

The Poetical Works of
CHRISTOPHER SMART

I

Jubilate Agno

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

Karina Williamson

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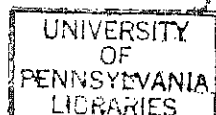
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PREFACE

Few poets of such intrinsic worth and interest as Christopher Smart have had to wait so long for the first complete edition of their poems. Some of his works have never been reprinted since they were published in his lifetime. The posthumous collection of 1791, on which the editions of Anderson (1795), Chalmers (1810), and other early collections were based, represented only a fraction of Smart's total output, deliberately omitting *A Song to David* and almost all of his later poetry. Of modern editions, Robert Brittain's (Princeton University Press, 1950) is outstanding for the quality of its critical and editorial matter, but prints only a selection of Smart's poems. Norman Callan's collection (Muses' Library, 1949) was more comprehensive, but even that excluded not only the Latin poems and the translations of Phaedrus and Horace but also the libretti of *Hannah* and *Abimelech* and many of the discoveries and new attributions which have swelled the canon of Smart's work in the last fifty years.

Smart's verse falls into five loosely defined groups which have determined the shape of the present edition. *Jubilate Agno* stands alone as the only major work not published in his lifetime, and the only major work of which an autograph copy survives; for these and other reasons it has been given pride of place. The second volume will contain the other religious works published in the period from 1763 to 1771, apart from Smart's translation of the psalms (1765) which will appear separately in the third volume. Miscellaneous poems and shorter translations will make up the fourth volume, and the translations of Phaedrus and Horace will complete the edition. *Jubilate Agno*, the religious works, and miscellaneous poems will be separately indexed, and a general index will be provided in the last volume.

In preparing the text of *Jubilate Agno* and compiling the notes I have received help from many people, but my greatest debt is to Mr Alan Black, who worked with me on the commentary, ferreting out Pliny references, suggesting explanations and sources of many of Smart's scientific and occult ideas, and supplying other information. It is a pleasure to acknowledge publicly such unstinting and invaluable assistance. Gratitude is due also to other Smart scholars. All students of *Jubilate Agno* are of course indebted to its first editors: the late W. F.

Stead, who did such brilliant detective work on Smart's sources and allusions, and Dr W. H. Bond, who established the order of the text. I am also grateful to Dr Bond, as Librarian of the Houghton Library at Harvard University, and to Mr Rodney G. Dennis, Curator of Manuscripts, for permission to print from the manuscripts of *Jubilate Agno* and reproduce photoprints of it. It is my good fortune to have known Dr Robert Brittain from the beginning of my work on this edition, and his guidance, sympathy, and help have been a constant encouragement. I was lucky, again, to meet Professor Arthur Sherbo, who generously put at my disposal his notes on *Jubilate Agno* from which I gleaned valuable suggestions and information. The readiness of scholars to share their knowledge of Smart has indeed been one of my most agreeable discoveries: I am grateful especially to Professor Betty Rizzo, Mr Leo Sides, and Dr Marcus Walsh for their liberal assistance. I owe a considerable debt to my son, Timothy Williamson, for help of various kinds, especially on the biblical names and the dating of verses, but above all for applying his sober reason to Smart's eccentric logic. For help with classical allusions I should particularly like to thank my colleagues, Dr Doreen Innes and Dr Barbara Levick. For assistance on specific points I am grateful to the Very Revd Henry Chadwick, Miss Anne Coppins, Mr David Dew, Professor Alastair Fowler, Mr A. R. B. Fuller (Librarian of St. Paul's Cathedral), Mr J. G. Griffith, the Revd R. N. Humphries, Mr Christopher Page, Dr Judith Perera, Mr E. R. M. Pratt (who kindly gave me information about the history of his family relating to Smart's Harriote), Mr Richard Sharp, the Countess Waldegrave, Dr Preben Wernberg-Møller, and many others whom I importuned with questions and who offered helpful suggestions even when they could not provide answers. The courtesy of librarians and officers everywhere has been gratefully appreciated, but I should like especially to thank the present and former Librarian and Assistant Librarian of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and the Librarian and Assistant Librarian of the English Faculty Library, Oxford, for going out of their way to be helpful. Finally, and far from least, I am grateful to Dame Helen Gardner who proposed this edition in the first place and encouraged me to undertake it.

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Two sheets of manuscript

frontispiece
Between pp 30-31

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Quotations from the Bible are from the Authorized Version unless otherwise stated. Quotations from Pliny are from Harduinus's edition, but for easy access references are to the Loeb edition.

In addition to those cited in the Introduction and notes, the following were the principal works consulted:

- E. G. Ainsworth and C. E. Noyes, *Christopher Smart: a Biographical and Critical Study*, University of Missouri Studies xviii, 1943.
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N. Culpeper, *The English Physician Enlarged*, 1718.
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 S. Roscoe, *John Newbery and his Successors 1740-1814: A Bibliography*, 1973.
The Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia, ed. K. Mackenzie, 1877.
 C. Singer, *A Short History of Scientific Ideas*, 1959.
 R. Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, 4 vols., 1816-40.
 A. S. Turberville, *English Men and Manners in the 18th Century*, 1926.
An Universal History, from the earliest account of time to the present, 7 vols., 1736-44.
 J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses.*
 C. Welsh, *A Bookseller of the Last Century, being some account of the life of John Newbery*, 1885.

The following abbreviations are used:

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|---------------------------------|--|
| Agrippa | Henry Cornelius Agrippa, <i>Three Books of Occult Philosophy</i> , tr. J. F., 1651. |
| Ainsworth | Robert Ainsworth, <i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae compendiarium</i> , 1736. |
| Albin | Eleazar Albin, <i>A Natural History of Birds</i> , 3 vols., 1731-8. |
| Attwater | Aubrey Attwater, <i>Pembroke College Cambridge: a short history</i> , ed. S. C. Roberts, 1973. |
| AV | Authorized Version of the Bible (King James Version). |
| BCP | Book of Common Prayer. |
| Bond | <i>Jubilate Agno</i> , ed. W. H. Bond, 1954. |
| <i>Boswell's Life</i> | <i>Boswell's Life of Johnson</i> , ed. G. B. Hill, revised L. F. Powell, 6 vols., 1934-50. |
| <i>Boswell's London Journal</i> | <i>Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763</i> , ed. F. A. Pottle, 1950. |
| Brittain | <i>Poems by Christopher Smart</i> , ed. Robert Brittain, 1950. |
| Browne, <i>Works</i> | <i>The Works of Sir Thomas Browne</i> , ed. G. Keynes, 4 vols., 1964. |
| Chambers | Ephraim Chambers, <i>Cyclopaedia, or an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences</i> , 2 vols., 1728. |
| Cruden | Alexander Cruden, <i>A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures</i> , 1738. |
| Dearnley | Moir Dearnley, <i>The Poetry of Christopher Smart</i> , 1968. |
| <i>DNB</i> | <i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i> |
| Devlin | Christopher Devlin, <i>Poor Kit Smart</i> , 1961. |
| <i>ELH</i> | <i>Journal of English Literary History.</i> |

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|----------------------------|--|
| <i>Gent. Mag.</i> | <i>Gentleman's Magazine.</i> |
| Gray, <i>Corresp.</i> | <i>Correspondence of Thomas Gray</i> , ed. P. Toynbee and L. Whibley, 3 vols., 1935. |
| Hammond | Henry Hammond, <i>A Paraphrase and Annotations upon the New Testament</i> , 1653. |
| Harduinus | <i>C. Plinius Secundus, Naturalis Historia</i> , ed. J. Harduinus, 5 vols., 1685. |
| Hill | John Hill, <i>The Useful Family Herbal</i> , 1754. |
| <i>HLB</i> | <i>Harvard Library Bulletin.</i> |
| Holland | <i>The Historie of the World: commonly call'd, The Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus</i> , tr. Philemon Holland, 2 vols., 1601. |
| Hunter | <i>The Poems of the late Christopher Smart</i> (with account of his life by Christopher Hunter), 2 vols., 1791. |
| <i>JEGP</i> | <i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology.</i> |
| <i>JHI</i> | <i>Journal of the History of Ideas.</i> |
| Mathers | S. L. Macgregor Mathers, <i>The Kabbalah Unveiled</i> , 1887. |
| <i>Midwife</i> | <i>The Midwife; or, The Old Woman's Magazine</i> (1750-1753). 3 vols., 1751-3. |
| <i>MLN</i> | <i>Modern Language Notes.</i> |
| Nelson | Robert Nelson, <i>A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England</i> , 16th edn., 1736. |
| Newton's <i>Principia</i> | Sir Isaac Newton, <i>Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica</i> , 1687. |
| NT | New Testament. |
| <i>OED</i> | <i>Oxford English Dictionary.</i> |
| OT | Old Testament. |
| Parish | C. Parish, 'Christopher Smart's Knowledge of Hebrew', <i>Studies in Philology</i> , lviii (1961). |
| Pennant | Thomas Pennant, <i>British Zoology</i> , 3 vols., 1768-9. |
| Pliny | Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> (Loeb), 10 vols., 1949-62. |
| <i>Plomer's Dictionary</i> | H. R. Plomer and others, <i>Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1726 to 1775</i> , 1932. |
| <i>PMLA</i> | <i>Publications of the Modern Language Association.</i> |
| <i>Poems</i> , 1752 | Christopher Smart, <i>Poems on Several Occasions</i> , 1752. |
| <i>Psalms</i> | Christopher Smart, <i>A Translation of the Psalms of David</i> , 1765. |
| Salmon | William Salmon, <i>Pharmacopoeia Londinensis</i> , 1678. |
| Sherbo | Arthur Sherbo, <i>Christopher Smart: Scholar of the University</i> , 1967. |
| Stead | <i>Rejoice in the Lamb: A Song from Bedlam</i> , ed. William Force Stead, 1939. |

<i>Student</i>	<i>The Student, or, the Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany</i> , 2 vols., 1750-1.
T. Vaughan, <i>Works</i>	<i>The Works of Thomas Vaughan: Eugenius Philalethes</i> , ed. A. E. Waite, 1919.
Walpole, <i>Corresp.</i>	<i>The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence</i> , ed. W. S. Lewis, vol. 1- , 1937- (in progress).
Walton	Izaak Walton, <i>The Complete Walton</i> , ed. G. Keynes, 1929.
Willughby	<i>The Ornithology of Francis Willughby</i> , ed. John Ray, 1678.

INTRODUCTION

1. *The Life of Christopher Smart*

Christopher Smart, the third child and only son of Peter Smart, was born at Shipbourne, Kent, on 11 April, 1722.¹ His mother, Winifred Griffiths, came from a family in Radnorshire; on his father's side he was descended from a Durham family, the Smarts of Snotterton, a small property in the parish of Staindrop which at the time of Christopher's birth was in the possession of his uncle John Smart.² Christopher's father, Peter Smart, a man of some cultivation, had originally been intended for holy orders but had become steward of Lord Vane's estate of Fairlawn at Shipbourne. In 1726 he purchased an estate of his own in the parish of Maidstone, and Christopher was sent to school in the town.

Peter Smart died in 1733, when Christopher was eleven, and he was sent up to Durham to have 'the advantages of a good school, change of air to strengthen a weakly frame, and the notice and protection of his Father's relations.'³ Christopher and his sisters spent their holidays at Raby Castle in Staindrop with the family of Henry Vane (the cousin of Lord Vane of Fairlawn). Among the Vane children was Anne, four years younger than Christopher, to whom his first love-poem, 'To Ethelinda', written at the age of thirteen, is said to have been addressed.⁴ The lasting impression this juvenile passion left on Smart's imagination is evident from the references to Anne Vane in *Fubilate Agno*.

In Durham Smart attended the grammar school, which at that time

¹ The main outlines of Smart's career come from the account of his life by his nephew, Christopher Hunter, prefixed to *Poems of the late Christopher Smart* (Reading, 1791). The family history and pedigree of the Smarts is given in Surtees's *History of Durham* (Durham, 1816-40), vol. iv. Arthur Sherbo, *Christopher Smart: Scholar of the University* (Michigan State University Press, 1967) provides the most fully documented modern biography.

² John Smart was Peter's elder brother; on his death in 1753, Snotterton passed to his son Francis, but Christopher apparently nursed the illusion that the estate was his rightful 'inheritance' that he gave up in 1759 (see B46-52): the legal complications are lucidly explained by Devlin, 178-81.

³ Hunter, I, vii.

⁴ Letter from Smart's daughter, Elizabeth Le Noir: MS. Bodl. 1006 f. 245.

had as its headmaster Richard Dongworth, a scholar of some distinction. Smart excelled at school, showing a special talent for writing Latin verse; his Latin version of the popular lyric, 'Fanny, blooming fair', which was published later in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, was written at the age of sixteen.

Smart left Durham in 1739 and entered Pembroke College, Cambridge, as a sizar. In 1740 he was awarded a college scholarship, in addition to which he had an income of £40 a year given him by the Duchess of Cleveland (Henry Vane's sister-in-law),¹ and continued after her death by the duke. At Pembroke Smart continued to distinguish himself as a classical scholar: he was chosen to write the Tripos verses for three successive years and won the Craven Scholarship. After proceeding to his degree in 1743, he was elected to a Fellowship at Pembroke College in 1745, which he held until he was forced to relinquish it in 1753 after his marriage. His college offices included Praeceptorships in Philosophy (1745) and Rhetoric (1746), which obliged him to give instruction in philosophy, logic, classical literature, and the Greek New Testament; in 1747, as the college's nominee for Preacher before the Mayor, he had the duty of delivering a sermon on Michaelmas Day.²

Academic and civic duties by no means absorbed all his energies as a young Fellow. In the spring of 1747 he wrote, produced, and acted in a comedy called *The Grateful Fair, or, A Trip to Cambridge* which was performed at Pembroke by a cast from the university: a typically madcap venture, in Thomas Gray's opinion.³ Drink and extravagant living brought him to the brink of disaster later in the same year, when a subscription among his colleagues was needed to rescue him from arrest for debt.⁴ From as early as 1744 he was spending some of his time in London, trying to get a foothold in the literary world. His first published work was a Latin translation of Pope's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, printed in Cambridge at his own expense in 1743. Smart sent a copy to Pope, with a proposal to embark on a Latin version of the *Essay on Man*. Pope replied graciously, suggesting that a translation

¹ Not, as is usually stated, his mother-in-law, who was at this time the Dowager Duchess of Cleveland. Henry Vane's wife was the sister of William Fitzroy, who succeeded to the Cleveland title in 1730; he married Henrietta Finch, who died in 1742.

² Sherbo, 42-5.

³ Gray, *Corresp.* i, 274-5. For full accounts of the play, see Hunter, I, xii-xv, and *Biographia Dramatica*, ed. I. Reed and S. Jones (1812), ii, 270-1.

⁴ Gray, *Corresp.* i, 291-2; Attwater, 96.

of the *Essay on Criticism* would be more rewarding.¹ Smart took the hint, and his translation of the *Essay on Criticism* was duly published with his *Poems on Several Occasions* in 1752. Much of his verse in this period, however, was of a more ephemeral kind: poems for the magazines and songs for Vauxhall Gardens and other musical resorts.

During these years, Hunter relates, Smart 'entertained a long and unsuccessful passion' for Harriote Pratt, the daughter of an old Norfolk family, the Pratts of Ryston, near Downham Market. The earliest of several poems Smart wrote to or about her, 'On seeing Miss H—P—t, in an Apothecary's Shop', was published in 1746. In 1749 he was visiting her at 'her ancient mansion' and listening to her playing 'on her spinnet & organ'.² By 1751 the affair was over, as Smart declared in 'The Lass with the Golden Locks', a poem addressed to his future wife, Nancy Carnan: 'No more of my Harriot, of Polly no more'. But the break must have been an amicable one. Harriote's brothers, Edward and Jermyn, were both at Cambridge with Smart, and the entire family appears to have befriended him. The subscription list for his poems in 1752 included both brothers, Thurloe Stafford (who married Harriote) and Robert Stanforth, Jermyn's brother-in-law. Subscribers to Smart's version of the Psalms in 1765 included Edward and Jermyn again, their father, Roger Pratt, and Harriote herself (now Mrs Stafford). It is not surprising that Smart remembered them with affection when he was writing *Jubilate Agno*.

In November 1749 Smart left Cambridge (although retaining his Fellowship at Pembroke) and moved to London, where he plunged into the literary and theatrical life of the metropolis. His lifelong friendship with the musician Charles Burney, had begun in 1744; through Burney he met not only Thomas Arne (the composer at Vauxhall Gardens), but also the bookseller John Newbery. From 1750 to 1756 Smart was busy writing and editing for Newbery, on his magazines the *Student* and the *Midwife*, and other projects. In 1750 Newbery published Smart's *Horatian Canons of Friendship* (an imitation of Horace's Satire I, iii); in the following year Smart took part in the promotion and presentation of another of Newbery's ventures, 'Mrs. Midnight's Oratory', (also billed as 'The Old Woman's Oratory', and other titles), a theatrical offshoot of the *Midwife*. This was a kind of variety-show, an extraordinary farrago of music, dancing,

¹ Brittain, 11-12.

² Letter from Smart to Charles Burney: R. Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney (1965)*, 26.

clowning, recitation, and acrobatics, which ran with great success at the Haymarket Theatre in the 1751–2 season and was revived at intervals in subsequent years. A theatrical venture of a different kind to which Smart contributed was an amateur production of *Othello* put on at the Drury Lane Theatre by Francis and John Blake Delaval in March 1751. Smart supplied the prologue and epilogue, which were published in a handsome quarto edition in 1751.

