wing my fancy with poetic rage.<sup>8</sup>

The shaded Alleys, & ye orange Groves,

The mirtle Hedges, & ye terrace Walks,

<sup>1</sup> Lines 108-62 may be compared to Christ's second Temptation in the Wilderness. See St Luke 4.5-8.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander died in Babylon in 323BC: Julius Cæsar was assassinated by Brutus in 44BC. The *hubris* Carlisle represents as the ultimate cause of their death may well be connected with the worship offered to them as divinities in their own lifetime.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>4</sup> This *Garden of delight* becomes the location for Carlisle's falling into his third temptation, and in this respect is obviously related to St Luke 4. 9-12. Nevertheless, much of the descriptive language seems reminiscent of Spenser's *Bower of Bliss* in the *Fairie Queene* II, Canto XII & Virgil *Aeneid* VI. 637-41.

<sup>5</sup> Originally *undisturbed*. See line 22 and 100.

<sup>6</sup> These lines, lightly struck through, originally followed: '*Now ayd me (great Apollo) tune my lyre / In sounds melodious let my Songs repeat / The vast delight, which ev'ry Sense did taste*'. The separate page of corrections gives lines 170 -72 which replace them.

<sup>7</sup> *ye sacred Nine* i.e. the Nine Muses – mythical inspirers of the arts and of artists.

<sup>8</sup> *How shall I paint ye beautys of this Place / Joyn all ye sacred Nine, inspire my Soul, / And wing my fancy with poetick rage*. These lines are inserted here on the authority of the separate page of corrections. *poetick rage* refers to the classical idea that poets were "possessed" by their Muse. Horace seems to suggest a special link between this "rage" and drinking wine. (*Carmina* III.19) It may certainly be significant that these lines occur as Carlisle introduces Spenser's "Bower of Bliss".

**The fragrant flowers, & ye cristal Brooks,** 175

(13)

**The several Fountains<sup>1</sup> curiously adorn'd,  
The many Statues, which did seem to speak,  
With all ye other Ornaments, yt Art  
Contrives, performs, or Nature can produce,  
Perfect were here, & in due order plac'd.<sup>2</sup>** 180

**T'was in ye ev'ning of a summer's day  
When gentle zephirs from ye mirtle Groves  
Perfum'd, refresh'd, & cool'd ye sultry air.<sup>3</sup>  
I scarce can tell, which Sense took most delight<sup>4</sup>  
As far as e're my wandring eye could reach,** 185  
**Pleasing & charming<sup>5</sup> Objects did appear.  
I view'd ye walks, ye fountains<sup>6</sup> did admire,  
Gase'd on ye Statues, with surprise beheld**

(14)

**The verdant<sup>7</sup> hedges, & ye shady Groves.  
Here at ye end of a green Terrace<sup>8</sup> walk** 190

<sup>1</sup> Originally *Fontains*. *u* added to form *Fountains*, but resembling *a* (?) erased and reinserted.

<sup>2</sup> Interlinear correction for *placed*. (But the original has not been struck through. See Line 168) This passage, with its clear mixture of nature and art skilfully combined, is an interesting comment on the gardens at Castle Howard, and especially the interest evoked in the design of Ray Wood. See especially the references to this in Theobald's *Life and Love of Antiochus & Stratonice* mentioned in the Introduction to *The Introduction to an Epistle* in Chapter 2.

<sup>3</sup> *refresh'd & cool'd* Interlinear corrections '*d* & *cool'd* for deleted & *did*. The line originally ran: *Perfum'd, & did refresh ye sultry air*.

<sup>4</sup> *delight* is written above the line in a tight RH margin.

<sup>5</sup> Originally *Charming, & pleasing*. *Charming* is underlined with insertion marks before *Charming* and after *pleasing*. It is assumed that these indicate the altered line shown above

<sup>6</sup> *fountains* Originally spelt *fontains*. The *u* has been added above the text.

<sup>7</sup> *verdant* Interlinear correction for deleted *pleasant*. "Verdant" is also Acrasia's lover in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, II. Canto XII. LXXXII.

<sup>8</sup> *Terrace* Originally spelt *Terrase*. The final *ce* are written above the line.

Where statly beaches in due order rang'd,<sup>1</sup>  
 Did from ye rageing, & ye scortching Sun  
 A pleasing Canopy, & shelter make,  
 A beauteous<sup>2</sup> bower was place'd,<sup>3</sup> where at her ease  
 And crown'd with mirth, & joy,<sup>4</sup> Luxury sat. 200

A table spread did to ye taste present  
 What most is tempting & delicious thought.  
 At her right hand ye Queen of Love<sup>5</sup> was place'd  
 On whom a train of Beautys did attend,  
 Wanton, & gay as her own amorous<sup>6</sup> Doves.<sup>7</sup> 205

A thousand Cupids hover'd round ye Bower,  
 Smiling to see ye wounds their arrows made.<sup>8</sup>

(15)

Now aid me (great Apollo) tune my Lyre,  
 In sounds melodious let my songs repeat  
 The vast delight which ev'ry sense did taste.<sup>9</sup> 210  
 The careless Bacchus on his rowling chair,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *statly beaches in due order* Interlinear correction for underlined (but not deleted) *citrus Trees in pots of silver*. See discussion in Introduction on p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> *beautious* Interlinear correction for underlined *statly* (But not struck through) Was Carlisle consciously reproducing the alliteration of Spenser's "Bower of Bliss" here?

<sup>3</sup> Neither here, nor in line 203 is the *e* deleted.

<sup>4</sup> A deleted interlinear *ye Godes*. stands here.

<sup>5</sup> *Queen of Love* i.e. Venus.

<sup>6</sup> Originally *amorous*, then *am'rous* and finally *amorous* with the apostrophe deleted.

<sup>7</sup> *doves* These are birds sacred to Venus. In the *Aeneid* VI.190-211 twin doves lead Æneas to the golden bough that secures his safe-conduct through the Shades to meet his father Anchises.

<sup>8</sup> *Smiling to see ye wounds their arrows made* .Interlinear correction. Originally *And smil'd to see so many bleeding hearts* Changed then to *Smiling to see ye wounds their darts did make* before assuming its present form. Previous versions have been struck through. Cupid, Venus' agent, was depicted as an archer, firing the darts of love & desire into the hearts of his victims.

<sup>9</sup> Lines 208-10 (originally at 170-72) are placed here on the authority of the separate page of corrections.

<sup>10</sup> *rowling chair* Transferred epithet? Bacchus is not normally classically represented as affected by the wine he dispenses. Perhaps that is the point here, where Carlisle paints a scene of total indulgence.

always a<sup>1</sup> Favourite, where Riot reigns,  
 With fumes opprest, next to ye Goddess sat.  
 While busy<sup>2</sup> Satyrs, & ye nimble<sup>3</sup> Fauns  
 Held golden gobblets<sup>4</sup> to his noding head, 215  
 Full fraughted<sup>5</sup> with ye rich, reviveing juice,<sup>6</sup>  
 The mighty joys, which love to wine inspire  
 Fill'd ev'ry brest, the strings<sup>7</sup> of Nature crack'd,  
 Won'd up too high with exquisite delight.<sup>8</sup>

In other parts of this delicious Bower, 220  
 In rich apparel,<sup>9</sup> with majestick air  
 And well<sup>10</sup> time'd steps, ye Nymphs did tread ye green,<sup>11</sup>  
 Warming their fancyes by ye cheerfull dance.  
 So others, who in shews, & sports did place  
 Their entertainments, & their cheif delight, 225  
 In most expressive, & in lively Scenes

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Alternatively, this may be a reference to the chariot drawn by leopards or tigers in which Bacchus is often represented. (cf *Aeneid*. VI. 804-05.) The *Paerie Queene* has the visitor to the Bower enticed with wine in Canto XII. XLVII-XLIX, LIII-LIV & LV-LVII.

<sup>1</sup> *always a* Interlinear correction for deleted *The greatest*.

<sup>2</sup> *busy* Interlinear correction for deleted *frisking*.

<sup>3</sup> *nimble* Interlinear correction for deleted *busy*.

<sup>4</sup> Originally *gobblits*.

<sup>5</sup> *full fraughted* i.e. "well laden".

<sup>6</sup> *juice*, Written above the line in a tight RH margin.

<sup>7</sup> *strings* Used in the double sense of "bounds/constraints" and the "strings" of a musical instrument: the point being that proper bounds have been exceeded.

<sup>8</sup> *The mighty joys which love to wine inspire*

*Fill'd ev'ry brest, the strings of nature crack'd,*

*Won'd up too high with exquisite delight* These lines are added on the authority of the separate page of corrections.

<sup>9</sup> *apparel* An *r* has been inserted above the line.