Meanwhile Smart had not abandoned his serious literary vocation. In 1750 he wrote the first of his winning entries for the newly established Seatonian Prize, awarded annually for the best poem by a Cambridge Master of Arts on the attributes of the Supreme Being. Smart won the prize five times between 1750 and 1755. In 1752 his first collection, *Poems on Several Occasions*, was published by Newbery: it contained some of his lighter verse but also more ambitious works such as *The Hop-Garden*, a georgic in two books; *The Judgement of Midas*, a masque; and Latin versions of Pope's *Essay on Criticism* and Milton's *L'Allegro*.

In the same year Smart married Newbery's stepdaughter, Anna Maria Carnan, and the couple moved into rooms in Canonbury House, Islington. It was there, Smart tells us, that his two daughters were born: Marianne ('Polly') in 1753, and Elizabeth ('Bess') in 1754 (*Jubilate Agno*, B75). The *Midwife* petered out in 1753, but Smart was not idle. In 1752 he became involved in the paper-war between Henry Fielding and John Hill, one outcome of which was *The Hilliad*, a satire modelled on the *Dunciad*, which Smart wrote in collaboration with Arthur Murphy; it was published in 1753. Throughout 1754 and for much of 1755 he was contributing verse almost every month to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and other periodicals, and writing songs for the London musical resorts. He must also have been working on his prose translation of Horace, which Newbery published in 1756. In November 1755 Smart and Richard Rolt signed a contract with another bookseller, Thomas Gardner, to provide material for a new monthly magazine, the *Universal Visiter*, which was to start in 1756. By that time, however, Smart was suffering from a dangerous illness, which may or may not have been the beginning of his mental breakdown,¹ and his share of the editorial burden was taken on by Samuel Johnson and other friends.

Smart celebrated his recovery with a *Hymn to the Supreme Being on*

¹ Johnson (*Boswell's Life*, ii, 345) and Hunter (I, xx–xxi) refer to it as such, but Smart describes it as a severe fever: see Sherbo, 109–12.

recovery from a dangerous fit of illness, published in 1756, but his relief was short-lived. By March 1757 an application for admission to St. Luke's Hospital for the insane had been made on his behalf, and in May he was admitted; twelve months later he was 'discharged uncured', and some time between May 1758 and January 1759 he was admitted to a private madhouse in Bethnal Green run by a Mr Potter,¹ where he remained, perhaps with an occasional remission (see *Jubilate Agno*, B15) until January 1763.

Whatever the nature of his disorder—cyclothymia has been suggested²—its most conspicuous symptom was a compulsion to pray in public, at any time or place. Samuel Johnson's charitable comment ('He insisted on people praying with him; and I'd as lief pray with Kit Smart as any one else') is well known;³ but Smart's reminiscence in *Jubilate Agno* tells its own story: 'For I blessed God in St. James's Park till I routed all the company' (B89). By the standards of the time, he was not harshly treated in Mr Potter's asylum; he was evidently allowed books, writing materials, and current newspapers, and was able to work in the garden; but he resented his confinement bitterly, and after his release he tried to prosecute those who had committed him.⁴

By the time Smart came out of the asylum his marriage had collapsed. Anna Maria Smart moved to Dublin in 1759 for two years, and then to Reading, and the couple were never reunited. In 1763 Smart moved into bachelor rooms overlooking St. James's Park,⁵ and for the next five years he wrote and published a greater volume of serious poetry than at any previous period of his life. *A Song to David* and two small collections of verse appeared in 1763; the following year he produced another collection, *Ode to the Right Honourable the Earl of Northumberland . . . with some other pieces*, and his first oratorio, *Hannah*; the *Translation of the Psalms of David*, with *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, and the translation of the *Fables of Phaedrus* were published in 1765, the verse translation of Horace in 1767, Smart's second oratorio, *Abimelech*, and the *Parables* 'done into verse' for children in 1768. None of these publications, however, increased either his reputation or his prosperity, and Hunter's comment on

¹ Sherbo, 122–3.

² W. Russell Brain, *Some Reflections on Genius* (1960), 117.

³ *Boswell's Life*, i, 397.

⁴ Letter from Mason in Gray's *Corresp.* ii, 802.

⁵ A graphic picture of Smart at this time is given in a letter from John Hawkesworth to Smart's sister, October 1764, quoted by Hunter, I, xxiii–xxvi.

Smart's writings after 1763 is typical of the mixture of incomprehension and distaste with which they were generally received: 'These . . . were written after his confinement, and bear for the most part melancholy proofs of the recent estrangement of his mind.'

By January, 1766, Smart was again seriously in debt and in imminent danger of arrest; on this occasion he was saved by the generosity of a friend,¹ but his remaining years are a sad record of his losing battle against poverty. The letters that survive from this period are mostly pleas or gratitude for money. To Fanny Burney, writing after seeing Smart in 1768, his plight appeared a pitiful one:

This ingenious writer is one of the most unfortunate of men—he has been twice confined in a mad-house—and but last year sent a most affecting epistle to papa, to entreat him to lend him half-a-guinea!—How great a pity so clever, so ingenious a man should be reduced to such shocking circumstances. He is extremely grave, and has still great wildness in his manner, looks, and voice; but 'tis impossible to see him and to think of his works, without feeling the utmost pity and concern for him.²

In spite of the efforts of his friends, especially William Mason and Charles Burney who raised and supported a subscription on his behalf, and Richard Stonhewer who secured him a pension of £50, Smart's debts accumulated, and in April 1770 he was arrested for debt and imprisoned: 'After being six times arrested: nine times in a spunging house: and three times in the Fleet-Prison, I am at last happily arrived at the King's Bench', he wrote to an unidentified correspondent.³ His last work, *Hymns for the Amusement of Children*, must have been written largely, if not entirely, in the King's Bench Prison. His brother-in-law, Thomas Carnan, obtained him the 'Rules', which allowed him the freedom of a limited area outside the prison, but he was never discharged: he died of a liver disorder on 20 May 1771, aged forty-nine.

II. Smart's principal publications

1. *Carmen Cl. Alexandri Pope in S. Cæciliam Latine redditum*, Cambridge, 1743.
2. ——— 2nd edition with *Ode for Musick on Saint Cecilia's Day*, Cambridge, 1746.

¹ Devlin, 170.

² *The Early Diary of Frances Burney 1768-1778*, ed. A. R. Ellis (1907), i, 28.

³ R. Lonsdale, op. cit. 69.

3. *The Horatian Canons of Friendship. Being the Third Satire of the First Book of Horace Imitated*, 1750.
4. *On the Eternity of the Supreme Being. A Poetical Essay*, Cambridge, 1750.
5. *On the Immensity of the Supreme Being. A Poetical Essay*, Cambridge, 1751.
6. *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1752.
7. *On the Omniscience of the Supreme Being. A Poetical Essay*, Cambridge, 1752.
8. *The Hilliad: An Epic Poem*, 1753.
9. *On the Power of the Supreme Being. A Poetical Essay*, Cambridge, 1754.
10. *On the Goodness of the Supreme Being. A Poetical Essay*, Cambridge, 1756.
11. *The Works of Horace, translated literally into English prose*, 1756.
12. *Hymn to the Supreme Being, on Recovery from a Dangerous Fit of Illness*, 1756.
13. *A Song to David*, 1763.
14. *Poems*, [1763].
15. *Poems on Several Occasions*, [1763].
16. *Hannah. An Oratorio*, [1764].
17. *Ode to the Right Honourable the Earl of Northumberland, . . . With some other pieces*, 1764.
18. *A Poetical Translation of the Fables of Phædrus*, 1765.
19. *A Translation of the Psalms of David with Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England*, 1765.
20. *The Works of Horace, translated into verse*, 1767.
21. *The Parables of Our Lord and Saviour. Done into familiar verse*, 1768.
22. *Abimelech, An Oratorio*, [1768].
23. *Hymns for the Amusement of Children*, 1771.

III. *Jubilate Agno*

(i) THE MANUSCRIPT

The autograph manuscript of *Jubilate Agno*, now preserved in the Houghton Library at Harvard University, was acquired some thirty years ago from Colonel W. G. Carwardine Probert to whom it had

descended, probably from his great-grandfather, the Revd Thomas Carwardine. The manuscript is unsigned and its early history is unknown, but Smart's authorship has never been in doubt. He mentions himself by name in D148, and there are numerous biographical allusions by which he can be identified. He refers to his date of birth (C122), his Welsh mother (B91), his school (C55, D28), his college (B617), the house he lived in after his marriage (B75), and the mania for public prayer which led to his confinement for madness (B89-90). Comparison with Smart's holographs also leaves no doubt that the manuscript is in his handwriting. The existence of the manuscript was publicly unknown until 1939, when William Force Stead published a careful and well-annotated edition under a title of his own devising, *Rejoice in the Lamb: A Song from Bedlam*.¹

The manuscript is written on both sides of loose folio leaves, ten single and three double, giving thirty-two pages in all. Guided by the numbering of the folios and the dates within the text, Stead printed the pages consecutively, as far as possible in chronological order. It remained for a later editor, Dr W. H. Bond, to demonstrate the arrangement evidently intended by Smart. Observing that all the verses begin with either the word 'Let' or the word 'For', Dr Bond then discovered that some of the LET and FOR folios were numbered and dated concurrently, and that these chronologically parallel texts were further connected by verbal links. From this he argued convincingly that Smart was working to an antiphonal pattern of versicle (LET) and response (FOR).²

The manuscript consists of a series of disconnected fragments. A is a double-folio, numbered 1, containing LET verses only. Folio 2 is missing. B consists of four pairs of cognate leaves (originally double-folios) containing 295 LET verses (folio 3) and 768 FOR verses (folios 3-5). C consists of two unnumbered single leaves, one of LET, one of FOR verses, which appear from dates in the text to be parallel; these must be portions of one of the missing folios 6-9. D consists of two double-folios of LET verses, numbered 10-11. The text breaks off less than half-way down the fourth side of folio 11, so it seems unlikely that it was continued. The relation of the present text to the manuscript is shown in the following table:

LET		FOR	
Folio no.	1 A1-113	Folio no.	[1]
	[2]		[2]
	3 B1-295		3 B1-295
	[4]		4 B296-512
	[5]		5 B513-768
	[6]		[6]
	[7] C1-162 (folio unnumbered)		[7] C1-162 (folio unnumbered)
	[8]		[8]
	[9]		[9]
	10 D1-128		[10]
	11 D129-237		[11]

(ii) DATE OF COMPOSITION

The only evidence for the dating of *Jubilate Agno* comes from dates and allusions within the text itself, but these make it possible to chart the progress of Smart's composition from B onwards with some precision. The evidence has been examined in detail by Professor Sherbo,¹ whose conclusions I have accepted, with minor modifications.

Dates in B indicate that this section was written at a daily rate of three pairs of verses (i.e. LET and FOR) from 27 July to 29 October 1759 (folio 3); one verse from 30 October 1759 to 1 June 1760 (folio 4); three verses from 2 June to 26 August 1760 (folio 5).

Dates in C indicate a daily rate of two verses from 21 February to 12 May 1761.

Dates in D indicate a daily rate of one verse from 12 June 1762 to 30 January 1763.

These schemes are not perfectly regular: there is a discrepancy of fourteen lines in B52-116, and minor discrepancies in C and D, but they are not of sufficient importance to undermine Professor Sherbo's hypothesis that Smart was writing normally at a fixed daily rate.

The dating of A, however, remains a problem. The missing double-folio 2, which came between A and B, might have contained anything from 113 verses (as in folio 1) and 295 (as in folio 3), and as we have seen, Smart's rate of composition varied from one to three verses a day. Even assuming, rather doubtfully, that he began writing in the regular manner demonstrable later, we are still left with a wide margin for conjecture. The maximum of roughly 400 verses in folios

¹ A. Sherbo, 'The Dating and Order of the Fragments of Christopher Smart's *Jubilate Agno*', *HLB* x (1956), 201-7.

¹ The previous history is outlined in Stead's introduction.

² Dr Bond's reconstruction of Smart's plan is described in detail in 'Christopher Smart's *Jubilate Agno*', *HLB* iv (1950), 39-52, and incorporated in his edition, *Jubilate Agno* (1954).

1-2, at one per day, would have taken Smart thirteen months; the minimum of about 230 verses, at three per day, would have taken him less than three months. That gives us a starting date any time between June 1758 and April 1759, which is as close as we can get without further evidence.

(iii) PURPOSE AND FORM

For most of the period from 1758 to 1763 during which *Jubilate Agno* was written Smart was confined in a private madhouse in Bethnal Green. This is one factor, but only one, amongst those which have to be taken into account in trying to understand the work.¹ The fragmentary state of the manuscript, the extraordinary richness and diversity of the subject-matter, the cryptic and allusive style (a feature of Smart's poetry not confined to his 'mad' period), all conspire with the peculiarities of his psychology to make *Jubilate Agno* appear strange and obscure. Although it is possible to establish the chronological order of composition and the interrelations of the LET and FOR sections, the shape of the whole as Smart conceived it remains in doubt.

At its inception it was clearly intended to be a new Canticle on a grand scale: 'my MAGNIFICAT', Smart calls it (B43). He was putting literally into practice the lesson that Robert Nelson instructed Christians to learn from the Magnificat:

That all the Faculties of our Souls, our Reason, our Will, and our Affections ought to be employed in blessing and praising his holy Name; and though we cannot add to his Greatness, yet we are then said to *magnifie the Lord*, when we publish and proclaim to the World our sense of his mighty Perfections.

(*A Companion for the Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England* (16th edn., 1736), 168).

Smart's primary purpose was to present a work of praise and glorification of God: 'For by the grace of God I am the Reviver of ADORATION among ENGLISH-MEN' (B332). His second purpose was evangelistic: 'For I preach the very GOSPEL of CHRIST' (B9). With the aid of typology, word-play, scriptural allusion, and other devices, he constantly reaffirms the Christian message. Old Testament

¹ Apart from the introductions to Stead's and Bond's editions, the most comprehensive and helpful accounts of *Jubilate Agno* are by A. J. Kuhn, 'Christopher Smart: the Poet as Patriot of the Lord', *ELH* xxx (1963), 121-36; J. B. Friedman, 'The Cosmology of Praise: Smart's *Jubilate Agno*', *PMLA* 82 (1967), 250-6; and A. D. Hope, 'The Apocalypse of Christopher Smart', *Studies in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. R. F. Brissenden (Canberra, 1968), 269-84.

material is treated, as the psalms were to be treated in his translation, 'in the spirit of Christianity'. 'Jubilate Agno' itself combines the opening of the 100th Psalm, *Jubilate Deo*, with the title of Christ, *Agnus Dei*. The ark of Noah becomes the Ark of Salvation (A4), an element of Christian typology enshrined in the baptismal service in the Book of Common Prayer. A sequence of animals which are 'unclean' by Jewish law is crowned by reference to the Christian dispensation by which that law was transcended (A48-63). His evangelism is intensely patriotic: the English are the seed of Abraham (B433), St. Paul is the Agent of England (B225), and the Church of England is one of the seven churches of the Revelation (B126).

It is evident that from the beginning of B, if not earlier, Smart also felt he had a prophetic and apocalyptic mission. In the opening verses of the FOR section he takes up the stance of an Ezekiel or an Isaiah, preaching from his captivity to a nation at war. Throughout this fragment, and on through C, he concerns himself like the Old Testament prophets with current problems, and, in his apocalyptic role, with the final destiny of man and the world. He takes upon himself the task of demolishing the false philosophy of his time and replacing it with a theory of the universe that is consonant with the scriptures. If the Old Testament furnished Smart with models for his role as prophet and seer, the New gives him in St. Paul a model of the Christian controversialist: 'For I . . . defend the philosophy of the scriptures against vain deceit', he declares (B130), echoing St. Paul's words to the Colossians. A substantial proportion of B is devoted to an attack on Newtonian science and materialist philosophy; this is one of the sections most easily dismissed as 'mad', but it is in fact one of the most sustained and integrated passages in *Jubilate Agno*, and is based to a considerable extent on serious and learned authority. Behind it lie the doctrines of the Cambridge Platonists Cudworth and More; the widely respected theories of the earth of Thomas Burnet and John Woodward; and the Hutchinsonian campaign against mathematical philosophy, which—though derided by its opponents—had a reputable following in the universities.

In form as well as in purpose, *Jubilate Agno* is modelled initially on the canticles, though it resembles the *Benedicite* more closely than the *Magnificat*. Smart adapts both the general invocation of the *Benedicite* ('O all ye Works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him and magnify him for ever'), and the roll-call of the various species of creation, which are individually called on for praise and blessing. This

basic scheme is elaborated by coupling human names, biblical or contemporary, with the names of natural species or objects: animals, birds, fishes, herbs, trees, precious stones. The cryptic note in D51, 'Star—word—herb—gem', may indicate that the whole scheme had included the stars, thus completing a system of universal correspondences analogous to that on which seventeenth-century occult philosophy was based.¹

This scheme, however, accounts for only half the structure of *Fubilate Agno* as we have it, the half represented by the LET verses. The parallel FOR verses, as Bond showed, were intended to provide a response, after the antiphonal pattern of Hebrew verse as expounded in Robert Lowth's *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum* (1753). Their function at first was to supply comment—moral, doctrinal, biographical, prophetic—on the LET verses, and at the same time to follow each other consecutively, thus producing a complex structure of vertical and horizontal relationships. This works to begin with in B, but connections within the FOR verses predominate over cross-links with the LET section from about B160. The cross-linkage is briefly resumed in B291–5 (and of course might have continued in the missing LET section), but completely neglected in C. It is an open question whether this elaborate arrangement was part of the original plan of *Fubilate Agno*. It is conceivable that we have no FOR verses for A because they never existed. The LET verses in A are more self-contained than those in B: the FOR verses may have been introduced, either in the missing folio 2 or at the beginning of folio 3, only when Smart found he had things to say which could not be accommodated within the relatively simple scheme he had been following up to that point.

This in turn raises questions about the inferences we can draw from the relics that survive about the shape of the whole work. While the fragments are obviously all pieces of the same jigsaw, it does not follow that the order in which they were composed represents the order in which they would finally have stood if Smart had completed the work. Nor is it safe to assume that Smart's conception remained constant throughout the four years he was working on *Fubilate Agno*. On the contrary, the evidence of the text suggests a work whose purpose and plan was evolving in the process of composition.

Biblical names in the LET sections may provide the clue to Smart's intentions. The names from A4 to B295 start in Genesis and end in Revelation. A begins with a list of patriarchs, followed by priests and

¹ See, for example, Agrippa, 31.

Levites, then leaders of Israel; from A33 the names are taken mainly from the historical books (Joshua–Nehemiah), but not according to any apparent system. B starts again with Genesis and Numbers (drawing this time on genealogies and other lists), then moves on to the historical books, concentrating particularly on the officers and household of David (B61–105). At B123 Smart turns to the New Testament, taking names from the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles successively, and ends with one name from Revelation. The names in C are from the Old Testament again, mainly Ezra and Nehemiah, showing Smart extending his forages through the historical books.

It looks as if Smart's plans for *Fubilate Agno* became more ambitious after he had written A. As has been suggested, the FOR section may only have been begun at this stage, and Smart may have decided at the same time to expand the LET section to include a more comprehensive selection of biblical names. The principle of selection seems to be based on the concept of the Christian Church as the 'Israel of God' (Gal. 6: 16). Hence all the children of Israel in the Old Testament, and especially the house of Judah into which Jesus was born, are enrolled with the apostles, family and disciples of Christ in the unison of praise. Another feature of B and C which suggests that they represent stages in a process of drafting is the frequent repetition of ideas and phrases. In B296–512 (folio 4) there are numerous repetitions of verses from the previous folio, B1–295; C (FOR) similarly repeats ideas from B: the exercise on the alphabet in C1–18 for example appears to be simply a revision of the first of the two alphabets in B. In short, what we have up to the end of C is probably a series of draft sections, which would eventually have been revised and reordered if Smart had persisted with his plans.

The change in D from biblical to English names indicates a new departure of some kind; but there are also signs of declining interest. Already in C (LET) the links between names and objects had become wholly arbitrary, and the descriptions perfunctory. The descriptions in D are fuller, but in the great majority of verses are simply copied from standard sources: in other words, Smart is compiling his own source-book, without attempting to assimilate or transmute his raw material. The use of English names gives him new opportunities for word-play, but fails to produce any higher flights of imagination. Very likely, as Professor Sherbo suggests, the names were selected from obituary lists in current periodicals.¹ By 1762 Smart was probably

¹ 'Christopher Smart, Reader of Obituaries', *MLN* lxxi (1956), 177–82.

more absorbed by the other works he was engaged on. *A Song to David* was published in April 1763, at the same time as proposals for the translation of the *Psalms* and the *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. Smart refers to both his translation and his hymns in D, and the germ of the *Song* may lie in the verse in B referring to his 'MAGNIFICAT': 'For I pray the Lord Jesus to translate my MAGNIFICAT into verse and represent it.' If for *represent* we read *re-present*, Smart could be looking ahead to the *Song*, which is in effect a metrical version of a substantial portion of the images and ideas first minted in *Fubilate Agno*.¹ Certainly Smart's interest in the work as a separate composition seems to have waned, and the manuscript in its later stages is more like a diary-cum-commonplace book, as Dr Brittain had described it,² in which Smart recorded ideas and references, current events, visits of friends, and names of subscribers, which he was busy collecting for the *Psalms*.

(iv) SOURCES

The range of reference in *Fubilate Agno* is astonishingly wide, especially in view of the fact that Smart's access to books in the asylum must have been severely limited. How much he was drawing on books he had with him, and how much on memory and imagination is a matter of conjecture, but some of the main sources of his knowledge and ideas can be established with reasonable certainty.

The Authorized Version of the Bible (including the Apocrypha) obviously was a primary source. That Smart was also familiar with the Vulgate and the Greek New Testament is apparent from spellings of proper names and other evidence (see notes on B214 LET, C119 FOR, etc). The extent of his knowledge of Hebrew is debatable,³ but he is known to have borrowed a Polyglot Bible from Pembroke College library, and evidently knew something about the Semitic and Arabic versions (see notes to B228 LET, C46-7 FOR). In addition to the Bible, he must surely have had a Book of Common Prayer with him: references to, and quotations from, the psalms are often from the prayer book psalter rather than the Book of Psalms; he was continually conscious of dates in the Anglican calendar; and concern for liturgical reform (B252, 511-12) was a preoccupation at this period. It is also evident that Smart was interested in patristic tradition to an unusual degree by contemporary standards; his eschatological theory, in

¹ I am indebted to Mr Alan Black for this suggestion.

² Brittain, 275.

³ See Parish, 516-32.

particular, owes much to Origen. He may have come to the fathers through the Cambridge Platonists: Ralph Cudworth and Henry More were still a force in theological circles in the eighteenth century, and Smart appears to have absorbed some of their ideas.

Smart's knowledge of natural history and botany came from several sources, some of it undoubtedly from personal observation and folklore, some of it from contemporary handbooks and treatises. Particular sources of this kind are hard to identify, except when Smart's descriptions over a series of verses tally with a particular work. Thus he seems to have used William Salmon's *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* (the standard medical handbook in his day), Eleazar Albin's *Natural History of Birds*, and Walton's *Compleat Angler*. Descriptions of more exotic creatures and plants came from travel-books, such as George Anson's *Voyage round the World* and Daniel Coxe's *Description of Carolana*. The most important classical source by far was Pliny's *Natural History*, which he seems to have known both in the original and in Holland's translation. His descriptions, however, increasingly seem to be drawn from the dictionary rather than the original. The standard Latin dictionary at this time was Ainsworth's *Thesaurus*, and this seems to have become as important a 'source' in D as Pliny himself. In many verses Smart's phrasing is identical with Ainsworth's; more significantly, Smart follows Ainsworth even when Ainsworth adds to or differs from Pliny (see, e.g., D85, 89, 102). In fact, almost all the Latin names and descriptions in *Fubilate Agno* can be traced to Pliny or Ainsworth, both of which Smart probably had with him in the asylum.

Smart's knowledge of science appears to have been wide rather than deep. Too much should not be made of the fact that he read (or at least borrowed) Newton's *Principia* and three or four other scientific works from Pembroke College library. As Professor Sherbo has reminded us,¹ science and mathematics were in the ascendant in the Cambridge of Smart's day, and the popularity of science generally at this time should also be remembered. Ephraim Chambers's great *Cyclopaedia* (1728), another work which Smart borrowed from the library, had put modern scientific theories and discoveries within the reach of any reader of moderate intelligence, and scientific topics were a regular feature of popular magazines and journals. Between 1754 and 1759, for example, air-pumps, electricity, the precession of the equinoxes, the ascent of vapours, and the phenomenon of the horizontal

¹ Sherbo, 150.

moon—all topics which Smart discussed in B—were the subject of articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The principal sources of his scientific knowledge, in fact, appear to have been Chambers, contemporary magazines, and the extracts of articles from the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society which were regularly printed in the *Monthly Review*. The most important influence on Smart's attitude to science appears to have been that of the Hutchinsonians, which is discussed separately (see Appendix).

Finally we come to the vexed question of Smart's debt to occult literature. That he had some knowledge of, and interest in, occult philosophy is beyond dispute, but this element of his work should be seen in its right proportions. While it is true that some of his ideas patently have their source in Hermetic-Cabbalist tradition, it is notable that these ideas are not distributed evenly throughout *Jubilate Agno* but are clustered together in B296–694 and C (covering a period of about eighteen months); also notable is that Smart's expression of these ideas is singularly free from the jargon of the occult, in contrast to his liberal use of scientific terminology. It would seem that his interest in the occult was a temporary preoccupation, and that he never became a whole-hearted devotee but remained an eclectic, drawing from occult lore, as he drew from other sources, only what he needed to amplify and endorse his own philosophy. The question of his sources, however, remains problematic. There is no firm evidence that he knew the seventeenth-century occult writers, such as Robert Fludd, Henry Cornelius Agrippa, and Thomas Vaughan, at first hand, though he may have done. The basic doctrines of the Hermetic-Cabbalist tradition are outlined in Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*, but for details Smart must have gone elsewhere. Freemasonry was an important channel by which occult ideas were transmitted in the eighteenth century, and this was doubtless one of Smart's sources. He may also have had access to Rosicrucian literature. Frances Yates describes an English translation of one of the major Rosicrucian texts, Andreae's *Chemical Wedding*, which is among the Harley MSS in the British Library.¹ It is said to be 'by Peter Smart, 1714'. It is at least possible that this was Christopher Smart's father. But it is in the nature of secret societies, Rosicrucian as well as Masonic, to be secretive, and speculation along these lines, therefore, is particularly unrewarding. All I have attempted in the commentary is to note analogues to Smart's

¹ *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1972), p. 203. The translation (Harley MS 6486) is said by Dr Yates to be a copy of Ezechiel Foxcroft's version.

ideas in occult writings when they can be found, without claiming to have identified his source.

(V) THE TEXT

The text has been newly transcribed from the manuscript but the present edition follows Bond's arrangement of the fragments, with two modifications: Bond's 'B1' and 'B2' are printed in one continuous sequence, B, and the verses from B580 have been renumbered to correct the misalignment of B580 (given as three verses by Bond).

Punctuation has been supplied where necessary, but sparingly and in accord with Smart's habits as shown in the manuscript generally. Words omitted from standard phrases have been supplied on the same principle; emendations adopted from Stead or Bond have been acknowledged when they changed the sense, but not otherwise. Spelling mistakes have been corrected, but the spelling has not been modernized, and what appear to be idiosyncratic spellings, such as double-*g* in some participles, and consistent mis-spellings, such as *seperation*, have been preserved. Ampersands and the contractions *wch* (which) and *ye* (the) have been silently expanded. Apostrophes indicating the omission of *e* have been silently supplied in positions where they are normally used by Smart.

A break in the text is indicated by a wider interlinear space and an asterisk. In the manuscript these breaks are indicated as follows: at B123 (LET and FOR) by a larger script and indentation of the first word; at B353 by a diagonal line after '1759' and a wide space; at B578 by a horizontal line across the page.

Jubilate Agno
FRAGMENT A

Rejoice in God, O ye Tongues; give the glory to the Lord, and the Lamb.

Nations, and languages, and every Creature, in which is the breath of Life.

Let man and beast appear before him, and magnify his name together.

Let Noah and his company approach the throne of Grace, and do homage to the Ark of their Salvation.

Let Abraham present a Ram, and worship the God of his Redemption. 5

Let Isaac, the Bridegroom, kneel with his Camels, and bless the hope of his pilgrimage.

Let Jacob, and his speckled Drove adore the good Shepherd of Israel.

Let Esau offer a scape Goat for his seed, and rejoice in the blessing of God his father.

Let Nimrod, the mighty hunter, bind a Leopard to the altar, and consecrate his spear to the Lord.

Let Ishmael dedicate a Tyger, and give praise for the liberty, in which 10
the Lord has let him at large.

Let Balaam appear with an Ass, and bless the Lord his people and his creatures for a reward eternal.

Probably written between June 1758 and April 1759 (see Introduction, pp. xxiii-xxiv).

1-3 Cf. the vision of the redeemed at the sealing of the twelve tribes of Israel: 'lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb . . . And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb' (Rev. 7: 9-10).

4-32 The biblical names begin with the patriarchs (4-14), priests and Levites (15-24), leaders and deliverers of Israel (25-32).

4 *Ark of their Salvation*: in Christian typology Noah's ark prefigures salvation through Christ: see Matt. 24: 37-9.

7 *speckled Drove*: see Gen. 30: 32-43, and B577n.

8 *Esau's seed* were the Edomites, enemies of Israel.

Let Anah, the son of Zibion, lead a Mule to the temple, and bless God, who amercers the consolation of the creature for the service of Man.

Let Daniel come forth with a Lion, and praise God with all his might through faith in Christ Jesus.

Let Naphthali with an Hind give glory in the goodly words of Thanksgiving.

15 Let Aaron, the high priest, sanctify a Bull, and let him go free to the Lord and Giver of Life.

Let the Levites of the Lord take the Beavers of the brook alive into the Ark of the Testimony.

Let Eleazar with the Ermine serve the Lord decently and in purity.

Let Ithamar minister with a Chamois, and bless the name of Him, which cloatheth the naked.

Let Gershom with an Pygarg [Hart] bless the name of Him, who feedeth the hungry.

20 Let Merari praise the wisdom and power of God with the Coney, who scoopeth the rock, and archeth in the sand.

Let Kohath serve with the Sable, and bless God in the ornaments of the Temple.

Let Jehoida bless God with an Hare, whose mazes are determined for the health of the body and to parry the adversary.

Let Ahitub humble himself with an Ape before Almighty God, who is the maker of variety and pleasantry.

19 Hart inserted above Pygarg MS

12 Anah was probably suggested by the Ass: 'this was that Anah that found the mules in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father' (Gen. 36: 24); he is otherwise unknown. amercers . . . Man: i.e. God deprives mules of animal pleasure (referring to their sterility) to make them more serviceable to man.

14 Naphthali is a hind let loose: he goodly giveth words' (Gen. 49: 21). Naphthali is the Clementine Vulgate spelling.

16 Ark of the Testimony (Ark of the Covenant): a deliberate conflation: 'the priestly Ark of the Covenant and the seaborne Ark of Noah were both for him one image of the true Church' (Devlin, 107).

19 Pygarg could be either a kind of antelope (as in AV) or the osprey: Smart's gloss is to show which sense is intended. The Chamois, Pygarg, Coney, Sable (antelope) and Hare are all 'unclean' in Deut. 14: 5-7.

20 Coney . . . sand: cf. Prov. 30: 26, and A Song to David, 148; Hymn 13: 42-3.

21 The task of the Kohathites was to tend the ornaments of the temple.

Let Abiathar with a Fox praise the name of the Lord, who ballances craft against strength and skill against number.

Let Moses, the Man of God, bless with a Lizard, in the sweet majesty 25 of good-nature, and the magnanimity of meekness.

Let Joshua praise God with an Unicorn—the swiftness of the Lord, and the strength of the Lord, and the spear of the Lord mighty in battle.

Let Caleb with an Ounce praise the Lord of the Land of beauty and rejoice in the blessing of his good Report.

Let Othniel praise God with the Rhinoceros, who put on his armour for the reward of beauty in the Lord.

Let Tola bless with the Toad, which is the good creature of God, tho' his virtue is in the secret, and his mention is not made.

Let Barak praise with the Pard—and great is the might of the faithful 30 and great is the Lord in the nail of Jael and in the sword of the Son of Abinoam.

Let Gideon bless with the Panther—the Word of the Lord is invincible by him that lappeth from the brook.

Let Jotham praise with the Urchin, who took up his parable and provided himself for the adversary to kick against the pricks.

26 Joshua led the Israelites out of Egypt; Balaam's prophecy of this event is in Num. 24: 8, 'God brought him forth out of Egypt: he hath as it were the strength of an unicorn: he shall eat up the nations his enemies . . . and pierce them through with his arrows.'

27 Caleb was sent by Moses to spy out the land of Canaan; for giving a true report when other spies brought back a false one, he was rewarded with a special blessing (Num. 13-14).

28 Othniel captured the city of Debir, thereby winning Caleb's daughter as a reward (Josh. 15: 16-17).

29 Toad . . . secret: perhaps a reference to the jewel supposed to be found in the head of the toad. his mention is not made: i.e. in the Bible. Smart evidently had a special feeling for toads: cf. B412-13, 580-1.

30 Barak, the son of Abinoam, destroyed Sisera's army with 'the edge of the sword' (Judg. 4: 15); Sisera himself escaped but was killed with a nail by Jael.

31 Gideon chose his soldiers from those who lapped water: see Judg. 7: 4-7.

32 Jotham (son of Gideon) told the parable of the devouring bramble which was elected king of the trees, as a warning against the election of Abimelech as king of Shechem (Judg. 9). The Urchin (hedgehog) has 'pricks' like the bramble, to defend him from his enemies. to kick against the pricks: a proverbial phrase from Acts 9: 5.

Let Boaz, the Builder of Judah, bless with the Rat, which dwelleth in hardship and peril, that they may look to themselves and keep their houses in order.

Let Obed-Edom with a Dormouse praise the Name of the Lord God his Guest for increase of his store and for peace.

35 Let Abishai bless with the Hyæna—the terror of the Lord, and the fierceness, of his wrath against the foes of the King and of Israel.

Let Ethan praise with the Flea, his coat of mail, his piercer, and his vigour, which wisdom and providence have contrived to attract observation and to escape it.

Let Heman bless with the Spider, his warp and his woof, his subtlety and industry, which are good.

Let Chalcol praise with the Beetle, whose life is precious in the sight of God, tho his appearance is against him.

Let Darda with a Leech bless the Name of the Physician of body and soul.

40 Let Mahol praise the Maker of Earth and Sea with the Otter, whom God has given to dive and to burrow for his preservation.

Let David bless with the Bear—The beginning of victory to the Lord—to the Lord the perfection of excellence—Hallelujah from the heart of God, and from the hand of the artist inimitable, and from the echo of the heavenly harp in sweetness magnificent and mighty.