<sup>10</sup> Two erasures stood here, perhaps *they tim'd*.

<sup>11</sup> *ye Green* Interlinear addition, probably to replace the two lost syllables of the erased conjectural *they tim'd*. Alternatively, the line might read *And well time'd steps, ye Nymphs ye green did tread*. Lines 220-32 appear closely related to the *Aeneid* VI. 643-60, where Virgil describes the Elysian Fields.



The dreadfull battles of ye Gods were shown.<sup>1</sup>

(16)

Nothing, yt could ye sensual part of Man

Delight, or please, was wanting, or forgot.

Harmonious<sup>2</sup> Musick, such as Orpheus<sup>3</sup> play'd 230

When rocks, & mountains<sup>4</sup> did his harp obey.

Softness inspir'd,<sup>5</sup> & melted ev'ry Soul.

Further, and more retir'd within this Bower,<sup>6</sup>

Where richest Odours<sup>7</sup> did perfume ye air,

On beds of roses wantonly<sup>8</sup> were lay'd, 235

The brightest Nymphs, yt Mortal e're beheld.

A flowing mantle to ye view<sup>9</sup> expos'd

The naked beautys of ye female sex,

Their heaving brests, short breath,<sup>10</sup> & languid eyes<sup>11</sup>

Declar'd their longings, & their soft desires. 240

Who to such pleasures can resistance make,<sup>12</sup>

(17)

<sup>1</sup> As the location of the imagery is now set in a garden rather than a house, it is likely that this is a reference to the classical statuary which adorned much of Castle Howard's gardens. Andrew Carpenter and John Nost supplied Carlisle with a number of lead copies of antique statues, some of which represented sylvan and pastoral figures, others Venus, Hercules, Apollo and other deities.

<sup>2</sup> *Harmonious* Interlinear correction for deleted *Consorts of*.

<sup>3</sup> *Orpheus* The legendary son of Apollo and a Muse, whose music surpassed all human music, and was reputed to move animals, trees and even rocks.

<sup>4</sup> *mountains* Originally *montains* with the *u* above the line.

<sup>5</sup> The *e* has been deleted in favour of an apostrophe - as is *retire'd* in the following line.

<sup>6</sup> Though the *e* has not been struck through, an apostrophe suggests Carlisle considered its omission.

<sup>7</sup> The *u* is an interlinear correction.

<sup>8</sup> *wantonly* Not necessarily inferring, but not here excluding, some sexual dimension.

<sup>9</sup> *view* Interlinear addition. A redundant, deleted interlinear *to ye* stands before *view*.

<sup>10</sup> *breath*, An *a* has been written above the line.

<sup>11</sup> *eyes* has been inserted above the line in a tight inner RH margin.

<sup>12</sup> This seems a clear reference to Guyon, who was tempted by two sporting, wanton nymphs. (*Faerie Queene*, Bk II. Canto XII. LXIII-LXIX.)

Where lost in joys ye other World wee seek  
 And feel ye transports of Immortal Gods.

No longer could I hold, my vows I pay'd,  
 And swore obedience at her crowded<sup>1</sup> Shrine. 245

Now plung'd in pleasure, ravish'd with delight,  
 Each sense I gratifi'd to full desire.

The days, & nights insensibly did passe,  
 And ev'ry counted hour new joys did bring.<sup>2</sup>

But (O) how little do wee know our minds, 250  
 Cloy'd with ye pleasures, yt I most desir'd,  
 Stung with remorse for this vile slothfull life  
 I saught my Guide, to whom I thus complain'd.

Since from thy bounty, & thy own free Will,  
 (O Goddess bright) to me Thou didst declare, 255  
 That joy, & happyness my days should crown.

(18)

direct,<sup>3</sup> & lead me to yt Seat of bliss.<sup>4</sup>

Already all ye pleasures of yon Bower  
 Have lost their relish, & do hatefull look.

No happyness can true, or lasting be, 260  
 If from ye rules of vertue wee do stray.

<sup>1</sup> *crowded* Originally *crowded*.

<sup>2</sup> As noted earlier, lines 163-249 should be compared to Christ's third temptation in the Wilderness. See St Luke 4. 9-12. *plung'd* in line 246 is specially significant in the light of St Luke 4.9. Similarities with Spenser's *Fairie Queene*, Bk II. Canto XII have also been noted. The passage is also significant for its resonances of Æneas's dalliance in Carthage.

<sup>3</sup> *direct* Interlinear correction for deleted *Hear me*.

<sup>4</sup> *Seat of Bliss* Carlisle is significantly distinguishing this from the preceding *Bower*. Since this marks a turning-point in Carlisle's spiritual journey he may be referring to the "Mercy-seat" of traditional religion.

Since freely thus thou hast declar'd thy mind,  
 And I ye wishes of thy Soul doe know,  
 The Goddess said, this hour shall bring Thee peace.

With yt she led me to a flowry Lawn 265  
 Unknown to art, by nature pleasant made,  
 The seat of Innocence, & harmless Love.

Under ye shade there of a spreading beech,  
 Tending her flocks & harmless as her lambs,  
 The fair, ye gentle, charming Celia<sup>1</sup> sat. 270

Blushing she rose, surpris'd at our approach,  
 And to her flocks, she hastyly retir'd.

(19)

Gracefull, & modest, did her eyes appear,  
 Inspireing Love, forbiding loose desire.  
 Thus in ye Bath ye chaste Diana look't 275

When rash<sup>2</sup> Acteon gase'd<sup>3</sup> his life away.<sup>4</sup>  
 Now<sup>5</sup> to ye Gods this humble prayer I make<sup>6</sup>

To ease my troubles, & my sorrows sooth,  
 if<sup>7</sup> to ye longings of my Heart they'd give,

A kind, a gentle, & a faithfull<sup>8</sup> Maid 280

<sup>1</sup> *Celia* A neo-classical pastoral figure, representing the idealized female companion. The name became especially popular in later seventeenth and eighteenth-century song.

<sup>2</sup> *rash* Interlinear correction for deleted *poor*.

<sup>3</sup> See line 188.

<sup>4</sup> *Acteon* This refers to the myth concerning Artemis (the Grecian precursor of Diana) whose admirer *Actæon*, seeing her bathing, is turned into a stag by the offended goddess, to be torn apart by his own hounds. See Ovid *Metamorphoses* III.138ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Now* Interlinear correction for deleted *If*.

<sup>6</sup> *I make* Partly interlinear correction. Originally this line ran *If to ye Gods this humble prayer I'd made*.

<sup>7</sup> *if* Interlinear correction for deleted *that*.

<sup>8</sup> *faithfull* Interlinear correction for deleted *charming*.

Her, this Nymph, just such as her I wou'd<sup>1</sup> ask.

But O ye gratefull, & ye pleasing sound,<sup>2</sup>

With which ye Goddess blest my ravish'd Soul.

Smiling she said, & what she said, she knew,

From ye immutable Decree of Fate.

285

Behold ye greatest Treasure<sup>3</sup> in my power,

A richer gift, I have not to bestow,

(20<sup>th</sup>)

For Thee, my Son, this Blessing<sup>4</sup> have I kept,

To crown thy wishes, & thy peace restore.

The day will come, when to thy longing arms,

290

This charming maid<sup>5</sup> her beautys will resign.<sup>6</sup>

With vertuous love, I will inspire her Soul,

And Holy Rites shall joyn her to thy brest.

The joys, & comforts, which yt State affords<sup>7</sup>

Uninterrupted by one anxious Thought

295

Thou in her soft imbraces shalt possess[.]

Thy Flocks she'll feed,<sup>8</sup> & to thy lambs will be

A tender Mother, & a watchfull<sup>9</sup> Nurse[.]

To ease thy labours, & thy cares remove

<sup>1</sup> *wou'd* Interlinear correction for deleted *'d* of *I'd*. Though the rhythm of this line would be much improved with the deletion of *I* there can be no doubt about the author's intentions.

<sup>2</sup> *But O ye gratefull, & ye pleasing sound*, Interlinear corrections for deleted words. Originally *But O ye joyfull, & ye charming sound* then *But O ye gratefull, pleasing, joyfull sound* before the final version emerged.

<sup>3</sup> *Treasure* Interlinear correction for deleted *blessing*.

<sup>4</sup> *Blessing* Interlinear correction for deleted *Bounty*.

<sup>5</sup> *maid* Interlinear correction for deleted *Nymph*.

<sup>6</sup> The page of corrections asks for the original order of the couplets (lines 288-91) to take this form

<sup>7</sup> *affords* Interlinear correction for deleted *attends*.

<sup>8</sup> *feed* Interlinear correction for deleted *watch* and deleted interlinear *guard*.

<sup>9</sup> *watchfull* Interlinear correction for deleted *carefull*.