41 sweetness [majestical and *deleted*] magnificent MS

33 Biblical names from this point are taken mainly from the historical books of the OT, in no discernible order.

33 Boaz was the *Builder of Judah* inasmuch as he was the ancestor of David; the phrase is applied to his wife Ruth in the OT (Ruth 4: 11).

34 Boaz was father of Obed. *Obed-Edom* (no historical connection) was entrusted with the Ark of the Covenant, which represented the presence of God, and was blessed for his care of it (2 Sam. 6: 10-11).

35 The feats of *Abishai* included killing a giant Philistine who was threatening David's life, and slaughtering 300 Philistines single-handed (2 Sam. 21: 17; 23: 18).

36-40 *Ethan*, *Heman*, *Chalcol*, and *Darda*, sons of *Mahol*, are named as examples of wisdom in 1 Kgs. 4: 31.

41 *David's* fight with a bear was a portent of victory over the Philistines (1 Sam. 17: 34-7). Smart may also be alluding to victory in the current war with France (cf. B4-8): England scored notable victories in Canada and West Africa in 1758 and made successful raids on the coast of France itself. *echo . . . harp*: see B246n.

Let Solomon praise with the Ant, and give the glory to the Fountain of all Wisdom.

Let Romanti-ezer bless with the Ferret—The Lord is a rewarder of them, that diligently seek him.

Let Samuel, the Minister from a child, without ceasing praise with the Porcupine, which is the creature of defence and stands upon his arms continually.

Let Nathan with the Badger bless God for his retired fame, and 45 privacy inaccessible to slander.

Let Joseph, who from the abundance of his blessing may spare to him, that lacketh, praise with the Crocodile, which is pleasant and pure, when he is interpreted, tho' his look is of terror and offence.

Let Esdras bless Christ Jesus with the Rose and his people, which is a nation of living sweetness.

Let Mephibosheth with the Cricket praise the God of cheerfulness, hospitality, and gratitude.

Let Shallum with the Frog bless God for the meadows of Canaan, the fleece, the milk and the honey.

Let Hilkiah praise with the Weasel, which sneaks for his prey in craft, 50 and dwelleth at ambush.

Let Job bless with the Worm—the life of the Lord is in Humiliation, the Spirit also and the truth.

42 the the glory MS

42 *Solomon . . . Ant*: see Prov. 6: 6, and 'On the Omniscience of the Supreme Being', 103-15.

47 *Esdras* recounts the vision of the Son of God crowning his people (2 Esd. 2: 42-8). For the *Rose* as the symbol of Christ (a Rosicrucian symbol), cf. Henry Vaughan, 'Peace', *Silex Scintillans*; i (1650). Smart associated it also with chastity, of which *Esdras* was an example (B194); see C124n.

49 The association of *Shallum* and *Canaan* suggests a personal allusion. Cf. B23: 'For my grounds in New Canaan shall infinitely compensate for the flats and maynes of Staindrop Moor.' *Shallum* was the owner of land to which his nephew Jeremiah had reversionary rights, but Jeremiah bought the inheritance from his cousin (Jer. 32: 6-12). Smart similarly was heir at law to his uncle's estate at Staindrop, which had descended to his cousin in 1753. Negotiations over Smart's 'inheritance' were going on in 1759: see B46-52, and Devlin, 178-81.

51 'Though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God' (Job 19: 26).

Let Elihu bless with the Tortoise, which is food for praise and thanksgiving.

Let Hezekiah praise with the Dromedary—the zeal for the glory of God is excellence, and to bear his burden is grace.

Let Zadok worship with the Mole—before honour is humility, and he that looketh low shall learn.

55 Let Gad with the Adder bless in the simplicity of the preacher and the wisdom of the creature.

Let Tobias bless Charity with his Dog, who is faithful, vigilant, and a friend in poverty.

Let Anna bless God with the Cat, who is worthy to be presented before the throne of grace, when he has trampled upon the idol in his prank.

Let Benaiah praise with the Asp—to conquer malice is nobler, than to slay the lion.

Let Barzillai bless with the Snail—a friend in need is as the balm of Gilead, or as the slime to the wounded bark.

60 Let Joab with the Horse worship the Lord God of Hosts.

Let Shemaiah bless God with the Caterpillar—the minister of vengeance is the harbinger of mercy.

Let Ahimelech with the Locust bless God from the tyranny of numbers.

54 Zadoc MS

59 with Snail MS

52 *Elihu's* lengthy rebuke to Job is mainly concerned with the 'praise and thanksgiving' due to God (Job 32-7).

56-7 *Tobias's* faithful dog is mentioned in the Book of Tobit. *Anna* was Tobias's mother, but no cat is mentioned.

58 *Benaiah* 'slew a lion' (2 Sam. 23: 20). The poison of asps is a biblical metaphor for malice (Rom. 3: 13).

59 *Barzillai the Gileadite* helped David when he was fleeing from Absalom (2 Sam. 19: 32). *Balm of Gilead*, a symbol of consolation (Jer. 8: 22), is an oily resin ('slime') extracted from balsam-trees.

60 *Joab*, commander of David's 'hosts', was an important figure to Smart: see B62, B433, B464.

61 *Shemaiah* was one of those appointed to cleanse and purify the temple (2 Chr. 29: 12-19). He comes in a sequence of verses in which all the creatures are 'unclean' by Jewish law. *Horses* and *caterpillars* are symbolical 'ministers of vengeance' in the prophecy of the destruction of Babylon which was to herald the redemption of Israel (Jer. 51: 27).

62 The theme of ritual cleanness continues with *Ahimelech*, the priest who allowed David to eat the shewbread, after ascertaining that he had not defiled himself with women (1 Sam. 21: 4-6).

Let Cornelius with the Swine bless God, which purifyeth all things for the poor.

Let Araunah bless with the Squirrel, which is a gift of homage from the poor man to the wealthy and increaseth good will.

Let Bakbakkar bless with the Salamander, which feedeth upon ashes as bread, and whose joy is at the mouth of the furnace. 65

Let Jabez bless with Tarantula, who maketh his bed in the moss, which he feedeth, that the pilgrim may take heed to his way.

Let Jakim with the Satyr bless God in the dance.—

Let Iddo praise the Lord with the Moth—the writings of man perish as the garment, but the Book of God endureth for ever.

Let Nebuchadnezzar bless with the Grasshopper—the pomp and vanities of the world are as the herb of the field, but the glory of the Lord increaseth for ever.

Let Naboth bless with the Canker-worm—envy is cruel and killeth and preyeth upon that which God has given to aspire and bear fruit. 70

Let Lud bless with the Elk, the strenuous asserter of his liberty, and the maintainer of his ground.

Let Obadiah with the Palmer-worm bless God for the remnant that is left.

Let Agur bless with the Cockatrice—The consolation of the world is deceitful, and temporal honour the crown of him that creepeth.

63 *Cornelius* (the only name in A from the NT) was a Christian convert baptized by Peter, in spite of the fact that, as a Gentile, he was 'unclean'. Peter was instructed by a vision of beasts that in God's eyes no man should be rejected as unclean (Acts 10).

64 *Araunah* gave David his threshing-floor to build an altar (2 Sam. 24: 22-3).

67 *Satyr*: a kind of ape. Isaiah prophesies that 'satyrs shall dance' in the ruins of Babylon (Isa. 13: 21).

68 The lost writings of *Iddo* are mentioned in 2 Chr. 9: 29, but Smart's image is from Isa. 51: 8: 'the moth shall eat them up like a garment'.

69 *Nebuchadnezzar's* punishment was to eat grass (Dan. 4: 25), but Smart refers again to Isaiah: 'the grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever' (40: 8).

70 *Naboth* was killed because Ahab envied his vineyard (1 Kgs. 21).

72 The Book of *Obadiah* prophesies the destruction of the Edomites, but 'the remnant of Edom' is promised to Israel (Amos 9: 12). The *Palmer-worm* is a symbol of destruction in the OT.

73-6 The names are all from Prov. 30-1. The *Cockatrice* was known as 'King of the Servants' and depicted as a crowned asp (Browne, *Works*, ii, 174-9).

- Let Ithiel bless with the Baboon, whose motions are regular in the wilderness, and who defendeth himself with a staff against the assailant.
- 75 Let Ucal bless with the Cameleon, which feedeth on the Flowers and washeth himself in the dew.
- Let Lemuel bless with the Wolf, which is a dog without a master, but the Lord hears his cries and feeds him in the desert.
- Let Hananiah bless with the Civet, which is pure from benevolence.
- Let Azarias bless with the Reindeer, who runneth upon the waters, and wadeth thro the land in snow.
- Let Mishael bless with the Stoat—the praise of the Lord gives propriety to all things.
- 80 Let Savaran bless with the Elephant, who gave his life for his country that he might put on immortality.
- Let Nehemiah, the imitator of God, bless with the Monkey, who is work'd down from Man.
- Let Manasses bless with the Wild-Ass—liberty begetteth insolence, but necessity is the mother of prayer.
- Let Jebus bless with the Camelopard, which is good to carry and to parry and to kneel.

74 *Baboon . . . assailant*: it is usually the orang-utan that is so described in 18th-c. natural histories, but the baboon is said to be similar to the satyr (cf. A67), which is described as 'defending itself with staves against those who pursued it' in Frederick Watson's *Animal World Display'd* (1754), 11. Smart may have confused the two.

77-9 *Hananiah, Azarias* (the Vulgate spelling) and *Mishael* were the three young nobles of Judah who miraculously survived the fiery furnace (Dan. 1-3). *The praise . . . things* refers to their hymn in the Apocrypha, the Song of the Three Holy Children, sung at mattins under the title *Benedicite omnia opera*.

80 *Savaran*: the surname of Eleazar, who 'put himself in jeopardy, to the end he might deliver his people, and get him a perpetual name'. He was crushed to death when he slew an elephant of the opposing army (1 Macc. 6: 43-6).

81 *Nehemiah* 'imitated God' proleptically by rebuilding Jerusalem, in anticipation of the new Jerusalem of Rev. 21. Jerusalem is a recurrent motif in the following verses. *Monkey . . . Man*: perhaps alludes to the popular belief that apes were former human beings, transformed as a punishment for despising religion: see *Aristotle's New Book of Problems* (8th edn., (1741), 113).

82 The *Prayer of Manasses* in the Apocrypha relates the transgressions of the King of Judah (Manasseh in OT): his special sin was to worship Baal: Baal-worshippers are compared to 'a wild ass used to the wilderness, that snuffeth up the wind at her pleasure' in Jer. 2: 24 (Devlin, 108-9).

83 *Jebus*: the name for Jerusalem in Judg. 19: 10.

Let Huz bless with the Polypus—lively subtlety is acceptable to the Lord.

Let Buz bless with the Jackall—but the Lord is the Lion's provider. 85

Let Meshullam bless with the Dragon, who maketh his den in desolation and rejoiceth amongst the ruins.

Let Enoch bless with the Rackoon, who walked with God as by the instinct.

Let Hashbadana bless with the Catamountain, who stood by the Pulpit of God against the dissensions of the Heathen.

Let Ebed-Melech bless with the Mantiger, the blood of the Lord is sufficient to do away the offence of Cain, and reinstate the creature which is amerced.

Let A Little Child with a Serpent bless Him, who ordaineth strength 90 in babes to the confusion of the Adversary.

Let Huldah bless with the Silkworm—the ornaments of the Proud are from the bowells of their Betters.

Let Susanna bless with the Butterfly—beauty hath wings, but chastity is the Cherub.

Let Sampson bless with the Bee, to whom the Lord hath given strength to annoy the assailant and wisdom to his strength.

84 *Polypus*, a many-footed fish in Pliny, is described as 'subtle' in Holland's translation (i, 251).

86 *Dragon . . . ruins* refers to the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. 9: 11).

87 'Enoch walked with God' (Gen. 5: 22).

88 *Hashbadana* stood by the pulpit while Ezra read the Law (Neh. 8: 4).

89 *Ebed-Melech*: an Ethiopian who was promised God's deliverance for saving Jeremiah's life (Jer. 38-9). Smart believed the Ethiopians were descended from Cain, but were redeemable through Christ (see B425-7). *Mantiger*: a legendary monster of Ethiopia, supposed to prey on man.

90 Most of the creatures in A74-90 are predators. As in A63, Smart crowns his sequence by pointing to the Christian dispensation. *A Little Child* refers both to the Christ-child prefigured in Isa. 11: 6, who reconciles beasts of prey with their victims, and to the infant Hercules who strangled two serpents in his cradle (a traditional type of Christ, cf. Milton's *Nativity Ode*, 227-8). *The Adversary*: Satan.

92 The story of *Susanna* (Apocrypha) was the subject of an oratorio by Handel, first performed in 1749; it included an aria, 'Chastity, thou Cherub bright' (Dearnley, 159).

93 *Sampson . . . Bee*: see Judg. 14: 8.

Let Amasiah bless with the Chaffer—the top of the tree is for the brow of the champion, who has given the glory to God.

95 Let Hashum bless with the Fly, whose health is the honey of the air, but he feeds upon the thing strangled, and perisheth.

Let Malchiah bless with the Gnat—it is good for man and beast to mend their pace.

Let Pedaiah bless with the Humble-Bee, who loves himself in solitude and makes his honey alone.

Let Maaseiah bless with the Drone, who with the appearance of a Bee is neither a soldier nor an artist, neither a swordsman nor smith.

Let Urijah bless with the Scorpion, which is a scourge against the murmurers—the Lord keep it from our coasts.

100 Let Anaiah bless with the Dragon-fly, who sails over the pond by the wood-side and feedeth on the cressies.

Let Zorobabel bless with the Wasp, who is the Lord's architect, and buildeth his edifice in armour.

Let Jehu bless with the Hornet, who is the soldier of the Lord to extirpate abomination and to prepare the way of peace.

Let Mattithiah bless with the Bat, who inhabiteth the desolations of pride and fieth amongst the tombs.

Let Elias which is the innocency of the Lord rejoice with the Dove.

105 Let Asaph rejoice with the Nightingale—The musician of the Lord! and the watchman of the Lord!

94 of tree *MS*

94 *Amasiah*, a 'champion' of Judah, 'offered himself unto the Lord' (2 Chr. 17: 16). *Chaffer*: chafer, beetle.

101 *Zorobabel* (OT Zerubbabel) was one of the principal builders of Jerusalem (1 Esd. 5-6).

102 In the name of 'peace' *Jehu* exterminated the followers of Ahab, massacred the Baal-worshippers, and put Jezebel to death (2 Kgs. 9-10). The *Hornet* symbolizes divine punishment in the OT.

104 *Elias* was the type of John the Baptist (Matt. 11: 14), who was 'the forerunner of our Saviour' because of his 'extraordinary innocence of life' (Nelson, 328-9). The *Dove*: the biblical symbol both of innocence and of the Holy Spirit when it descended at the baptism of Jesus (Matt. 3: 16).

105-10 *Asaph*, *Jeduthun*, *Chenaiah*, and *Giddalti* were musicians and singers of the temple in Jerusalem (1 Chr. 25). Smart associates them with birds noted for their song.

Let Shema rejoice with the Glowworm, who is the lamp of the traveller and mead of the musician.

Let Jeduthun rejoice with the Woodlark, who is sweet and various.

Let Chenaiah rejoice with Chloris, in the vivacity of his powers and the beauty of his person.

Let Gideoni rejoice with the Goldfinch, who is shrill and loud, and full withal.

Let Giddalti rejoice with the Mocking-bird, who takes off the notes of the Aviary and reserves his own. 110

Let Jogli rejoice with the Linnet, who is distinct and of mild delight.

Let Benjamin bless and rejoice with the Redbird, who is soft and soothing.

Let Dan rejoice with the Blackbird, who praises God with all his heart, and biddeth to be of good cheer.

108 *Chloris*: the greenfinch (Albin, i, 56).

112 *Redbird*: the Virginia nightingale (Albin, i, 55).

FRAGMENT B

- 1 Let Elizur rejoice with the Partridge, who is a prisoner of state and is proud of his keepers.
For I am not without authority in my jeopardy, which I derive inevitably from the glory of the name of the Lord.
- 2 Let Shedeur rejoice with Pyrausta, who dwelleth in a medium of fire, which God hath adapted for him.
For I bless God whose name is Jealous—and there is a zeal to deliver us from everlasting burnings.
- 3 Let Shelumiel rejoice with Olor, who is of a goodly savour, and the very look of him harmonizes the mind.
For my existimation is good even amongst the slanderers and my memory shall arise for a sweet savour unto the Lord.
- 4 Let Jael rejoice with the Plover, who whistles for his live, and foils the marksmen and their guns.
For I bless the PRINCE of PEACE and pray that all the guns may be nail'd up, save such as are for the rejoicing days.

4 such are MS

This section was begun in July 1759, when the war with France was swinging in Britain's favour after the successes of the allies in West Africa, India, and the West Indies. In the FOR verses, Smart takes on the mantle of an OT prophet, in captivity, like Ezekiel, looking forward, like Isaiah, in time of war to peace and salvation through Christ.

1–52 The biblical names are taken from Genesis and Numbers.

1 'Like as a partridge taken and kept in a cage, so is the heart of the proud' (Ecclus. 11: 30). *Jeopardy*: 'captivity'. This sense, not recorded in *OED*, is common in Smart (cf. his version of Ps. 53: 7–8). Ezekiel received his prophetic vision while in captivity (Ezek. 1: 1).

2 *Pyrausta*: a winged insect: 'quamdiu est in igne, vivit' (Pliny 11. 119). *God . . . Jealous*: 'Thus saith the Lord God; Now will I bring again the captivity of Jacob, and have mercy upon the whole house of Israel, and will be jealous for my holy name' (Ezek. 39: 25).

3 Smart links *Olor* (swan) with *olere* (to savour of); *Shelumiel* was one of the princes who gave burnt offerings at the dedication of the altar (Num. 7: 36): such sacrifices are commonly described in the OT as 'of a good (sweet) savour'. *Existimation*: 'reputation'. Smart's borrowing from L. *existimatio*.

4 The green *Plover*, known as the Whistling Plover (Merret's *Pinax*, 1667), is noted for its aerobatics, which make it an elusive target for guns. *Guns . . . nail'd up*: suggested by *Jael*, who killed Sisera with a nail (cf. A30), thereby bringing a period of peace to Israel.

Let Raguel rejoice with the Cock of Portugal—God send good Angels 5
to the allies of England!

For I have abstained from the blood of the grape and that even at the Lord's table.

Let Hobab rejoice with Necydalus, who is the Greek of a Grub. 6
For I have glorified God in GREEK and LATIN, the consecrated languages spoken by the Lord on earth.

Let Zurishaddai with the Polish Cock rejoice—The Lord restore 7
peace to Europe.

For I meditate the peace of Europe amongst family bickerings and domestic jars.

Let Zuar rejoice with the Guinea Hen—The Lord add to his mercies 8
in the WEST!

For the HOST is in the WEST—the Lord make us thankful unto salvation.

Let Chesed rejoice with Strepsiceros, whose weapons are the ornaments 9
of his peace.

For I preach the very GOSPEL of CHRIST without comment and with this weapon shall I slay envy.

9 without MS

5 *Raguel* the Midianite is mentioned in Numbers, but Smart evidently associates his name with Raguel the avenging angel of the Book of Enoch (20: 4). *Portugal* was not involved in the war against France, but the importance of her long-standing alliance with England was urged in an article in the *Universal Visitor* in January 1756. FOR: priests were forbidden by Ezekiel to drink wine in the sanctuary, by the ordinances introduced by Ezekiel (Ezek. 44: 21).

6 *Necydalus . . . Grub*: refers to Harduinus's explanation of the Greek etymology of *necydalus* (Pliny 11. 76). *Greek . . . earth*: presumably because they were the first languages of the Gospels (cf. B645). They are said to be the sacred languages by St. Isidore of Seville (see J. B. Friedman, 'The Cosmology of Praise: Smart's *Jubilate Agno*', *PMLA* 82 (1967), 255n).

7 *Poland* was not engaged in the war in 1759, but Smart may be recalling the War of Polish Succession (1733–5). FOR: cf. Isa. 3: 5–6; *family bickerings* may allude to negotiations over Smart's 'inheritance': see A49n, and B23, 46ff.

8 The *Guinea Hen* is an allusion to the capture of French settlements on the Guinea coast of West Africa in 1758, but the most notable victory 'in the West' was the capture of Guadeloupe in the West Indies in April 1759. FOR: Isaiah prophesies victory over the Philistines 'toward the west' as part of the salvation of Israel (Isa. 11).

9 *Strepsiceros*: an antelope with twisted horns (Pliny 11. 124).

- 10 Let Hagar rejoice with Gnesion, who is the right sort of eagle, and towers the highest.
For I bless God in the rising generation, which is on my side.
- 11 Let Libni rejoice with the Redshank, who migrates not but is translated to the upper regions.
For I have translated in the charity, which makes things better and I shall be translated myself at the last.
- 12 Let Nahshon rejoice with the Seabreeze, the Lord give the sailors of his Spirit.
For he that walked upon the sea, hath prepared the floods with the Gospel of peace.
- 13 Let Helon rejoice with the Woodpecker—the Lord encourage the propagation of trees!
For the merciful man is merciful to his beast, and to the trees that give them shelter.
- 14 Let Amos rejoice with the Coote—prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.
For he hath turned the shadow of death into the morning, the Lord is his name.
- 15 Let Ephah rejoice with Buprestis, the Lord endue us with temperance and humanity, till every cow have her mate!
For I am come home again, but there is nobody to kill the calf or to pay the musick.
- 16 Let Sarah rejoice with the Redwing, whose harvest is in the frost and snow.
For the hour of my felicity, like the womb of Sarah, shall come at the latter end.

10 *Gnesion*: 'the right kind of eagle' (Ainsworth): 'velut verum, solumque incorruptae originis' (Pliny 10. 8).

11 *Redshank* . . . *regions*: Smart may be referring to the theory that birds of passage ascend into the upper regions during their flight (see *Gent. Mag.* (1748), 445–6). *Translated in the charity*: 'interpreted favourably', as Smart does in A46; *translated* . . . *last* puns on the sense of *translate* as 'transport' (to heaven), as in Heb.

11: 5.

12 *Seabreeze*: a parasite on fish (*OED*, s.v. breeze, sb. 1b).

14 *prepare* . . . *Israel*: Amos 4: 12. FOR: Amos 5: 8.

15 *Ephah*: Caleb's concubine. *Buprestis*: a venomous insect known as the *Burn Cow* because 'they cause lust being drunk' (Salmon). FOR: cf. the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15: 11–12); it would appear from this verse that Smart was allowed a temporary release from the asylum.

16 Written on 1 August, Lammas-day, a harvest festival in the early English church. Late harvest is the theme of both versicle and response. *Sarah* bore a son 'when she was past age' (Heb. 11: 11). The *Redwing* migrates to Britain in winter and feeds on berries.

- Let Rebekah rejoice with Lynx, who holds his head on one side to deceive the adversary.
For I shou'd have avail'd myself of waggery, had not malice been multitudinous.
- Let Shuah rejoice with Boa, which is the vocal serpent. 18
For there are still serpents that can speak—God bless my head, my heart and my heel.
- Let Ehud rejoice with Onocrotalus, whose braying is for the glory of God, because he makes the best musick in his power. 19
For I bless God that I am of the same seed as Ehud, Mutius Scævola, and Colonel Draper.
- Let Shamgar rejoice with Otis, who looks about him for the glory of God, and sees the horizon compleat at once. 20
For the word of God is a sword on my side—no matter what other weapon a stick or a straw.
- Let Bohan rejoice with the Scythian Stag—he is beef and breeches against want and nakedness. 21
For I have adventured myself in the name of the Lord, and he hath mark'd me for his own.
- Let Achsah rejoice with the Pigeon who is an antidote to malignity and will carry a letter. 22
For I bless God for the Postmaster general and all conveyancers of letters under his care especially Allen and Shelwock.

17 *Rebekah* deceived Isaac (Gen. 27: 6–17), as the *Lynx* (wryneck) may be said to deceive its enemies by twisting its neck like a snake (Derham's *Physico-Theology* (1713), 242).

18 *Boa* . . . *serpent*: Smart's idea seems to be based on a pun: *βοῶ* means 'cry', but there is no etymological connection with *boa*. FOR: alludes to God's sentence on the serpent after the Fall (Gen. 3: 15).

19 *Ehud* blew a trumpet to summon the Israelites to battle (Judg. 3: 27). *Onocrotalus*: 'a large water-fowl that brayeth like an ass, thought to be the bitter' (Ainsworth). *Whose braying* . . . *power*, cf. 'On the Goodness of the Supreme Being' (56–7). *Ehud*, *Scævola*, and *Colonel Draper* were all heroes of their nations, Israel, Rome, and England respectively (Smart believed that Romans and Englishmen were both descended from Israel, see B62). William Draper (1721–87), a contemporary of Smart's at Cambridge, enlisted in 1744, was promoted lieutenant-colonel in 1757, and commanded a regiment in the defence of Madras (1759); his later career was also distinguished (see 'Ode to General Draper'). He subscribed to no less than forty copies of Smart's *Psalms*.

20 *Otis*, the great bustard, was noted for its 'circumspect' behaviour (Willughby). *The word of God* is called 'the sword of the Spirit' in Eph. 6: 17.

22 Numerous medicinal uses of the *Pigeon* are described by Willughby. *Allen and Shelwock*: Ralph Allen (1683–1764), philanthropist and friend of Pope and Fielding, set up a cross-country postal service in 1720; George Shelwocke was Secretary to the General Post Office from 1742 to 1760.

- 23 Let Tohu rejoice with the Grouse—the Lord further the cultivating of heaths and the peopling of deserts.
For my grounds in New Canaan shall infinitely compensate for the flats and maynes of Staindrop Moor.
- 24 Let Hillel rejoice with Ammodytes, whose colour is deceitful and he plots against the pilgrim's feet.
For the praise of God can give to a mute fish the notes of a nightingale.
- 25 Let Eli rejoice with Leucon—he is an honest fellow, which is a rarity.
For I have seen the White Raven and Thomas Hall of Willingham and am my self a greater curiosity than both.
- 26 Let Jemuel rejoice with Charadrius, who is from the HEIGHT and the sight of him is good for the jaundice.
For I look up to heaven which is my prospect to escape envy by surmounting it.
- 27 Let Pharaoh rejoice with Anataria, whom God permits to prey upon the ducks to check their increase.
For if Pharaoh had known Joseph, he woud have blessed God and me for the illumination of the people.
- 28 Let Lotan rejoice with Sauterelle. Blessed be the name of the Lord from the Lote-tree to the Palm.
For I pray God to bless improvements in gardening till London be a city of palm-trees.

23 FOR: see A49n.

24 *Ammodytes*: a serpent described as indistinguishable from the sand in which it lives (Lucan, *Pharsalia* 9. 715–6); *plots* . . . *feet*, a favourite trope, cf. A64, and 'To the King', 35–6. FOR: perhaps suggested by *Hillel* which means 'he that praises' (Cruden).

25 *Leucon*, the white heron, is presumably 'honest' because of his colour, by contrast both with the 'deceitful' colour of *Ammodytes* and with the pusillanimity of *Eli* and his wicked sons (see 1 Sam. 1–3). The *White Raven* was such a rarity that specimens were 'carried up and down to be shewn for money' (Willughby, p. 122). *Thomas Hall of Willingham*, another prodigy, was on show at Cambridge in 1745: at the age of three he was four feet tall, 'his limbs near as large and strong as a man's' (*Gent. Map.* (1745), 50). Smart claimed in the *Student* to be 'more renown'd than . . . the young Giant' (ii, 202).

26 *Charadrius*, the plover: the story that jaundice is cured by the sight of it comes from Plutarch (*Moralia* 681c).

27 *Anataria*: 'a kind of eagle preying upon ducks' (Ainsworth).

28 *Sauterelle*: grasshopper or locust. Smart uses this term presumably because he has already had *grasshopper* (A68) and *locust* (A62). The French name was used to distinguish the species of grasshopper (see Browne, *Works*, ii, 342). Smart used it again of Tithonus, who was changed into a grasshopper, in his verse-translation

- Let Dishon rejoice with the Landrail, God give his grace to the society 29
for preserving the game.
*For I pray to give his grace to the poor of England, that Charity be not
offended and that benevolence may increase.*
- Let Hushim rejoice with the King's Fisher, who is of royal beauty, 30
tho' plebeian size.
*For in my nature I quested for beauty, but God, God hath sent me to sea for
pearls.*
- Let Machir rejoice with Convolvulus, from him to the ring of Saturn, 31
which is the girth of Job; to the signet of God—from Job and his
daughters BLESSED BE JESUS.
*For there is a blessing from the STONE of JESUS which is founded upon
hell to the precious jewell on the right hand of God.*
- Let Atad bless with Eleos, the nightly Memorialist ελεησον κυριε. 32
*For the nightly Visitor is at the window of the impenitent, while I sing a
psalm of my own composing.*

of Horace's Ode I. xxviii. *City of palm-trees*: the description of Jericho in Moses's vision of the promised land (Deut. 34: 3).

29 A society for preserving the game was established in 1752 (see *Gent. Mag.* (1752), 596–8).

30 FOR: alludes to the parable of the merchant seeking for pearls, representing the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 13: 45–6). The *King's Fisher* is thus a symbol of Christ.

31 Written on 7 August, the Feast of the Name of Jesus. The clue to this extraordinary complex of allusions lies in the idea of *blessing*, of which the girdle and the signet are both symbols. The girdle symbolism, contained in the proverb 'ungirt, unblest', is explained by Browne (*Works*, ii, 387–9). Smart traces it through *Convolvulus* (bindweed), the *ring of Saturn* (described as 'begirt' by its ring in 'On the Omniscience of the Supreme Being', 90), and the *girth of Job* (see Job 38: 3, the text cited by Browne). Through the 'ring' the girdle-symbol is linked with the *signet* on the right hand of God, which is a symbol of God's blessing in Jer. 22: 24, and this in turn connects with the *precious jewell*, and the *pearls* of the previous verse. The 'pearl of great price' found by the merchant in the parable was identified with Jesus Christ by Origen (*Comm. in Matt. xiii.* 43), an identification which Smart accepts and extends in Hymn 2, 48, where Christ is called 'the pearl of God, the Father's ring'. The *Stone of Jesus* derives from the symbol of Christ as foundation-stone or corner-stone of the true faith, which occurs (among many occasions) in the lesson for 6 August (Acts 4: 11). The equation of the two kinds of stone was doubtless suggested by 1 Pet. 2: 1–3. Why all this should be attached to the name of *Machir* is obscure; perhaps Smart thought Machir earned God's blessing by helping David when he was in trouble (2 Sam. 17: 27–9).

32 *Eleos*: Smart puns on ελεός, an owl, and ελεος, 'mercy'. Hence ελεησον κυριε, 'Lord have mercy'. FOR: perhaps refers to Ps. 17: 3 ('Thou hast visited me in the night'), in which the psalmist contrasts the iniquities of his enemies with his own righteousness. *Psalms . . . composing*: the first reference to Smart's version of the Psalms (cf. D208).

- 33 Let Jamin rejoice with the Bittern—blessed be the name of Jesus for Denver Sluice, Ruston, and the draining of the fens.
For there is a note added to the scale, which the Lord hath made fuller, stronger and more glorious.
- 34 Let Ohad rejoice with Bytueros who eateth the vine and is a minister of temperance.
For I offer my goat as he browses the vine, bless the Lord from chambering and drunkenness.
- 35 Let Zohar rejoice with Cychramus who cometh with the quails on a particular affair.
For there is a traveling for the glory of God without going to Italy or France.
- 36 Let Serah, the daughter of Asher, rejoice with Ceyx, who maketh his cabin in the Halcyon's hold.
For I bless the children of Asher for the evil I did them and the good I might have received at their hands.
- 37 Let Magdiel rejoice with Ascarides, which is the life of the bowels—the worm hath a part in our frame.
For I rejoice like a worm in the rain in him that cherishes and from him that tramples.
- 38 Let Becher rejoice with Oscen who terrifies the wicked, as trumpet and alarm the coward.
For I am ready for the trumpet and alarm to fight, to die and to rise again.
- 39 Let Shaul rejoice with Circos, who hath clumsy legs, but he can wheel it the better with his wings.—

33 Jamim MS Bittern blessed MS

33 *name of Jesus*: see B31D. *Denver Sluice*, part of the drainage system of the fens, runs close to *Ruston* (see D105D). FOR: Smart is probably thinking of the ancient Greek scale, which consisted of five tetrachords, 'and one note added at the bottom of the scale to complete the double octave'; it was known as *systema perfectum, maximum, immutatum* 'because its extremities formed a perfect consonance' (C. Burney, *A General History of Music*, i (1776), 7-8).

34 *Bytueros*: 'M. Cicero writeth of a beast named Bytueros, which gnaweth the vines in Campania' (Holland, ii, 399). Modern editions of Pliny read *biueros* (plural). *Chambering and drunkenness*: Rom. 13: 13.

35 *Cychramus*: a bird which travels with quails to protect them (Pliny 10. 66). FOR: i.e. by prayer: cf. Hymn 3, 9.

36 *Ceyx*: 'a bird breeding in the halcyon's nest' (Ainsworth). The *Halcyon* was said to build its nest on the sea.

37 *Ascarides*: a worm in the intestines.

38 *Oscen*: a bird of augury, usually the raven.

39 *Circos*: 'a kind of hawk lame of one foot' (Ainsworth).

For the banish'd of the Lord shall come about again, for so he hath prepared for them.

Let Hamul rejoice with the Crystal, who is pure and translucent. 40
For sincerity is a jewel which is pure and transparent, eternal and inestimable.

Let Ziphion rejoice with the Tit-Lark who is a groundling, but he 41
raises the spirits.
For my hands and my feet are perfect as the sublimity of Naphtali and the felicity of Asher.

Let Mibzar rejoice with the Cadess, as is their number, so are their 42
names, blessed be the Lord Jesus for them all.
For the names and number of animals are as the name and number of the stars.—

Let Jubal rejoice with Cæcilia, the woman and the slow-worm praise 43
the name of the Lord.
For I pray the Lord Jesus to translate my MAGNIFICAT into verse and represent it.

Let Arodi rejoice with the Royston Crow, there is a society of them at 44
Trumpington and Cambridge.
For I bless the Lord Jesus from the bottom of Royston Cave to the top of King's Chapel.

Let Areli rejoice with the Criel, who is a dwarf that towereth above 45
others.
For I am a little fellow, which is intituled to the great mess by the benevolence of God my father.

42 there number MS

41 The *Tit-Lark* (meadow pipit) does not soar like the sky-lark, but perhaps it 'raises the spirits' by its musical song, 'most like the Canary bird' (Willughby).

42 *Cadess* (caddesse): one of several names for the jackdaw.

43 *Jubal*, the father of harpists and organ-players, is linked with *Cæcilia* (the slow-worm) through St. Cæcilia, patroness of church music. *My Magnificat*: see Introduction, p. xxviii.

44 *Royston Crow*: the hooded crow. Willughby noted that it was often seen in Cambridgeshire in winter. *Royston Cave*: an underground cell cut in the chalk at Royston, containing medieval sculptures and thought to have been used as a chapel. It was discovered in 1742 and described in William Stukeley's *Palaeographia Britannica* (1743).