To all ye rigours<sup>1</sup> of a winter's day 300  
 To ev'ry hardship yt attends ye feild,  
 Her tender limbs she'll chearfully expose.

[21]<sup>2</sup>

Thy lands she'll not dispise, or will she wish  
 A warmer climate, or a richer soil.  
 Thus she will bless thee to thy Heart's content. 305  
<sup>3</sup> this haveing said, my Soul with raptures fill'd,  
 Fled to ye regions of ye blest above,<sup>4</sup>  
 And only left me time & words to say,  
 May thy great prophesy be soon fulfill'd.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *rigours* Interlinear correction for deleted *hardship* and deleted interlinear *rigor*.

<sup>2</sup> The final page of the poem carried no authorial number.

<sup>3</sup> The line originally began with an erased *At*

<sup>4</sup> The Goddess's return to celestial regions might be compared with both the departure of Venus from Æneas after their encounter in the *Æneid* I.402-06 and the departure of Mercury in IV. 276-78.

<sup>5</sup> A line is drawn under *fulfill'd* indicating a conclusion, However, the following lines appear, though struck through:

*Here joyn (ye sacred Nine) inspire my Soul,  
 Direct my trembling, & unworthy pen  
 The beautys of this garden to describe.*

*How shall I paint ye beautys of this place  
 Joyn all ye sacred Nine, inspire my Soul  
 And wing my fancy with poetick rage (lines 170-172)*

## [PAGE OF CORRECTIONS]<sup>1</sup>

In page ye 12<sup>th</sup>. after this line

(In sensual joys kept her beautiful Court)

Leave out ye three following lines which are cross'd, & add these three.

How shall I paint ye beautys of this Place,  
Joyn all yee sacred Nine, inspire my Soul,  
And wing my fancy with poetick rage.

In page ye 14<sup>th</sup>. after this line

(Smiling to see ye wounds their arrows made)

add these lines.

Now aid me (great Apollo) tune my Lyre,  
In sounds melodious let my songs repeat  
The vast delight which ev'ry sense did taste.

Then go on

The careless Bacchus...

[2<sup>nd</sup> side]

In page ye 15<sup>th</sup> after this line

(Full fraughted with ye rich reviveing juice)

add these lines.

The mighty joys, which love & wine inspire,

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<sup>1</sup> The existence of these corrections suggests that Carlisle did indeed have a potential readership in mind, and had not written these lines as a purely private and personal *Confiteor*.

**Fill'd ev'ry brest, the strings of nature crack'd, Won'd up too high  
with exquisite delight.**

**Then go on**

**In other parts...**

**In page ye 20<sup>th</sup>. these two lines must come before  
ye following two lines, which in ye Cobby stands**

**First it must be writ thus**

**For Thee my Son this blessing have I kept,  
To crown thy wishes, & thy peace restore.  
The day will come when to thy longing arms  
Ye charming Maid her beautys will resign**

*ii*

**Document 11**

**DRAFT INSCRIPTION FOR THE  
PYRAMID**

**J8/35/11**

**[1728]**



## INTRODUCTION

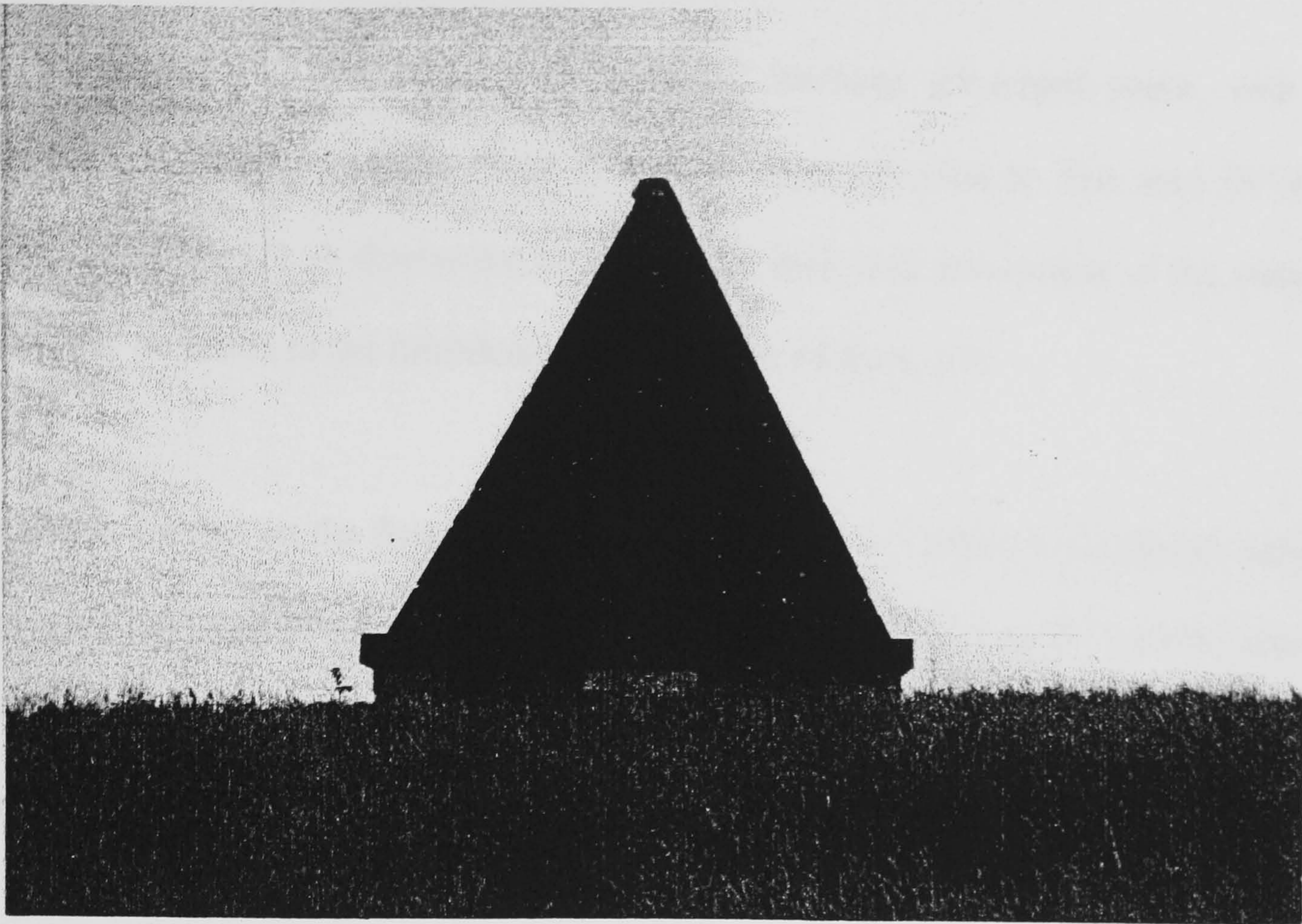


Figure 1. *The Pyramid at Castle Howard*  
From a photograph by the author.

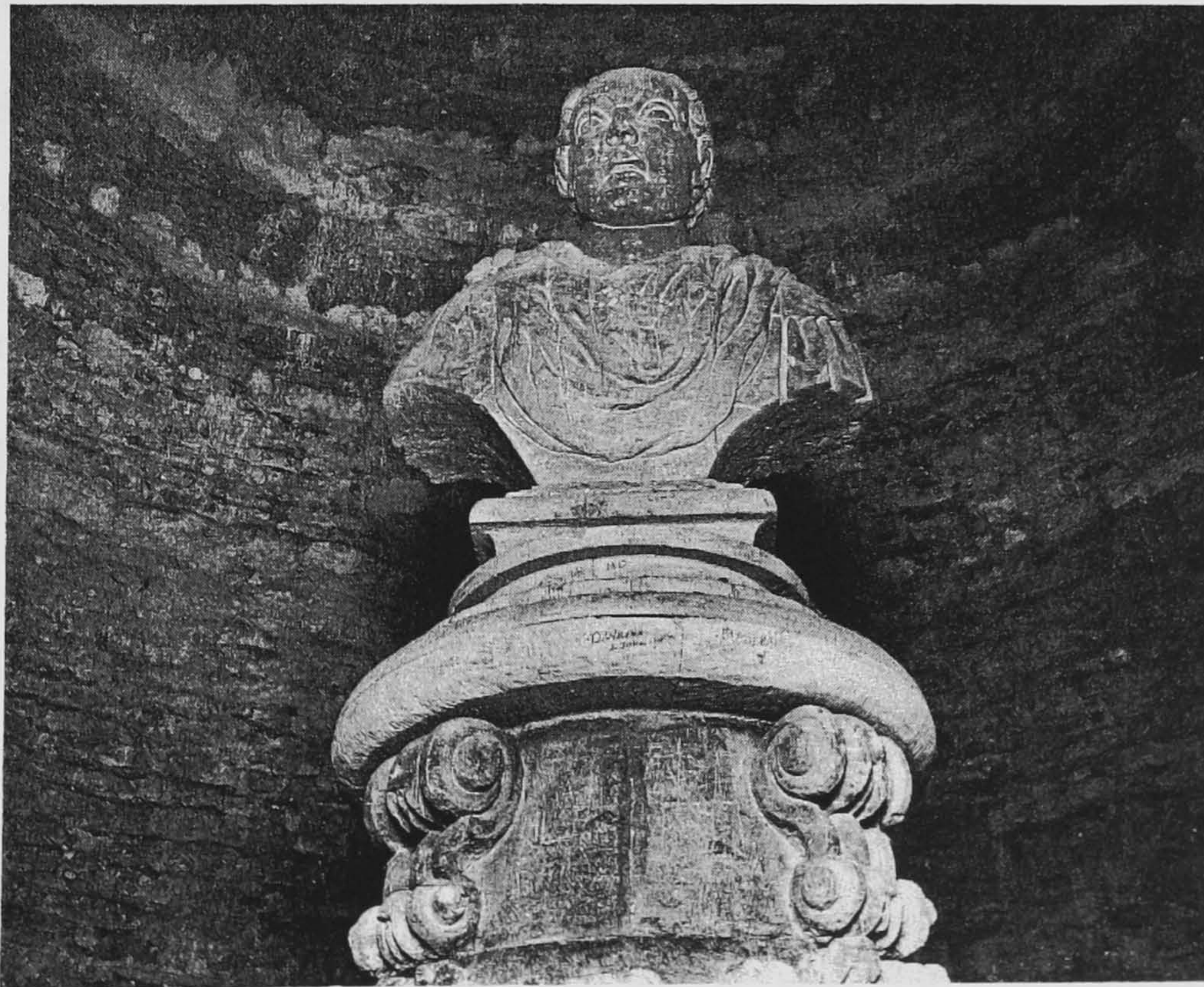


Figure 2. *Bust of Lord William Howard*. Photo: Castle Howard.  
Reproduced from *The Building of Castle Howard*, p.2.

## INTRODUCTION

The manuscript J8/35/11 is a piece of folded foolscap gilt-edged paper, with a watermark “IV” (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figure 3, p.x.) similar to that used for the *Essays* (J8/35/15-17). A discussion on the significance and provenance of the watermarks may be found in the Introduction, ii Editorial Method, p.9.

The text is written on the first page of the folded paper in Carlisle’s customary hand, employing his usual black ink. Page 4 bears the words “Lord Morpeth” and the paper has been further folded so that these words might be seen while the text itself was protected and hidden within the further fold of the page.

It may be that this was addressed to Lord Morpeth should Carlisle die before the project was completed. This may explain why not only does the draft differ in detail with what was finally effected, but such details as the date were left blank. There were other projects Carlisle was anxious should be completed, and for which he left explicit instructions. Thus his will commends the completion of the Mausoleum as “a thing very proper nay absolutely necessary”.<sup>1</sup> As the will was drawn up before Sir John Vanbrugh’s death in 1726, it may be that the concept of the Pyramid had not yet been formulated. Even so, it had assumed an important place in Carlisle’s thinking by 1728.

On 3 June 1728 Nicholas Hawksmoor wrote to Carlisle: “I have sent the Drawing of the pyramid to Mr Etty at York”.<sup>2</sup> (Plate 10, Figure 1, p.255.) This was to contain

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<sup>1</sup> CH J8/14B

<sup>2</sup> Webb *Mausoleum Letters* p.119 (quoted in BCH p.147.)

an enormous bust of Lord William Howard, Carlisle's great, great, great grandfather, facing away from the house towards Welburn. (Plate 10, Figure 2, p.255.) Lord William, possessing the courtesy title of a younger son of a Duke, married Elisabeth, a daughter of the Dacre family in a dynastic marriage which contributed to the downfall and execution of his father, the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Norfolk. The inheritance through the Dacre family, consisting mainly of estates along Hadrian's Wall, was disputed, and it was not until 1603, that Lord William and his lady were able to settle at Naworth, near Carlisle. Despite being an arranged marriage, it evidently proved happy. A party of officers from Norwich who visited them in 1634 gave this endearing portrait: "the noble twaine (as it pleased themselves to tell us themselves) could not make above 25 years together when first they marry'd but now could make up above 140 years and are hearty well and merry".<sup>1</sup> Imprisoned three times in the Tower as a Catholic, Lord William nevertheless proved himself a stabilising force along a troubled, lawless border, and despite his status as the younger son of an attainted peer, he achieved considerable success in establishing himself as a stabilizing influence in the Border regions. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle clearly revered the ancestor about whom he may have learned from his grandfather. The first Earl knew him as a boy in the years before the Civil Wars broke out, having been born in 1629, and Lord William surviving until 1640.<sup>2</sup> Saumarez Smith suggests that, having re-established the family seat at Castle Howard, and in the process allowing some of Lord William's library to be dispersed and the gardens he had established at Naworth neglected, Carlisle built the Pyramid feeling that "some form of reparation was in order".<sup>3</sup> There is some, but limited, justification for this explanation. Outside the

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<sup>1</sup> Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk*, p.95. (Quoting Henry Howard, *Memorials of the Howard Family*, Ch.1 n.1. (Appendix XI).)

<sup>2</sup> Story offers important confirmation in his *Journal*, p.616.

<sup>3</sup> BCH p.10.

Pyramid, below the inscription specified in this draft, Carlisle subsequently caused these words to be added:

TO THEE, O VENERABLE SHADE  
 WHO LONG HAST IN OBLIVION LAID  
 THIS PILE I HERE ERECT;  
 A TRIBUTE SMALL FOR WHAT THOU’ST DONE,  
 DEIGN TO ACCEPT THIS MEAN RETURN,  
 PARDON THE LONG NEGLECT.  
 TO THY LONG LABOURS, TO THY CARE,  
 THY SONS DECEAS’D THY PRESENT HEIR  
 THEIR GREAT POSSESSIONS OWE.  
 SPIRIT DIVINE! WHAT THANKS ARE DUE,  
 THIS WILL THY MEMORY RENEW,  
 IT’S ALL I CAN BESTOW.

These lines are carved in characters approximately 1¼" high on a tablet of white marble measuring 5’ 9” wide by 6’ high placed at ground level. This inscription occasioned the waspish description in John Tracy Atkyn’s *Iter Boreale* of 1732 as “more of My Lord’s Poetical Scribbling”. Continuing:

The Gardiner ask’d me if it was not a very generous Inscription I thought so for this Reason, that nothing but the highest Strain of Generosity could tempt a Man to expose himself by such wretched Stuff in Order to preserve the Memory of an ancestor.<sup>1</sup>

Atkyns, however just his criticisms, rather misses the point: Carlisle is not simply preserving an ancestor’s memory, but making a statement about himself, Castle Howard, the family and its destiny.

Readers steeped in the classics as Carlisle would recognise the similarities of this dedicatory prayer with those offered to the “Lares” or household gods preserved at the heart of a Roman dwelling, and which would be carefully moved with the family if

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<sup>1</sup> Atkyns *Iter Boreale*, pp. 26-27.

ever they moved. The “Lares” comprised small representations of important family members. “Small” was an adjective unfamiliar to Carlisle - but that is no reason to misunderstand the nature of the Pyramid. This is no reparation for what had happened to Lord William’s library or gardens at Naworth, or any apology for the ingratitude of intervening generations, but a magnificent translation of the “Lares” to the new family seat. It was belated, since Castle Howard had been begun in 1699, but that is the point of Carlisle’s apology.

Possibly Carlisle saw the Pyramid as an extension of the Virgilian themes found in Pellegrini’s decoration of the house. As argued in the introduction to *A Milk White Heifer* there is reason to believe Carlisle spent part of his life thinking of his own history and that of his family in the heroic mould of Virgil’s *Aeneid*. In a flash-back in Book II Æneas recounts his miraculous escape from burning Troy, carrying his father, Anchises, on his back, and leading his son Ascanius/Iulus by the hand. Anchises meanwhile preserves the household gods in his grasp. Anchises accompanies Æneas and the Trojans as far as Drepanum, but dies there at the end of Book III. Book IV describes the Carthaginian dalliance with Dido, and concludes with Æneas’ resumption of his true destiny and departure for Italy. Returning to Drepanum he celebrates the anniversary of Anchises’ death by the funeral games of Book V – a celebration he intends to repeat each year.