45 *Criel* (cryal): the lesser white heron. *Little fellow*: cf. 'The Author apologizes to a lady for his being a little man.' *Great mess*: i.e. High Mass, a term used in the Church of Rome but not in the Church of England in the 18th c.

- 46 Let Phuvah rejoice with Platycerotes, whose weapons of defence keep them innocent.
For I this day made over my inheritance to my mother in consideration of her infirmities.
- 47 Let Shimron rejoice with the Kite, who is of more value than many sparrows.
For I this day made over my inheritance to my mother in consideration of her age.
- 48 Let Sered rejoice with the Wittal—a silly bird is wise unto his own preservation.
For I this day made over my inheritance to my mother in consideration of her poverty.
- 49 Let Elon rejoice with Attelabus, who is the Locust without wings.
For I bless the thirteenth of August, in which I had the grace to obey the voice of Christ in my conscience.
- 50 Let Jahleel rejoice with the Woodcock, who liveth upon suction and is pure from his diet.
For I bless the thirteenth of August, in which I was willing to run all hazards for the sake of the name of the Lord.
- 51 Let Shuni rejoice with the Gull, who is happy in not being good for food.
For I bless the thirteenth of August, in which I was willing to be called a fool for the sake of Christ.
- 52 Let Ezbon rejoice with Musimon, who is from the ram and she-goat.
For I lent my flocks and my herds and my lands at once unto the Lord.

46–52 For Smart's 'inheritance' see A49n. The creatures named in the LET verses reflect Smart's bitterness about the transaction: *Platycerotes* (stags) and *Musimon* both have horns, an obsessive symbol for Smart (see C118ff.); *Kite* is a term for a cheat; *Wittal*, *Woodcock*, and *Gull* are all terms for a fool or dupe; the *Locust* is a by-word for voracity (Stead).

48 *Wittal*: a combination of *wirwall* (woodpecker) and *wittol* (halfwit).

50 *Woodcock* 'live by sucking, and it is therefore they are throughout so delicate' (F. Watson, *The Animal World Display'd* (1754), 244).

52 *Musimon*: 'a mongrel creature ingendred of a ram and a she-goat' (Ainsworth).

Let Barkos rejoice with the Black Eagle, which is the least of his species and the best-natured. 53

For nature is more various than observation tho' observers be innumerable.

Let Bedan rejoice with Ossifrage—the bird of prey and the man of prayer. 54

For Agricola is Γηουργος.

Let Naomi rejoice with Pseudosphece who is between a wasp and a hornet. 55

For I pray God to bless POLLY in the blessing of Naomi and assign her to the house of DAVID.

Let Ruth rejoice with the Tumbler—it is a pleasant thing to feed him and be thankful. 56

For I am in charity with the French who are my foes and Moabites because of the Moabitish woman.

Let Ram rejoice with the Fieldfare, who is a good gift from God in the season of scarcity. 57

For my Angel is always ready at a pinch to help me out and to keep me up.

Let Manoah rejoice with Cerastes, who is a Dragon with horns. 58
For CHRISTOPHER must slay the Dragon with a PHEON's head.

53–60 *Barkos* begins a new series of names, from the historical books of the OT. The *Black Eagle* (*melanaetos*) is described as 'minima magnitudine' and the only species of eagle to nurture its young (Pliny 10. 6).

54 Smart is evidently reminded by *Bedan* (one of the judges of Israel, 1 Sam. 12: 11) of *Beda* (*Bede*), 'the man of prayer'. FOR: the MS contains three deletions: 'For [illegible] *Agricola* [illegible] is *Γηουργος* [which is by the blessing of God SAINT GEORGE]' (Bond). *Γηουργος* may be a mistake for *γεωργός* or an invented formation, from *γη-ο-εργός*: *γη* (earth) + *εργον* (work). Both *Agricola* and *Georgos* mean 'farmer'. See B137n.

55–6 *Polly* is Smart's pet name for his daughter Marianne (cf. C73n.). *Naomi* was mother-in-law of *Ruth*, a Moabitess. Smart, like the Puritans, uses 'Moabite' to mean Roman Catholic. Devlin (p. 67) suggests that *the Moabitish woman* signifies Smart's wife (a Roman Catholic), and that Smart's prayer is that his daughter will be brought up in the Anglican church rather than in the faith of her mother.

57 *Fieldfare*: a winter migrant, 'accounted very good meat' (Willughby).

58 The MS reads; 'For [*Agricola* is SAINT GEORGE, but his son *deleted*] CHRISTOPHER', etc. (Bond); cs. B54n. *Pheon* in heraldic terms is a broad arrow: the Smart coat of arms was a chevron between three pheons. Smart sees himself as the champion of Christianity, like St. George, slaying the *Dragon* of atheism and false philosophy (cf. B19–21, 129–30).

- 59 Let Talmai rejoice with Alcedo, who makes a cradle for it's young, which is rock'd by the winds.
For they have seperated me and my bosom, whereas the right comes by setting us together.
- 60 Let Bukki rejoice with the Buzzard, who is clever, with the reputation of a silly fellow.
For silly fellow! silly fellow! is against me and belongeth neither to me nor my family.
- 61 Let Michal rejoice with Leucrocuta who is a mixture of beauty and magnanimity.
For he that scorneth the scorner hath condescended to my low estate.
- 62 Let Abiah rejoice with Morphnus who is a bird of passage to the Heavens.
For Abiah is the father of Joab and Joab of all Romans and English Men.
- 63 Let Hur rejoice with the Water-wag-tail, who is a neighbour, and loves to be looked at.
For they pass by me in their tour, and the good Samaritan is not yet come.—
- 64 Let Dodo rejoice with the purple Worm, who is cloathed sumptuously, tho he fares meanly.
For I bless God in the behalf of TRINITY COLLEGE in CAMBRIDGE and the society of PURPLES in LONDON—

61 Leucocuta MS

59 *Alcedo*, often identified with the Halcyon (see B36n.): 'a bird which makes her nest in the sea about mid-winter, when there is always a great calm: some take it for the king's-fisher' (Ainsworth).

61-105 Most of the names are from the house of David: his wives (61, 70, 98, 102-5), sons (67-85), other kin, officers, servants, etc.

61 FOR: see Prov. 3: 34. *Michal* was rebuked for 'scorning' David when he danced before the Lord (2 Sam. 6: 20-3). *Leucrocuta*: a fabulous beast, part stag, part lion, part badger, but not noted in Pliny (8. 72) for beauty or magnanimity.

62 *Morphnus*: an eagle used as messenger between Zeus and the earth (Homer, *Il.* xxiv, 316). *Abiah* . . . *Joab*: perhaps simply an error (*Abiah* was not *Joab's* father), or Smart's own notion, based on the fact that both names mean 'God is father' (Parish). For *Joab*, see B433-4n.

64 *the purple Worm*, also called the 'naked snail' (a fish), was described in *Philosophical Transactions*, 1758. *Cloathed . . . meanly*: Smart contrasts the worm with Dives who 'was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously' (Luke 16: 19). The *Learned Society of Purples* used to meet at the Castle Tavern in Paternoster-Row (see *Drury-Lane Journal*, 16 January, 1752, p. 20): this was presumably the same as the *Hon. Purple Society*, 'for promoting the Liberal Sciences', which announced a dinner in the *Daily Advertiser*, 25 May 1763.

- Let Ahio rejoice with the Merlin who is a cousin german of the hawk. 65
For I have a nephew CHRISTOPHER to whom I implore the grace of God.
- Let Joram rejoice with the Water-Rail, who takes his delight in the river. 66
For I pray God bless the CAM—Mr HIGGS and Mr and Mrs WASHBOURNE as the drops of the dew.
- Let Chileab rejoice with Ophion who is clean made, less than an hart, and a Sardinian. 67
For I pray God bless the king of Sardinia and make him an instrument of his peace.
- Let Shephatiah rejoice with the little Owl, which is the wingged Cat. 68
For I am possessed of a cat, surpassing in beauty, from whom I take occasion to bless Almighty God.
- Let Ithream rejoice with the great Owl, who understandeth that which he professes. 69
For I pray God for the professors of the University of Cambridge to attend and to amend.
- Let Abigail rejoice with Lethophagus—God be gracious to the widows indeed. 70
For the Fatherless Children and widows are never deserted of the Lord.

70 Lethophagus God MS

65 *nephew Christopher*: Christopher Hunter (1746-1814), Smart's first biographer, was the son of Smart's sister Margaret.

66 John Higgs, an undergraduate and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752. *Mr Washbourne* is probably the Revd. Richard Washbourne, of Edmonton, who married a Miss Washbourne in 1744. He subscribed to four copies of Smart's *Poems*, 1752.

67 *Ophion*: 'a beast in Sardinia, less than an hart' (Ainsworth): Pliny 28. 151. The *king of Sardinia*, Charles Emmanuel III (1701-73), a great-grandson of Charles I of England, entered into alliance with England at the Treaty of Worms (1743). He had not joined the allies in the current war, but was reported in February 1759 to be preparing forces in their support (*Gent. Mag.* (1759), 90).

68 *wingged Cat*: 'flying cat' was a term for the Little Owl, perhaps on account of its mewling cry.

69 FOR: degeneration in standards of learning and morality in the universities was a subject of general concern: Smart had written about it in the *Student* (1750-1751): see Sherbo, pp. 39-41.

70 *Abigail* was the widow of Nabal when she married David. *Lethophagus*: 'a worm that eateth the bodies of the dead' (Ainsworth).

- 71 Let Anathoth bless with Saurix, who is a bird of melancholy.
For I pray God be gracious to the house of Stuart and consider their afflictions.
- 72 Let Shammua rejoice with the Vultur who is strength and fierceness.
For I pray God be gracious to the seed of Virgil, to Mr GOODMAN SMITH of King's and Joseph STUD.
- 73 Let Shobab rejoice with Evech who is of the goat kind which is meditation and pleasantry.
For I give God the glory that I am a son of ABRAHAM a PRINCE of the house of my fathers.
- 74 Let Ittai the Gittite rejoice with the Gerfalcon—amicus certus in re incertâ cernitur.
For my brethren have dealt deceitfully as a brook, and as the stream of brooks that pass away.
- 75 Let Ibhâr rejoice with the Pochard—a child born in prosperity is the chiefest blessing of peace.
For I bless God for my retreat at CANBURY, as it was the place of the nativity of my children.
- 76 Let Elishua rejoice with Cantharis—God send bread and milk to the children.

72 Virgil to MS 74 Gerfalcon amicus MS 75 Pochard a MS
76 Cantharis God: MS

71 *Anathoth*, the city to which Abiathar, David's counsellor, was exiled after being reprieved from death on the grounds that he had suffered the same afflictions as David (1 Kgs. 2: 26), reminds Smart of the exiled *house of Stuart*. *Saurix*: an owl assigned to Saturn by soothsayers.

73 FOR: All Christians are said to be children of *Abraham* by virtue of their faith (Gal. 3: 29), but Smart may be thinking of William Stukeley's theory that the ancient Britons derived their religion from Abraham (see A. J. Kuhn, 'Christopher Smart: the Poet as Patriot of the Lord', *ELH* xxx (1963), 124). Cf. B433.

74 Smart contrasts the loyalty of *Ittai the Gittite* to David in his time of trouble (2 Sam. 15: 19-23) with the treachery of his own family (probably referring again to negotiations over his 'inheritance', cf. B46-52n.). *My brethren . . . away* is quoted from Job 6: 15, but suggested no doubt by the fact that Ittai and his 'brethren' passed over the 'brook' Kidron with David. *Amicus . . . cernitur*, 'a friend in need is a friend indeed': Cicero (quoting Ennius), *De Amicitia*, xvii, 64.

75 *Ibhâr* was one of the sons born to David in Jerusalem at the height of his prosperity (2 Sam. 5: 12-16); the others are named in adjacent verses (72-3, 76-7, 79-80, 82, 84-5). *Canbury*: Canonbury House, Islington, 'a curious old monastic building, now let out in lodgings' (*Boswell's London Journal* (26 June 1763), 285), where Smart lived after his marriage.

76 *Cantharis*: a beetle that consumes the corn (Pliny 18. 152).

For I pray God to give them the food which I cannot earn for them any otherwise than by prayer.

Let Chimham bless with Drepanis who is a passenger from the sea to heaven. 77

For I pray God bless the Chinese which are of ABRAHAM and the Gospel grew with them at the first.

Let Toi rejoice with Percnopteros which haunteth the sugar-fens. 78
For I bless God in the honey of the sugar-cane and the milk of the cocoa.

Let Nepheg rejoice with Cenchrus which is the spotted serpent. 79
For I bless God in the libraries of the learned and for all the booksellers in the world.

Let Japhia rejoice with Buteo who hath three testicles. 80
For I bless God in the strength of my loins and for the voice which he hath made sonorous.

Let Gibeon rejoice with the Puttock, who will shift for himself to the last extremity. 81
For tis no more a merit to provide for oneself, but to quit all for the sake of the Lord.

Let Elishama rejoice with *Mylæcos Ισχετε χειρα μυλαιον αλιτριδες*. 82
ευδετε μακρα.
For there is no invention but the gift of God, and no grace like the grace of gratitude.

80 Japhua MS 82 *Isxete* MS

77 *Drepanis*: the sea-swallow. *Gospel . . . first*: St. Thomas was traditionally supposed to have preached in China; Smart may have thought the Chinese were 'of Abraham' through their Christian faith (cf. B73n.), or have had particular views about their racial descent. The origin of the Chinese was much debated at this time (see, e.g., Goldsmith's essay in the *Royal Magazine* (1760): *Collected Works*, ed. A. Friedman (1966), iii, 76): Thomas Burnet's theory that the primeval world was not divided by oceans and mountain ranges and was therefore freely peopled by the progeny of Abraham (*Theory of the Earth* (1684), i, 271) would permit the belief that the Chinese were descended from Abraham.

78 *Percnopteros*, an eagle in Pliny, is probably confused with *Morphnos*, another eagle, which 'haunteth lakes, fennes, and standing waters' (Holland i, 272).

80-1 *Puttock* is the English name for *Buteo*, the common buzzard; the account of its three testicles (Pliny 11. 263) is discredited by Willughby.

82 *Mylæcos*: a worm which breeds in mills. The quotation ('Stay your hand from the mill, you grinders; long may you sleep') is from Antipater's epigram (*Palatine Anthology*, ix, 418), which Smart translated in 1754.

- 83 Let Elimelech rejoice with the Horn-Owl who is of gravity and amongst my friends in the tower.
For grey hairs are honourable and tell every one of them to the glory of God.
- 84 Let Eliada rejoice with the Gier-eagle who is swift and of great penetration.
For I bless the Lord Jesus for the memory of GAY, POPE and SWIFT.
- 85 Let Eliphalet rejoice with Erodus who is God's good creature, which is sufficient for him.
For all good words are from GOD, and all others are cant.
- 86 Let Jonathan, David's nephew, rejoice with Oripelargus who is noble by his ascent.
For I am enabled by my ascent and the Lord hath raised me above my Peers.
- 87 Let Sheva rejoice with the Hobby, who is the service of the great.
For I pray God bless my lord CLARENDON and his seed for ever.
- 88 Let Ahimaaz rejoice with the Silver-Worm who is a living mineral.
For there is silver in my mines and I bless God that it is rather there than in my coffers.
- 89 Let Shobi rejoice with the Kastrel—blessed be the name JESUS in falconry and in the MALL
For I blessed God in St James's Park till I routed all the company.
- 90 Let Elkanah rejoice with Cymindis—the Lord illuminate us against the powers of darkness.

89 Kastrel blessed MS falonry MS 90 Cymindis the MS

83 *the tower*: i.e. Canonbury House, also known as Canonbury-tower (see B75n.).

85 *Erodus*: Ainsworth describes it as 'a bird, uncertain of what kind', and gives alternative meanings in different sources. FOR: an *idde fixe* with Smart. In a footnote to his verse-translation of Horace, Sat. I. ii. 103, he wrote, 'The understanding of Horace was so benighted, that he supposed language to be gradual, and of human invention—nevertheless The Lord is the WORD, and all good words proceed from him, as sure as nonsense and cant are derivable from the Adversary.'

86 *Oripelargus*: the mountain-stork.

87 *Sheva* was David's scribe. The *Hobby*, one of the smallest hawks, was used by falconers to catch larks. FOR: the *Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon* was published in July 1759; *his seed* included Henry Hyde, a friend of Pope.

88 *Silver-Worm*: the glow-worm.

89 FOR: 'My poor friend Smart shewed the disturbance of his mind, by falling upon his knees, and saying his prayers in the street, or in any other unusual place' (Johnson, *Boswell's Life*, i, 397).

90 *Elkanah*: a doorkeeper of the Ark. *Cymindis*: the night-hawk.

For the officers of the peace are at variance with me, and the watchman smites me with his staff.

Let Ziba rejoice with Glottis whose tongue is wreathed in his throat. 91

For I am the seed of the WELCH WOMAN and speak the truth from my heart.

Let Micah rejoice with the spotted Spider, who counterfeits death to effect his purposes. 92

For they lay wagers touching my life.—God be gracious to the winners.

Let Rizpah rejoice with the Eyed Moth who is beautiful in corruption. 93

For the piety of Rizpah is imitable in the Lord—wherefore I pray for the dead.

Let Naharai, Joab's armour-bearer rejoice with Rock who is a bird of stupendous magnitude. 94

For the Lord is my ROCK and I am the bearer of his CROSS.

Let Abiezer, the Anethothite, rejoice with Phrynos who is the scaled frog. 95

For I am like a frog in the brambles, but the Lord hath put his whole armour upon me.