An account of an annual festivity of this kind at Castle Howard is preserved in a poem *Holy Rood Day* which appeared in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* for August 1737. This was “Address’d to the Rt Honourable Charles, Earl of Carlisle”, and purported to have been “Written in the Year 1736 by a young Gentleman in Yorkshire”. (This

shows similarities with the work of Thomas Gent, of York, who had, as Chapter 7 will demonstrate, some contact with Castle Howard.) The games themselves, apart from the difficulty of staging a boat-race on land, bear broad similarity to the funeral games celebrated in the *Aeneid*. Additionally, the games take place in the ground between the house and Mausoleum; overlooked by the Pyramid as the site of the funeral games was overlooked by Anchises' memorial mound.

Related to the *Aeneid* or not, the Pyramid was important to Carlisle as part of that continuity with the past represented by other forms of memorialization with which he was involved in the late 1720s. These were intended to be read as a concrete statement about the central and important role the Carlisle Howards occupied in the life of the nation.

Those who have written about the Pyramid have omitted to mention that nothing now remains of the inscription to William Lord Howard and his lady beyond the long, narrow surround which once contained it. This measures 16' 6" by 1', placed immediately above the dedicatory tablet six feet above ground level. There is some deterioration of the fabric of the Pyramid, but not extensive enough to suggest the disappearance of this inscription could be other than deliberate. One wonders why the dedicatory inscription was not removed as well – unless it is because the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl is not specifically identified. Such matters, however, concern the insights of another generation, and not the generation we are concerned with here..

There are three sources for the inscription finally carried out which are in substantial agreement. The earliest dates from 1732, given by Atkyns in *Iter Boreale*. The second

and third are given by Thomas Gent, a printer and man of letters in York, who describes both inscriptions on the Pyramid in his *Antient and Modern History of the Loyal Town of Rippon* of 1733 and *Pater Patriæ* of 1739. Atkyns describes the Pyramid “50 foot high upon a very large Basis: and on one side upon a long Strip of Marble ingrafted into the Stone is the following Inscription ‘William Lord Howard [...]’”. Thomas Gent describes “that famous Pyramid, about 30 Feet square at Bottom, and as many high to the Top, after an Ægyptian Form”. The structure measures 28’ 3” square, giving a height (including the 6’ height of the rusticated base) of approximately 41’6”. In *Pater Patriæ* Gent writes: “The Pyramid, which stands upon a pleasant Hill, encompassed with a fair Wall, affronts the stately Palace. On the external Part, the following to be read in fair Characters. William Lord Howard [...]” It is not entirely clear what Gent means by “fair” – but he probably means that the characters do not stand proud as they would if they were produced in bas-relief or had been picked out in lead. The answer may still lie in the weeds infesting the site today: one piece of marble might help reconstruct the original. Meanwhile we might suppose the lettering was similar in size with the inscription beneath, and would have been carved as Gent records - totalling about four lines.

The geographical location of this monument is important.<sup>1</sup> As suggested earlier, there may be Virgilian implications in the Æneas/Anchises theme in the narratives of the “Lares” and Funeral Games. Following classical precedent, placing the “Lares” near the entrance of a house or the boundary of an estate was preferred siting. Building the Pyramid close to the Roman Wall and ceremonial Pyramid Gate and incorporating a

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<sup>1</sup> It receives some attention in Dawn Lancaster, *An Archaeology of the House and Garden*, an unpublished MA Dissertation at York University, 2003. She envisages the pyramids (there is a second) establishing the boundary of the estate in the way Romans were accustomed to use boundary stones to mark conquered territory.

memorial to the man who secured this property for the Howard family on the boundary fulfils both. But the site might not have been chosen exclusively for its relationship to the house. Today, with the substantial woodlands and re-alignment of major roads and development of the A64, - and increased atmospheric pollution - visibility is reduced. It is important to recognize that in the eighteenth century matters were different. The Pyramid is placed on an eminence from which, as Atkyns reports “you may see from hence the Ruins of Sheriff Hutton Castle, and the Minster at York very Plain”. Presumably, of course, if the Minster and Sheriff Hutton may be seen plainly from the Pyramid, then the Pyramid itself would be technically visible from those two points. Though smaller in scale, the Pyramid was a significant element on the skyline with those two important historical icons – more visible before atmospheric pollution darkened the stonework. But it was only a fold in the hills – not the height of the hill on which the Pyramid is built – which enabled York Minster and Sheriff Hutton to be seen. Hence more important than the visibility of the Pyramid from either of those two sites, is the significance of those two sites observed from the Pyramid: York Minster – not only a notable religious site itself, but also overshadowing the place where the first Christian Roman Emperor, Constantine the Great, had been proclaimed; and Sheriff Hutton – the birthplace of John of Gaunt, the *fons et origo* of the English monarchy, and also, for a while, the home of the “Council of the North”. These potent symbols of continuity, authority and legitimacy were surely intended for the thoughtful to contemplate as they stood beneath the Pyramid and gazed about.



**J8/35/11**

**DRAFT INSCRIPTION FOR THE  
PYRAMID**

**TEXT**

**[1728]**

**William Ld.<sup>1</sup> Howard,<sup>2</sup> third Son to**

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<sup>1</sup> *Ld Lord* in carved version as recorded by Gent and Atkyns. *ye* is consistently replaced by *the*.

<sup>2</sup> William Howard (c1564-1640).

**Thomas, Duke of Norfolk<sup>1</sup> beheaded in  
 ye year (1572)<sup>2</sup> married Elisabeth<sup>3</sup> one  
 of ye coheireses of William Ld.<sup>4</sup> Dacre,  
 by which marriage & from ye said  
 William's great industry, & ability<sup>5</sup> are  
 descended to me most of ye Estates,  
 yt I now enjoy; in gratefull memory  
 therefore of yt Noble & Beneficent  
 Parent,<sup>6</sup> & of yt pious & vertuous Lady  
 this Monument is erected by Charles  
 ye 3d Earl of Carlisle<sup>7</sup> their great  
 great<sup>8</sup> Grandson                      Ann: Dom:<sup>9</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Howard, 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Norfolk (1538-72)

<sup>2</sup> *in ye year (1572)* replaced in carved version by *by Queen Elizabeth*. (Atkyns: *Elisabeth*.)

<sup>3</sup> *Elisabeth* Spelt *Elizabeth* in the Norfolk archive and Gent. In January 1567 the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Norfolk married his 3<sup>rd</sup> wife Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Lord Dacre of Gilsland. Under marriage settlement he became guardian of her son, George Lord Dacre, and married her three daughters, Anne, Mary and Elisabeth to his own sons by earlier marriages. George and Mary died young, leaving Anne and Elisabeth as the sole co-heiresses to the Dacre estates in Cumberland and Yorkshire.

<sup>4</sup> *Ld Lord* in carved version.

<sup>5</sup> *great industry, and ability* The legal difficulties of the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke's attainder and execution, possibly compounded by Lord William's own conversion to Roman Catholicism, resulted in the delay which only gave William and Elisabeth possession of Naworth in 1603.

<sup>6</sup> *Parent*. *Parent* is written above an underlined *Ancestor* – the underlining (as in *A Milk White Heifer*) Carlisle's indication of a word to be replaced. In the event, *Parent* was preferred.

<sup>7</sup> In the carved version *of the Family of the HOWARDS* is inserted here.

<sup>8</sup> *Great great grandson* One generation is accidentally omitted here. The carved inscription corrects this with a third *Great*.

<sup>9</sup> No date is shown in the manuscript. The finished inscription bears the date *Anno Domini MDCCXXVIII* (Gent: *History of Rippon*); *Anno Dom. MDCCXXVIII* (Gent: *Pater Patriæ*); *Anno Domini 1728* (Atkyns).

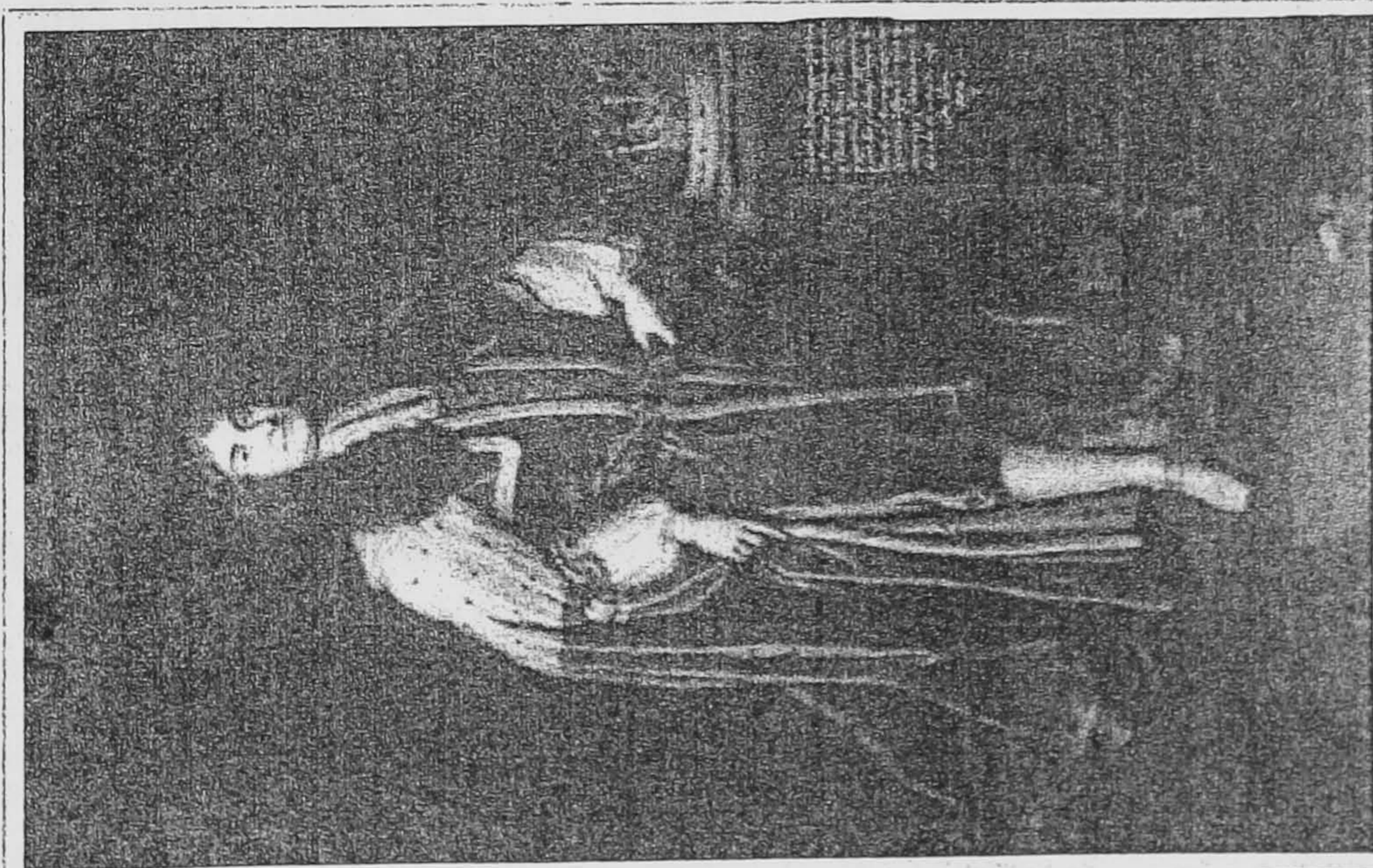
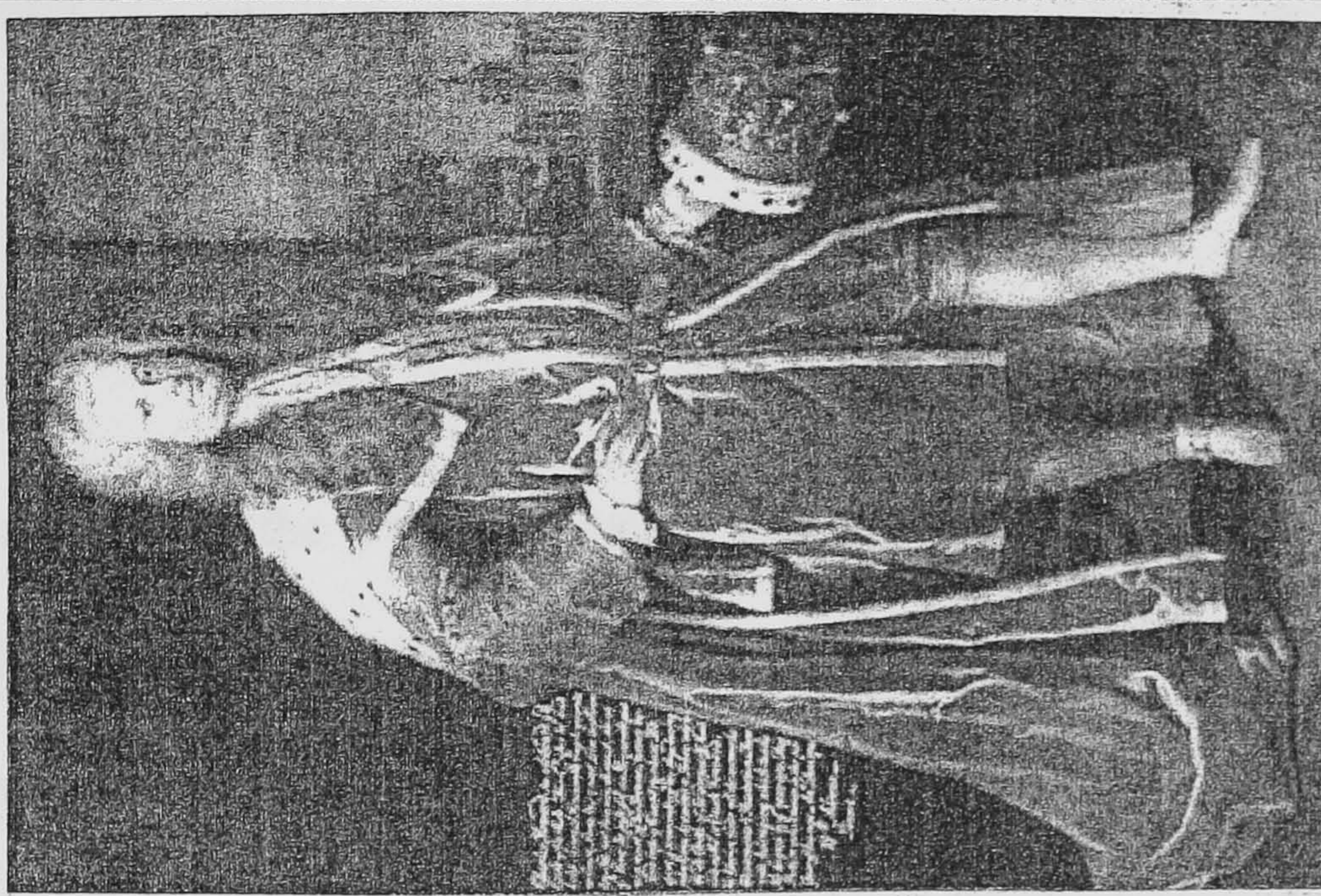
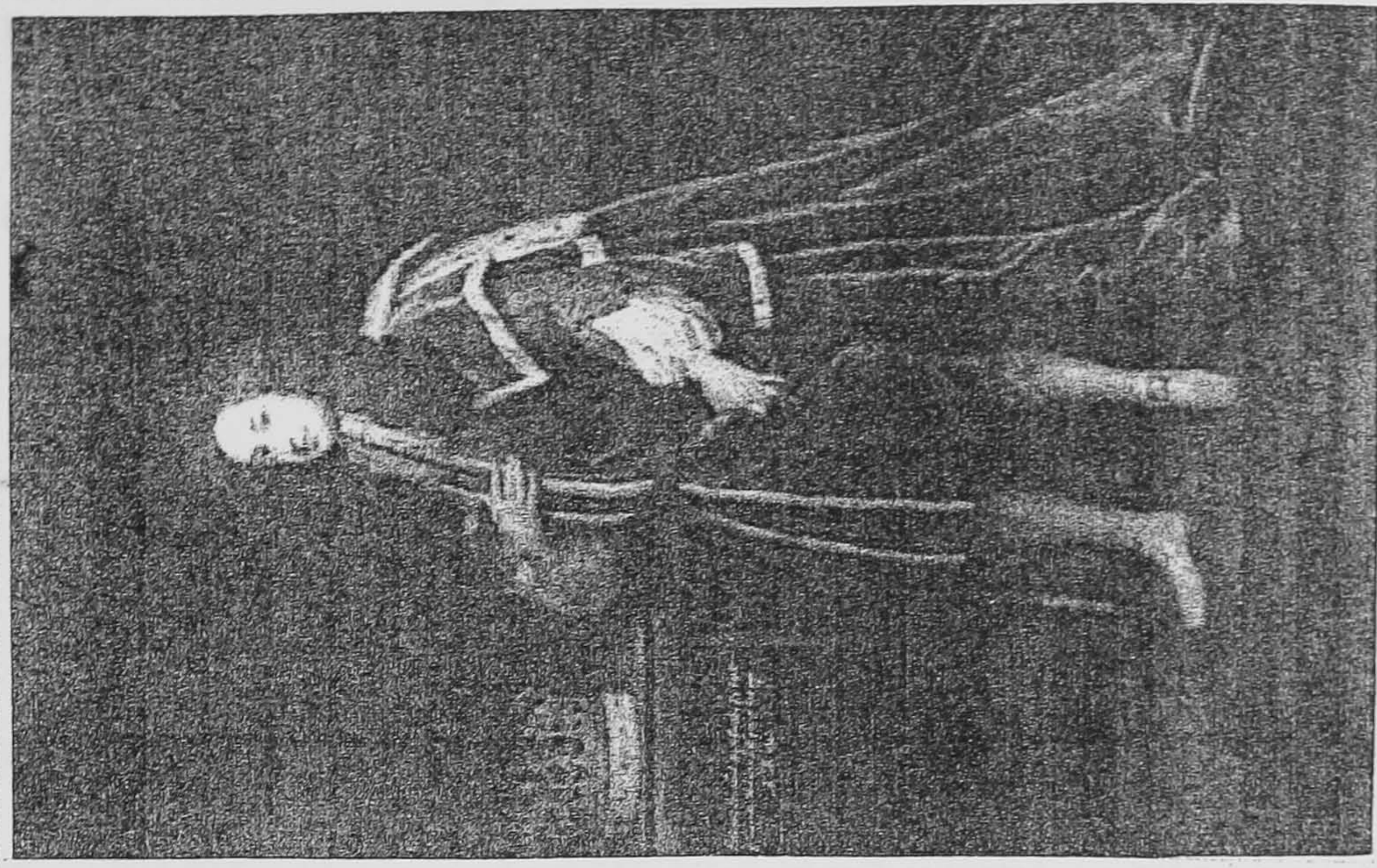
*iii*