Let Nachon rejoice with Parcas who is a serpent more innocent than others. 96

For I was a Viper-catcher in my youth and the Lord delivered me from his venom.

Let Lapidoth with Percnos—the Lord is the builder of the wall of CHINA—REJOICE. 97

For I rejoice that I attribute to God, what others vainly ascribe to feeble man.

92 counterfeits MS 94 armour-bearer with MS 97 Percnos the MS

91 *Ziba* won favour by telling lies (2 Sam. 16: 1-4); Smart names him as one of the progenitors of the Welsh in B345. *Glottis* (the quail) takes its name from its long tongue. *The Welch Woman*: Smart's mother, Winifred Griffiths, came from Radnorshire.

93 *Rizpah*, Saul's concubine, mourned over the bodies of her sons until her devotion induced David to give them burial (2 Sam. 21: 8-14).

94 *The Rock* (Roc) was suggested by the story of Rizpah, who spread sackcloth 'upon the rock'. For the rock as symbol of Christ, see 1 Cor. 10: 4.

95 *Phrynos*: a frog that lives in the brambles (Pliny 32. 50).

96 *Parcas* seems to be a mistake for *pareas*, a snake sacred to Aesculapius.

- 98 Let Ahinoam rejoice with Prester—The seed of the woman hath bruised the serpents head.
For I am ready to die for his sake—who lay down his life for all mankind.
- 99 Let Phurah rejoice with Penelopes, the servant of Gideon with the fowl of the brook.
For the son of JOSHUA shall prevail against the servant of Gideon—Good men have their betters.
- 100 Let Jether, the son of Gideon, rejoice with Ecchetæ which are musical grasshoppers.
For my seed shall worship the Lord JESUS as numerous and musical as the grasshoppers of Paradise.
- 101 Let Hushai rejoice with the Ospray who is able to parry the eagle.
For I pray God to turn the council of Ahitophel into foolishness.
- 102 Let Eglah rejoice with Phalaris who is a pleasant object upon the water.
For the learning of the Lord increases daily, as the sun is an improving angel.
- 103 Let Haggith rejoice with the white Weasel who devoureth the honey and it's maker.
For I pray God for a reformation amongst the women and the restoration of the veil.
- 104 Let Abital rejoice with Ptyas who is arrayed in green and gold.
For beauty is better to look upon than to meddle with and tis good for a man not to know a woman.
- 105 Let Maacah rejoice with Dryophyte who was blessed of the Lord in the valley.

99 Penelopes the MS 100 Ecchetæ Stead, Bond

98 *Ahinoam* was one of David's wives. *Prester*: a serpent with a deadly sting. *The seed . . . head*: Gen. 3: 15.

99 *Penelopes*: 'a sort of water fowl' (Ainsworth).

100 *Ecchetæ*: 'Grass-hoppers that sing' (Ainsworth); *achetae* in modern editions of Pliny (11. 92).

101 *FOR*: this was David's prayer when he was told that *Ahitophel* had joined Absalom's conspiracy against him (2 Sam. 15: 31). *Hushai* was sent to Absalom's court as David's agent, to counteract *Ahitophel*'s influence.

102-5 *Eglah*, *Haggith*, *Abital*, and *Maacah* were David's wives. *Phalaris* (the coot): 'a kind of water fowl' (Ainsworth).

103 The *veil* was worn by Jewish women as a token of modesty (Gen. 24: 65).

104 *Ptyas*: 'an adder, or asp of a green colour, drawing to the colour of gold' (Ainsworth). *FOR*: 'It is good for a man not to touch a woman' (1 Cor. 7: 1).

105 *Dryophyte*: a frog. *FOR*: see B494n.

For the Lord Jesus made him a nosegay and blessed it and he blessed the inhabitants of flowers.

Let Zabud Solomon's friend rejoice with Oryx who is a frolicsome mountaineer. 106

For a faithful friend is the medicine of life, but a neighbour in the Lord is better than he.

Let Adoniram the receiver general of the excise rejoice with Hypnale the sleepy adder. 107

For I stood up betimes in behalf of LIBERTY, PROPERTY and NO EXCISE.

Let Pedahel rejoice with Pityocampa who eateth his house in the pine. 108

For they began with grubbing up my trees and now they have excluded the planter.

Let Ibzan rejoice with the Brandling—the Lord further the building of bridges and making rivers navigable. 109

For I am the Lord's builder and free and accepted MASON in CHRIST JESUS.

Let Gilead rejoice with the Gentle—the Lord make me a fisher of men. 110

For I bless God in all gums and balsams and every thing that ministers relief to the sick.

109 Ibzam MS Brandling the MS 110 Gentle the MS

106-22 The names are taken, apparently at random, from the Pentateuch and historical books of the OT.

106 *Oryx*: a wild goat, described as ferocious by Martial but depicted in Bochartus's *Hierozoicon* (to which Harduinus refers) with 'frolicsome' expression. *A faithful . . . life*: Ecclus. 6: 16.

107 *Adoniram* was Solomon's tax-collector. *Liberty, Property and No Excise* was an Opposition slogan during the later years of Walpole's ministry (G. Rudé, *Hanoverian London* (1971), 150); Smart was a boy of eleven at the time of the riots over the Excise Bill (1733). *Hypnale*: 'an adder that killeth a man by casting him into a sleep' (Ainsworth); see Solinus, *Collectanea*, 27. 31.

108 *Pityocampa*: a caterpillar, 'pinorum erucas' (Pliny 23. 62).

109-10 *Brandling* and *Gentle* are kinds of fish-bait. *Free and Accepted Masons* was the title adopted by the reconstituted society of freemasons in 1717. Smart's claim, to be a 'Mason in Christ' is asserted in defiance of the non-doctrinal creed of 18th-c. freemasonry, and of papal condemnation: freemasonry was proscribed by the Roman church in 1751. William Hutchinson, in *The Spirit of Masonry* (1775), was at pains to defend the Christian faith of freemasons. *Lord make me a fisher of men*: cf. B123n.

- 111 Let Zelophehad rejoice with Ascalabotes who casteth not his coat till a new one is prepared for him.
For the Sun's at work to make me a garment and the Moon is at work for my wife.
- 112 Let Mahlah rejoice with Pellos who is a tall bird and stately.
For tall and stately are against me, but humiliation on humiliation is on my side.
- 113 Let Tirzah rejoice with Tylus which is the Cheeslip and food for the chicken.
For I have a providential acquaintance with men who bear the names of animals.
- 114 Let Hoglah rejoice with Leontophonos who will kill the lion, if he is eaten.
For I bless God to Mr Lion Mr Cock Mr Cat Mr Talbot Mr Hart Mrs Fysh Mr Grub, and Miss Lamb.
- 115 Let Milcah rejoice with the Horned Beetle who will strike a man in the face.
For they throw my horns in my face and reptiles make themselves wings against me.
- 116 Let Noah rejoice with Hibris who is from a wild boar and a tame sow.
For I bless God for the immortal soul of Mr Pigg of DOWNHAM in NORFOLK.
- 117 Let Abdon rejoice with the Glede who is very voracious and may not himself be eaten.
For I fast this day even the 31st of August N.S. to prepare for the SABBATH of the Lord.

111 FOR: cf. B192-3.

112-16 The names are of the five daughters of Zelophehad. *Pellos*: a heron.

113 *Tylus*: 'an insect under stones, commonly called a cheeslip' (Ainsworth): the wood-louse.

114 *Leontophonos* . . . eaten: see Pliny 8. 136. FOR: the names cannot be identified with any confidence: *Mr Lion* may be the Hon. Thomas Lyon, who was at Cambridge from 1758 and subscribed to Smart's *Psalms*; *Mrs Fysh* subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752; *Miss Lamb* was probably related to Joseph Lamb, of Ryton Hall, Co. Durham, who subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752.

116 *Hibris*: 'a pig of a tame sow and a wild boar' (Ainsworth): Pliny 8. 213. *Mr Pigg*: Andrew Pigge, a tanner of Downham Market, died 1751/2 (*Norfolk Wills*); he was the father of Thomas Pigge (see B387n.).

117 *Glede*: the kite, 'a most ravenous bird' (Holland, i, 275). FOR: 31 August 1759, was a Friday: Smart retains the distinction between the Sabbath (Saturday) and the Lord's Day (cf. B212-13).

Let Zuph rejoice with Dipsas, whose bite causeth thirst. 118
*For the bite of an Adder is cured by its greese and the malice of my enemies
by their stupidity.*

Let Schechem of Manasseh rejoice with the Green Worm whose livery is of the field. 119
*For I bless God in SHIPBOURNE FAIRLAWN the meadows the
brooks and the hills.*

Let Gera rejoice with the Night Hawk—blessed are those who watch when others sleep. 120
*For the adversary hath exasperated the very birds against me, but the
Lord sustain'd me.*

Let Anath rejoice with Rauca who inhabiteth the root of the oak. 121
*For I bless God for my Newcastle friends, the voice of the raven and heart
of the oak.*

Let Cherub rejoice with the Cherub who is a bird and a blessed Angel. 122
*For I bless God for every feather from the wren in the sedge to the
CHERUBS and their MATES.*

* * *

LET PETER rejoice with the MOON FISH who keeps up the life in the waters by night. 123
*FOR I pray the Lord JESUS that cured the LUNATICK to be
merciful to all my brethren and sisters in these houses.*

120 Hawk blessed MS the th adversary MS 121 friends the MS

118 *Dipsas*: 'a kind of viper or adder, which having stung a man puts him into a great thirst' (Ainsworth). *FOR*: this remedy is not found in medical books but was known to viper-catchers (see B96): 'The viper-catchers have a specifick, in which they can so far confide, as not to be afraid of being bitten.—That specifick is the *avungia* [grease] of the viper presently rubb'd into the wound' (Chambers). Smart used this idea in his epigram 'To the Author of some defamatory Verses' ('When the viper has vented its venom, 'tis said, / That the fat heals the wound which the poison has made').

119 *Fairlawn* was Lord Vane's estate at *Shipbourne*, Kent, where Smart spent his early years: see *The Hop-Garden*, ii, 261-73.

121 *Rauca*: 'a worm that breedeth in the root of an oak' (Ainsworth). *My Newcastle friends*: the Vane family owned extensive property in the Newcastle-Durham region.

122 *Cherub*: a place-name (Ezra 2: 59). Two 19th-c. uses of *Cherubim* for the barn-owl are recorded in *OED*.

123 At this point Smart embarks on a series of names from the NT, beginning with the twelve apostles whom he links with the names of fishes, as is appropriate ('Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men', Matt. 4: 19). Izaak Walton notes

- 124 Let Andrew rejoice with the Whale, who is array'd in beauteous blue and is a combination of bulk and activity.
For they work me with their harping-irons, which is a barbarous instrument, because I am more unguarded than others.
- 125 Let James rejoice with the Skuttle-Fish, who foils his foe by the effusion of his ink.
For the blessing of God hath been on my epistles, which I have written for the benefit of others.
- 126 Let John rejoice with Nautilus who spreads his sail and plies his oar, and the Lord is his pilot.
For I bless God that the CHURCH of ENGLAND is one of the SEVEN ev'n the candlestick of the Lord.
- 127 Let Philip rejoice with Boca, which is a fish that can speak.
For the ENGLISH TONGUE shall be the language of the WEST.
- 128 Let Bartholomew rejoice with the Eel, who is pure in proportion to where he is found and how he is used.
For I pray Almighty CHRIST to bless the MAGDALEN HOUSE and to forward a National purification.

128 Bartholemew MS

that the first four apostles in Matt. 10 (the order followed by Smart) are all fishermen.

124 The *Whale* suggests *harping-irons* (harpoons), but what Smart means by it is obscure; he may be referring to the instrument described by Alexander Cruden in his account of his own experiences twenty years earlier: 'if the Prisoners in this Madhouse refuse to take what is ordered them, there is a terrible Instrument put into their mouths to hold down their tongues, and to force the physick down their throats' (*The London Citizen Exceedingly Injured* (1739), 7).

125 *James* reminds Smart of the *Epistle of James* in the NT, and thus of his own verse epistles. *Skuttle-Fish*: i.e. the cuttle fish: see Addison's account of its behaviour in the *Spectator*, no. 476.

126 *John* relates the occasion on which Christ was 'pilot' to the disciples on the sea of Tiberias (6: 18-21); cf. Hymn 10. 55-6. *Nautilus . . . oar*: see Pliny 9. 88. The seven churches, symbolized by seven golden candlesticks (Rev. 1: 20), which were addressed by St. John, were of course in Asia Minor.

127 *Boca*: 'the only fish that hath voice, whereas all the rest are mute' (Ainsworth). FOR: cf. Hymn 15, 21-4.

128 *Eel* had to be cooked with care, for it could be 'dangerous meat' (Walton, 136). The *Magdalen House*, an asylum for prostitutes in Goodman's Fields, London, was opened in 1758.

- Let Thomas rejoice with the Sword-Fish, whose aim is perpetual and strength insuperable. 129
For I have the blessing of God in the three POINTS of manhood, of the pen, of the sword, and of chivalry.
- Let Matthew rejoice with Uranoscopus, whose eyes are lifted up to God. 130
For I am inquisitive in the Lord, and defend the philosophy of the scripture against vain deceit.
- Let James the less, rejoice with the Haddock, who brought the piece of money for the Lord and Peter. 131
For the nets come down from the eyes of the Lord to fish up men to their salvation.
- Let Jude bless with the Bream, who is of melancholy from his depth and serenity. 132
For I have a greater compass both of mirth and melancholy than another.
- Let Simon rejoice with the Sprat, who is pure and innumerable. 133
For I bless the Lord JESUS in the innumerable, and for ever and ever.
- Let Matthias rejoice with the Flying-Fish, who has a part with the birds, and is sublimity in his conceit. 134
For I am redoubted, and redoubtable in the Lord, as is THOMAS BECKET my father.

129 FOR: probably refers to Masonic ceremonial. Freemasons qualify for the 'Second Degree' by three 'points of entrance' (H. Carr, *The Freemason at Work* (1976), 79-84). Masonry has its own orders of chivalry, and both the pen and the sword are emblems of office (A. Sherbo, 'Christopher Smart, Free and Accepted Mason', JEGP liv (1955), 666).

130 *Uranoscopus*: glossed 'looking up to heaven' in Holland (ii, 438), 'quod oculus in superna corporis parte versus caelum' (Pliny 32. 69). FOR: 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men . . . and not after Christ' (Col. 2: 8).

131 The *Haddock* was traditionally supposed to be the fish from whose mouth Peter took the tribute money (Matt. 17: 27); see Pennant, iii, 147.

132 The *Bream* frequents the deepest parts of the river (Walton, 122).

134 *Matthias* was not one of the original twelve apostles, but was chosen to replace Judas Iscariot (Acts 1: 26).

134-5 *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of Canterbury, was induced to 'go back' to his see in 1170, after fleeing to France. Smart may have seen his own marriage to a Roman Catholic as a defection from the English church to which, like Becket, he has 'gone back'. (There was also a bookseller named Thomas Becket in London at this period, but he had no known connection with Smart). *Remora*, the sucking-fish, was believed to hold back ships in their course by sticking to their hulls; *remora* thus came to mean 'obstacle' (OED).

- 135 Let Stephen rejoice with Remora—The Lord remove all obstacles to his glory.
For I have had the grace to GO BACK, which is my blessing unto prosperity.
- 136 Let Paul rejoice with the Seale, who is pleasant and faithfull, like God's good ENGLISHMAN.
For I paid for my seat in St PAUL's, when I was six years old, and took possession against the evil day.
- 137 Let Agrippa, which is Agricola, rejoice with Elops, who is a choice fish.
For I am descended from the steward of the island—blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus king of England.
- 138 Let Joseph rejoice with the Turbut, whose capture makes the poor fisher-man sing.
For the poor gentleman is the first object of the Lord's charity and he is the most pitied who hath lost the most.
- 139 Let Mary rejoice with the Maid—blessed be the name of the immaculate CONCEPTION.
For I am in twelve HARDSHIPS, but he that was born of a virgin shall deliver me out of all.

137 island blessed MS

136 A pun on *Seale* is probably intended: St. Paul uses *seal* to signify God's covenant with the faithful (Rom. 4: 11, etc.). For the association of St. Paul with England, see B225n. FOR: the point of this is obscure: the renting of seats was common practice in parish churches, but the church at Shipbourne, where Smart was living at the age of six, is not dedicated to St. Paul, and there have never been pew-rents at St. Paul's Cathedral.

137 *Agrippa* II, last of the Herods, reigned in Palestine AD 50–93; he gave a sympathetic hearing to Paul's speech of defence after his arrest (Acts 25–6). *Agricola* was governor of Britain AD 75–85. Smart's equation of the two has its rationale (of a sort) in his identification of the English as descendants of the Jews (see B433) and the coincidence that Agrippa and Agricola, both renowned for their justice and humanity, were ruling simultaneously. For Smart's claim to be descended from Agricola ('the steward of the island'), see B58n. The fact that Smart's father was a steward (see Introduction, p. xv), no doubt played a part in his fantasy.

139 Written on the eve of 8 September, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, which suggests that Smart was thinking both of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin (a Roman doctrine) and the virgin birth of Christ. *Maid* is both a 'virgin' and the name given to a young skate. *Twelve Hardships* suggests the Twelve Labours of Hercules: possibly another allusion to the Hercules/Christ typology (see Agon.).