**Document 12**

**DRAFT INSCRIPTIONS FOR THE  
PORTRAITS**

**J8/35/12**

***[c.1728-33?]***



*Portraits of the first three Earls of Carlisle,  
conjecturally rearranged as they might have been displayed  
in the lifetime of the third Earl*

## INTRODUCTION

These drafts are written on a folded foolscap sheet of Carlisle's familiar paper, gilt-edged, laid, good-quality, carrying the water-mark "IV" (*Watermarks*, Plate 1, Figure 3, p.x.). The black ink seems identical with other examples amongst these manuscripts, while the handwriting is consistent with others in Carlisle's hand. The paper is written on the first and fourth pages only. The text appears on the first page, and after further folding the words "3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle" appear on page four. This may be an archivist's addition, or added by or for William Aikman, the Scottish artist who painted Carlisle's portrait and who added the inscriptions to all three canvases in or after 1728.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time the Pyramid was commissioned Carlisle arranged for the portraits by Kneller of his father and grandfather, the first and second Earls, to be brought from Naworth for Castle Howard. These portraits were to join his own by Aikman in his coronation robes of 1727, showing in the background the distinctive central dome and north front of Castle Howard set above the coronet he holds in his left hand. (Plate 11, p.266). The coronets of the first two Earls are placed on tables, whilst the third Earl carries his. Possibly connected and important is the way Castle Howard's north front is portrayed in full light, whilst in the shadow behind the third Earl's back there is a muted outline of what might be Naworth or Henderskelf.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> That the Earl is portrayed in his coronation robes does not in itself date the picture. In fact, Aikman was still working on it in 1732. (Letter from Lady Irwin to Lord Carlisle 31 January 1731/2. HMC Carlisle Papers, pp.98-99. But see further, p. 269 n.1. for the text confirming that work still to be done may have considerably delayed final delivery.)

<sup>2</sup> This is more evident in the black-and-white photograph reproduced as the *frontispiece* than the original in its present state.

Adapting the older portraits for their new location was complicated because Kneller's portraits were "three-quarter length" ending at the knee. Though the extension to full-length portraits of life-size dimensions<sup>1</sup> leaves the join unnoticeable, the footwear is anachronistic, being duplicates of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl's.

There was nothing unusual in the decision to move these older portraits, now Castle Howard was established as the family's principal country residence. What is intriguing is that the decision was made so late, and the older portraits were not simply altered to match one commissioned of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl, but also inscribed. That they are inscribed in this particular way is unusual. Presumably they were hung together where the inscriptions would be legible for visitors. Theoretically any room on the *piano nobile* would be suitable for displaying these portraits, where the owner would receive his guests or clients in a room appropriately carrying the images of previous holders of the title.

Following the convention of British coinage, the successive generations are portrayed facing in different directions. Given that there were only three portraits to consider, it is possible to imagine them hung with the first and second Earls turned to face the third Earl, the contemporary holder of the title, placed in central prominence over the fireplace, receiving the benefit of full light from the windows on the garden front. The visual dominance of the third Earl is emphasised because, although only of modest height according to John Macky,<sup>2</sup> he is portrayed six inches taller than his father or

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<sup>1</sup> The canvases measure 5' x 7'9" – 5'10" x 9'8" in their pedimented frames.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in the entry for Carlisle in Volume III of the *Complete Peerage* edited by G E C Vicary Gibbs (1913)

grandfather.<sup>1</sup> This dominance is accentuated by recording the deaths of the earlier Earls, and portraying their coronets on side tables whilst the third Earl holds the emblem of the family's dignity. The arrangement of coronets in the older portraits was executed by Sir Godfrey Kneller: but Aikman replacing that convention succeeds in making quite another statement. That John Tracy Atkyns nowhere mentions these portraits is not surprising: Lady Irwin's letter confirms the portrait was still at the studio a full six months' after his visit. Insofar as his account suggests anything, his description of what is now the Music Room (then the State Drawing Room) suggests these walls might have been available for such a display:

beyond this is a Room hung with Blew Velvet, in it are 14 very large silver sconces, the whole Furniture of the Chimney of Plate: the Chimney of Italian Marble after the Model of Inigo Jones, festoons of Flowers, very prettily carv'd at each Side.<sup>2</sup>

Atkyns does not seem to record anything of what would have been the State Bedroom and Dressing Room, but his description of the Great Cabinet would not exclude it as a potential destination for these portraits:

The last Room is what they call the Great Cabinet, and is indeed a very elegant room, there are two Domes in it, one at each End, the Butler told me the Painting upon the Cieling was the story of Aminadal & Dina, I puzzl'd my Brain for a considerable Time, and upon a narrow Inspection discover'd it to be Endimion & Diana, all the Doors and Windows are of the Derbyshire Marble, there are my Lord's three Daughters in one Picture my Lady Elwin my Lady Lechmere and Lady Mary Howard. The Furniture is Crimson Velvet.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lady Anne Irwin suggests that as originally conceived, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl must have been portrayed as of even greater height: "I was three days agoe to see yr Lrdshps picture att Ackman's your family differs in oppinion about it, my brother Howard and I think it like, my sister Lechmere is of a contrary oppinion, we are all agreed in one fault wch I believe he will alter he has made yr Legs very long & yr feet mighty little, the legs Mr Ackman says he will shorten but ye feet he thinks right' tis now ye fashion to pinch Mens toes as much as Ladies; but I fancy yr Lrdshp wont approve of it for yr self, & if you dont I desire you will let me know & I will go to Mr Ackmans & order it to be alter'd." (CHJ8/35/192).

<sup>2</sup> Atkyns, *Iter Boreale*, p.21.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p.21.

Indeed, given the sense of mounting magnificence in these rooms and Carlisle's evident liking for the "grand effect" this must surely be the most probable destination for the portraits.

Whilst public display is likely to be a prime motive for adapting and hanging these portraits, other motives, less public, might still play a significant part. Though more objects of decoration than quasi-religious veneration, these portraits still equate, to some degree, with the "Lares" of Roman antiquity mentioned in connection with the Pyramid. To that extent, they share a common ideological framework in which the continuity of the family, its relocation and consolidation under the third Earl are themes depicted in motifs derived from the *Aeneid*.

Professor Kate Retford's forthcoming article<sup>1</sup> focuses attention on the motives behind inscribing family portraits, instancing the Countess of Oxford's inscriptions at Welbeck Abbey. Her motive seems to have been one of demonstrating complex family interrelationships. Carlisle, however, is fundamentally differently motivated. His text is highly-revealing – both in what he includes and excludes. For example, he makes no mention of the first Earl's service to the Commonwealth. This may not be so surprising when the first Earl had been created Earl of Carlisle in recognition of his support for Charles II and his restoration. Perhaps silence about former service to Cromwell and the Commonwealth was appropriate. The information about the first Earl's diplomatic service is added as something of an afterthought at the top of the page – perhaps as a counter-balance to the extensive inscription the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl intended

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<sup>1</sup> "Patrilineal Portraiture? Gender and Genealogy in the Eighteenth-Century Country House" in J. Styles and A. Vickery, eds, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America in the Long Eighteenth Century* (YCBA and Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, in association with the Huntingdon Library: Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, 2007), pp.8-18.



for his own portrait. The dating does not quite tally with dates recognized today. The first Earl was created Earl of Carlisle in a ceremony which took place on 30 April 1661.<sup>1</sup> The date given for the first Earl's death, 1684, accords with the usage of the time: it might otherwise have been expressed as 1684/5, for he died on 24 February. It rather looks as if the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl revised his estimation of his grandfather's age at his death: a rather smudged word that might have been the "sea" of "seaventh" stands at the beginning of the line before "sixth year of his age;"

The inscription for the second Earl's portrait is terse. Since the only information given concerns his name, pedigree and date of death one might conclude the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl had little regard for him beyond his obvious function in the dynastic chain! Again, the dating is strange: the second Earl died in April 1692, not 1691.

The inscription for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl's portrait is astonishing. Not only does it claim attention by its length, but its visual and verbal insistence on the building of Castle Howard underlines the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl's self-identification with "Æneas" fulfilling divine destiny and founding the new city. There is a certain artifice in not specifying the "honorable Employments at Court" too closely. However, there was hardly a time when Carlisle did not have an honourable employment of some significance: even after his dismissal from the Tower, he held appointments at Windsor, the second of which continued to the end of his life. It is difficult, therefore, to be confident about his chronology in the inscription. However, outside contemporary observers point to 1722 as a time when Carlisle appeared to be lingering longer on his Yorkshire estate rather than attending the House of Peers in person. Thus Macky was to write in 1722:

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<sup>1</sup> Described very fully by John Evelyn in his diary for that date.

The Apartments, furniture and Gardens answer the great Genius of its Noble Master, one of the great Patriots of the Nation, who hath been often at the Head of the State, both in King William's Reign and this: But he loves this Seat so dearly, that the Court never keeps him long; for he loves his Ease beyond all the Gaiety of a Court.<sup>1</sup>

As argued in the discussion of *A Milk White Heifer* it seems that, for a time at least, Carlisle was uneasy with the self-indulgence of this retirement. It may be his wording here betrays this: "Methinks he doth protest too much." Unquestionably he subsequently re-emerged into active public life until increasing physical difficulties – mainly gout – overcame him

There is one chronological detail to note. "This picture was drawn in ye fifty eighth year of his age. ann: Dom: 1728" is, actually, correct – even though in 1728 Carlisle was in his fifty-ninth year. It is understood that Carlisle had been painted by William Aikman in the Coronation year, 1727; and that he refused to go to London to sit for him again for the portrait now hanging at Castle Howard. On this occasion the text means just exactly what it says: the likeness was taken from a painting made the previous year.

It may be significant that Castle Howard's North front in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl's portrait shows him in an exactly equivalent position to that of Lord William Howard in the Pyramid to the South front. Undoubtedly the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl saw Lord William establishing the Howard family in this region, whilst he himself confirmed Castle Howard as a bulwark for the prosperity of the nation in his political and military activities.

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<sup>1</sup> Macky *Journey*, II, pp.214-15.

**J8/35/12**

**DRAFT INSCRIPTIONS FOR THE  
PORTRAITS**

**TEXT**

*[c.1728-33?]*

***[For Portrait of Charles Howard, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl 1629-85]***

he was appointed by ye said King <sup>1</sup>  
 Ambassadour to ye Courtts of Moscovy<sup>2</sup> Swe-  
 den, & Denmark, & afterwards made governour<sup>3</sup>  
 of Jamaica,<sup>4</sup>

Charles Howard great <sup>5</sup> Grandson  
 to William Ld. Howard created Earl  
 of Carlisle<sup>6</sup> by King Charles ye 2d  
 in ye year 1660.<sup>7</sup> hee<sup>8</sup> died in ye fifty  
<sup>9</sup> sixth year of his age. ann: dom: 1684 <sup>10</sup>

***[For Portrait of Edward Howard, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl 1646-91/2]***

Edward Howard Son to Charles ye 2d  
 Earl of Carlisle<sup>11</sup> died in ye forty  
 seaventh year of his age; ann: Dom: 1691<sup>12</sup>

**CH J8/35/12**

<sup>1</sup> *his* originally stood here, but was later struck through.

<sup>2</sup> *Courtts of Moscovy* As finally executed this reads *Courts of Muscovy*.

<sup>3</sup> *& afterwards made Governour* As executed this reads *& Afterwards made Governour of ye Island*.

<sup>4</sup> *he was appointed... of Jamaica*, This entire passage is written at the head of the page, and is presumably intended for insertion after *in ye year 1660*.

<sup>5</sup> A very smudged *great* stands here. Presumably this is to be understood as an erasure, since the 1st Earl was a great grandson – not great, great grandson – of Lord William.

<sup>6</sup> The full titles are: Baron Gilsland, Viscount Morpeth and Earl of Carlisle.

<sup>7</sup> Actually April 30<sup>th</sup> 1661.

<sup>8</sup> *hee* An interlinear addition, with an insertion-mark beneath.

<sup>9</sup> A rather smudged *sea* (of *seaventh*?) stands here.

<sup>10</sup> In fact February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1685. (As executed *An. Dom - 1684* reflecting contemporary usage)

<sup>11</sup> On portrait *Earle of Carlisle*. Edward was one of three sons, and was born in 1646. He married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Uvedale of Wickham, and widow of Sir William Berkeley. He was MP from 1666 for i. Morpeth, ii. Cumberland iii. Carlisle until he inherited the Earldom in 1685. There were four sons, of whom Charles was sole survivor, and two daughters.

<sup>12</sup> 23rd April 1692. Aikman provided *47<sup>th</sup> year of his age A.D 1692* Edward was buried at Wickham, Hants., where his wife, Elizabeth, who died in 1696, was later buried.

**[For Portrait of Charles Howard, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl 1669-1738]**

**Charles Howard<sup>1</sup> Son to Edward ye 3d Earl<sup>2</sup>**

**of Carlisle. This Ld after he had held**

**several<sup>3</sup> honorable<sup>4</sup> Employments at Court**

**from his great love to a Country life**

**<sup>5</sup> not from any disgust, for at yt time<sup>6</sup> he<sup>7</sup>**

**possess'd an honorable<sup>8</sup> post as a mark**

**of his Prince's favour, retir'd into ye**

**Country, where he spent ye remainder**

**of his life,<sup>9</sup> dureing<sup>10</sup> which time he**

**erected a<sup>11</sup> Palace where ye old**

**Castle of Hinderskelf<sup>12</sup> stood, & called<sup>13</sup>**

**it Castle Howard;<sup>14</sup> &<sup>15</sup> he likewise made**

**all ye outworks, Plantations & Monu-**

**ments thereunto belonging, which**

**works he began in ye year 1701.**

**This picture was drawn in ye fifty**

**eighth<sup>16</sup> year of his age. ann: Dom: 1728.<sup>17</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> Charles Howard was the eldest and only surviving son, born to Edward Howard, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl (1646-92) and Elizabeth (1646-96), d. of Sir William Uvedale and w. of Sir William Berkeley, in 1669.

<sup>2</sup> *Earl* Spelt *Earle* on portrait.

<sup>3</sup> *several* Interlinear correction for deleted *some*.

<sup>4</sup> *honorable* Spelt *Honourable* on portrait.

<sup>5</sup> *retir'd* originally stood here, but was later struck through.

<sup>6</sup> *at yt time* An interlinear addition with an insertion-mark beneath which replaced an underlined *still* in the original: *for he still possess'd*.

<sup>7</sup> An underlined *still* stood here. On the precedents of both *A Milk White Heifer* and the *Inscription for the Pyramid* it is understood that this is Carlisle's indication of a word to be replaced by the interlinear material.

<sup>8</sup> *honorable* Portrait reads *Honourable*.

<sup>9</sup> *of his life*, Portrait reads *of his days*.

<sup>10</sup> *dureing* Portrait reads *during*.

<sup>11</sup> An erasure (possibly *new*?)

<sup>12</sup> *Hinderskelf* Spelt *Henderscelf* on portrait.

<sup>13</sup> *called* Portrait reads *call'd*.

<sup>14</sup> Portrait has a full stop rather than a semi-colon.

<sup>15</sup> *&* It is not clear from a smudge on the manuscript whether Carlisle intended this ampersand deleted.

<sup>16</sup> *fifty eighth* Portrait reads *58<sup>th</sup>*.

<sup>17</sup> *ann: Dom: 1728* Portrait reads *An<sup>o</sup> Dom<sup>i</sup> 1728* and adds *W<sup>m</sup> Aikman - Pinxit -*