- Let John, the Baptist, rejoice with the Salmon—blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus for infant Baptism. 140
For I am safe, as to my head, from the female dancer and her admirers.
- Let Mark rejoice with the Mullet, who is John Dore, God be gracious to him and his family. 141
For I pray for CHICHESTER to give the glory to God, and to keep the adversary at bay.
- Let Barnabus rejoice with the Herring—God be gracious to the Lord's fishery. 142
For I am making to the shore day by day, the Lord Jesus take me.
- Let Cleopas rejoice with the Mackerel, who cometh in a shoal after a leader. 143
For I bless the Lord JESUS upon RAMSGATE PIER—the Lord forward the building of harbours.
- Let Abiud of the Lord's line rejoice with Murex, who is good and of a precious tincture. 144
For I bless the Lord JESUS for his very seed, which is in my body.
- Let Eliakim rejoice with the Shad, who is contemned in his abundance. 145
For I pray for R and his family, I pray for Mr Becher, and I bean for the Lord JESUS.
- Let Azor rejoice with the Flounder, who is both of the sea and of the river. 146
For I pray to God for Nore, for the Trinity house, for all light-houses, beacons and buoys.

141 CHICHESTER MS

140 *the female dancer*: Salome, the daughter of Herodias, who demanded the head of *John the Baptist* (Matt. 14: 6–11).

141 *John Dore*: both a nickname for a fish (John Dory) and the name of an inmate of St. Luke's Hospital during Smart's confinement (Stead).

142 *the Lord's fishery* refers to *Barnabas's* mission to the Gentiles; but Smart may also be alluding to the British Herring Fishery, of which his friend, John Lockman, was secretary.

143 The rebuilding of *Ramsgate* harbour had begun in 1749, but a new Secretary of the Trustees had just been appointed (*London Gazette*, 25 August 1759). The new pier was hailed as 'the finest of its kind in England, or perhaps in the world' (*A Description of the Isle of Thanet* (1763), 25).

144–52 The names are taken from the genealogy of Joseph in Matt. 1: 13–16.

145 The *Shad* was held in 'great disrepute' because of its abundance in the Thames (Pennant, iii, 298). *R and his family*: perhaps the unidentified *Rain and his family* (C97). *Bean* may mean 'pray', from *bene*, a prayer (Bond); but no verbal use is recorded, and even as a noun it was obsolete in the 18th-c.

146 *Trinity House* was given the charge of light-vessels, beacons, and buoys in

- 147 Let Sadoc rejoice with the Bleak, who playeth upon the surface in the Sun.
For I bless God that I am not in a dungeon, but am allowed the light of the Sun.
- 148 Let Achim rejoice with the Miller's Thumb, who is a delicious morsel for the water fowl.
For I pray God for the PYGMIES against their feather'd adversaries, as a deed of charity.
- 149 Let Eliud rejoice with Cinædus, who is a fish yellow all over.
For I pray God for all those, who have defiled themselves in matters inconvenient.
- 150 Let Eleazar rejoice with the Grampus, who is a pompous spouter.
For I pray God be gracious to CORNELIUS MATTHEWS name and connection.
- 151 Let Matthan rejoice with the Shark, who is supported by multitudes of small value.
For I am under the same accusation with my Saviour—for they said, he is besides himself.
- 152 Let Jacob rejoice with the Gold Fish, who is an eye-trap.
For I pray God for the introduction of new creatures into this island.
- 153 Let Jairus rejoice with the Silver Fish, who is bright and lively.
For I pray God for the ostriches of Salisbury Plain, the beavers of the Medway and silver fish of Thames.
- 154 Let Lazarus rejoice with Torpedo, who chills the life of the assailant through his staff.

1680; a light-ship was established on the Nore in 1732; Eddystone light-house was being rebuilt at this date.

148 *Pygmies . . . adversaries*: an allusion to the fabled war of the pygmies and cranes (see Milton, *PL* i, 575-6).

149 *Cinædi . . . the onely fishes that be all over yellow* (Holland, ii, 451). *Matters inconvenient*: the sins of the Gentiles are so defined in Rom. i: 28.

151 *for they . . . himself*: Mark 3: 21.

152 Goldfish were not generally known in England until 1728 (Pennant, iii, 319).

153-6 The names relate to Jesus's acts of healing and mercy.

153 *ostriches*: i.e. great bustards, thought to be of the same genus as ostriches; large flocks frequented Wiltshire in the 18th-c. (*Encyc. Brit.* (1797), s.v. Otis). *Beavers* were still sometimes found in England (Chambers). *Silver fish of Thames* probably refers to whitebait.

154 *Torpedo*, the electric ray: Anson describes having 'a considerable degree of numbness conveyed to my right arm, through a walking cane which I rested on the

For Charity is cold in the multitude of possessions, and the rich are covetous of their crumbs.

Let Mary Magdalen rejoice with the Place, whose goodness and purity are of the Lord's making. 155

For I pray to be accepted as a dog without offence, which is best of all.

Let Simon the leper rejoice with the Eel-pout, who is a rarity on account of his subtlety. 156

For I wish to God and desire towards the most High, which is my policy.

Let Alpheus rejoice with the Whiting, whom God hath bless'd in multitudes, and his days are as the days of PURIM. 157

For the tides are the life of God in the ocean, and he sends his angel to trouble the great DEEP.

Let Onesimus rejoice with the Cod—blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus for a miraculous draught of men. 158

For he hath fixed the earth upon arches and pillars, and the flames of hell flow under it.

Let Josés rejoice with the Sturgeon, who saw his maker in the body and obtained grace. 159

For the grosser the particles the nearer to the sink, and the nearer to purity, the quicker the gravitation.

body of the fish' (*A Voyage Round the World* (1748), 266). This passage is quoted in the *Student*, i, 51 n. (Bond). FOR: refers to the parable of Lazarus the beggar, who desired 'the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table' (Luke 16: 21); the link with Lazarus of Bethany who was raised from the dead (John 11), to whom the LET verse probably refers, is suggested in the final words of the parable: 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead' (Luke 16: 31).

156 The *Eel-pout* is described as exceptionally 'smooth, slippery and slimy' by Pennant (iii, 163).

157 *Alpheus* means 'a thousand' (Cruden). *Purim* is a two-day festival commemorating the deliverance of the Jews from massacre by the Persians; the idea of 'multitude' comes from the ordinance 'that these days should be remembered and kept throughout every generation, every family, every province, and every city' (Esth. 9: 28). *He sends . . . Deep* (John 5: 4) is an allusion to the miracle at the pool of Bethesda on a feast-day traditionally supposed to have been Purim; it picks up the theme of Christ's healing suggested by the names in B153-6.

158 *Onesimus*: one of Paul's converts (Philem. 10). FOR: the image of the earth built on pillars has biblical sources (Job 9: 6, etc.), but Smart's elaboration of it appears to be original; cf. his version of Ps. 18: 15. The *flames of hell* are connected with the *draught of men* through the parable of the draught of fishes (Matt. 13: 47-50), representing the separation of the righteous from the wicked for whom a 'furnace of fire' is prophesied.

159 *Josés*: Smart could be referring either to the brother of Jesus, or Josés the Levite, a Christian convert, afterwards called Barnabas, who was 'esteemed one of

- 160 Let Theophilus rejoice with the Folio, who hath teeth, like the teeth of a saw.
 For *MATTER* is the dust of the Earth, every atom of which is the life.
- 161 Let Bartimeus rejoice with the Quaviver—God be gracious to the eyes of him, who prayeth for the blind.
 For *MOTION* is as the quantity of life direct, and that which hath not motion, is resistance.
- 162 Let CHRISTOPHER, who is Simon of Cyrene, rejoice with the Rough—God be gracious to the CAM and to DAVID CAM and his seed for ever.
 For Resistance is not of GOD, but he—hath built his works upon it.
- 163 Let Timeus rejoice with the Ling—God keep the English Sailors clear of French bribery.
 For the Centripetal and Centrifugal forces are GOD SUSTAINING and DIRECTING.

the Seventy disciples chosen by our Saviour' (Nelson, 318). FOR: The allusion is again to hell: 'Hell is the Sinke of all sinne and wickednesse. The strong *Magick* of Nature, pulls and draws every thing continually to that place which is suitable to it . . . so all these heavy bodies presse downwards, towards the centre of our earth, being drawn in by it: In like manner Hell . . . will by a strong *Sympathy* pull in all sinne' (R. Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the House of Commons* (1647)). Cf. also the alchemical idea of a purifying fire, 'which works upon that which is neerer to it, and purer, as it selfe is most pure' (M. Sendivogius, *A New Light of Alchymie* (1650), 110).

160ff. *Theophilus* is the unknown patron to whom Acts and the Gospel of St. Luke are addressed, but Smart is probably following the common, though erroneous, identification of him as Theophilus of Antioch, a 2nd-c. theologian notable for his development of the doctrine of the Logos as creative Word. The main object of the FOR verses is to restate scientific explanation in spiritual and animistic terms, and to defend 'the philosophy of the scriptures' (B130) against natural philosophy, i.e. the creative Word against inferences drawn from the works of nature alone (see B195n., B220). Smart bases his philosophy primarily on John 1: 1-14. *The life*: sc. 'of God' (John 1: 4). *Matter, Motion, Resistance, Centripetal and Centrifugal forces* are the first five principles of Newton's *Principia*.

160 *Folio*: probably intended as a pun: besides meaning a large-size volume, it is the name of a fish, 'whose teeth are like a saw' (Ainsworth, s.v. *citharus*).

161 *Bartimeus*: the blind beggar healed by Jesus (Mark 10: 46).

162 Written on 15 September, the day after Holy Cross Day. *Simon of Cyrene* carried Christ's cross, as St. *Christopher* carried the infant Christ. The *Cam* is one of the few rivers in which the *Rough* (Ruff) is found (Browne, *Works*, iii, 425). *David Cam* (Gam), a Welsh officer, was one of the heroes of Agincourt (see D137); his story evidently captured Smart's imagination (see Hymn 17. 43-8), but he may have been reminded of him by the announcement (noted by Stead) of the birth of three sons, 'baptized Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob', to a Mr Cam (*Gent. Mag.* July 1759). FOR: cf. 'Bodies find no resistance from the omnipresence of God' (Newton's *Principia*, tr. A. Motte (1729), ii, 390).

- Let Salome rejoice with the Mermaid, who hath the countenance and a portion of human reason. 164
 For *Elasticity* is the temper of matter to recover its place with vehemence.
- Let Zacharias rejoice with the Gudgeon, who improves in his growth till he is mistaken. 165
 For *Attraction* is the earning of parts, which have a similitude in the life.
- Let Campanus rejoice with the Lobster—God be gracious to all the CAMPBELLS especially John. 166
 For the Life of God is in the Loadstone, and there is a magnet, which pointeth due EAST.
- Let Martha rejoice with the Skallop—the Lord revive the exercise and excellence of the Needle. 167
 For the Glory of God is always in the East, but cannot be seen for the cloud of the crucifixion.
- Let Mary rejoice with the Carp—the ponds of Fairlawn and the garden bless for the master. 168
 For due East is the way to Paradise, which man knoweth not by reason of his fall.

164 The *Mermaid* was still believed to exist: a description of a famous one found off the Dutch coast appears in Newbery's *Wonders of Nature and Art* (2nd edn., 1768, ii, 197), and a 'mermaid' was on show at St. Germain's in 1758 (*Gent. Mag.* (1759), 590). FOR: *Elasticity* of matter was explained by Newton in terms of attraction.

165 FOR: the standard explanation of the phenomenon of *Attraction* before Newton: cf. (e.g.) Robert Hooke: 'Coherence [is] nothing but a similitude of parts and motions' (*Posthumous Works* (1705), 191). *Earning*, 'yearning'.

166 *Campanus*: the inclusion of this non-biblical name is a mystery. Smart may be referring to John Campanus, a mad prophet of Juliers who preached the imminence of the end of the world and the Day of Judgement; an account of him appeared in Bayle's *Dictionary* (tr. J. P. Bernard, T. Birch, and J. Lockman (1739), ix, 411), which Smart used at Cambridge. *John Campbell* may be the writer, a friend of Johnson, well known for his hospitality to men of learning and letters (*Boswell's Life*, i, 417-18). His publications included works on the fishing industry, which might have made him seem appropriate here; but cf. B449n. FOR: cf. Henry Vaughan, 'The Query' ('holyness the Magnet is'), *Scilex Scintillans*, ii (1655).

167 *Skallop* (scallop): both a shell-fish and a trimming on clothes, hence the *Needle*, which may also be linked with the magnet in B166. *Glory . . . East*: see Ezek. 43: 2.

168 *Fairlawn*: see B119n. FOR: 'And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden', Gen. 2: 8.

- 169 Let Zebedee rejoice with the Tench—God accept the good son for his parents also.
For the Longitude is (nevertheless) attainable by steering angularly notwithstanding.
- 170 Let Joseph of Arimathea rejoice with the Barbel—a good coffin and a tomb-stone without grudging!
For Eternity is a creature and is built upon Eternity καταβολη επι τη διαβολη.
- 171 Let Elizabeth rejoice with the Crab—it is good, at times, to go back.
For Fire is a mixed nature of body and spirit, and the body is fed by that which hath not life.
- 172 Let Simeon rejoice with the Oyster, who hath the life without locomotion.
For Fire is exasperated by the Adversary, who is Death, unto the detriment of man.

170 bluilt MS

169 *Zebedee*: father of the apostles James and John. FOR: The problem of finding longitude at sea had engaged scientists, mathematicians, and cranks for a century. A solution based on measurement of time was reached in 1759 by Harrison's invention of an accurate marine chronometer, but other methods were still being investigated. Smart seems to be thinking of Robert Hooke's proposal, based on the angle of a ship's rhumb-line in relation to the meridional circles (*Posthumous Works* (1705), 518). Smart had been interested in longitude from 1752: see 'On the Omniscience of the Supreme Being', 91.

170-6 This is the beginning of Smart's eschatological scheme: cf. B291ff., 329ff., 420. It appears to be based on Origen's doctrine of a succession of aeons (Smart's 'Eternities'), culminating in a purgative fire in which even the most sinful may finally be purified (B292): *De Principiis*, I-III. *Eternity is a creature*: i.e. is created, as Origen argues, not inherent in the nature of created order. The Greek phrase is not from Origen, but is Smart's epigrammatic paraphrase of Origen's doctrine that the physical creation is a consequence of the Fall, or is the Fall itself; Origen exploits the dual sense of *καταβολη* as 'foundation' and 'downfall' in support of his argument (*De Princ.* III, v, 4). Smart assimilates the name of the Devil (*διαβολος*) to the abstract noun (*διαβολη*, 'calumny') for the sake of the rhyme. The phrase thus means 'foundation upon (downfall after) calumny (Satan)'.

170 *Joseph of Arimathea* gave Jesus burial 'in his own new tomb' (Matt. 27: 60).

171 *it is good, at times, to go back*: cf. B125. FOR: Chambers defines fire as a 'body' and distinguishes between 'Pure, or Elemental fire . . . such as collected in a burning-glass, yields no flame, smoak, ashes, or the like' and 'Culinary fire' which requires fuel for combustion. *That which hath not life*: i.e. evil: the idea of evil as 'non-entity' was preached by the Cambridge Platonists, but has ancient sources (see C. A. Patrides, *The Cambridge Platonists* (1969), 38). Origen calls sin the 'food and material' of eternal fire (*De Princ.* II, x, 4).

- Let Jona rejoice with the Wilk—Wilks, Wilkie, and Wilkinson bless the name of the Lord Jesus. 173
For an happy Conjecture is a miraculous cast by the Lord Jesus.
- Let Nicodemus rejoice with the Muscle, for so he hath provided for the poor. 174
For a bad Conjecture is a draught of stud and mud.
- Let Gamaliel rejoice with the Cockle—I will rejoice in the remembrance of mercy. 175
For there is a Fire which is blandishing, and which is of God direct.
- Let Agabus rejoice with the Smelt—The Lord make me serviceable to the HOWARDS. 176
For Fire is a substance and distinct, and purifyeth ev'n in hell.
- Let Rhoda rejoice with the Sea-Cat, who is pleasantry and purity. 177
For the Shears is the first of the mechanical powers, and to be used on the knees.
- Let Elmodam rejoice with the Chubb, who is wary of the bait and thrives in his circumspection. 178
For if Adam had used this instrument right, he would not have fallen.

174 *stud and mud*: 'wattle and daub', an inferior building-material, hence 'rubbish'.

175-6 Smart differentiates between destructive fire (B172), which is 'exasperated' by Satan, and the purifying fire of God: cf. Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, VII, vi, 34) and Origen (*De Princ.* II, x, 6). The Scriptural basis of the idea is the image of Christ as a refiner's fire (Mal. 3: 2).

175 *Gamaliel*, a lawyer, pleaded for mercy at the trial of the apostles (Acts 5: 34).

176 *the Howards*: perhaps the family of the composer Samuel Howard, who set Smart's song, 'Where shall Celia fly for shelter', and contributed to the *Collection of Melodies* (1765) for Smart's psalms.

177-9 *Shears* figure as an application of the lever principle in N.A. Pluche's popular *Spectacle de la Nature: or Nature Display'd*, v (1748), 312. Smart also seems to be thinking of the method of divination by 'sieve and shears', which was used to detect guilt (K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), 253-4), and the shears with which Atropos severs the thread of life in classical mythology (cf. Milton, *Lycidas*, 75-6). *On the knees*: i.e. in a posture of worship, a favourite notion of Smart's, cf. B268, 352; C109. Hunter reported that 'Mr. Smart, in composing the religious poems, was frequently so impressed with the sentiment of devotion, as to write particular passages on his knees' (I, xxviii).

178-203 The names are all taken from St. Luke, mainly from the genealogy of Joseph (3: 23ff.), but not in order.

178 *The Chub* 'will sink down to the bottom of the water at the shadow of your rod' (Walton, 52).

- 179 Let Jorim rejoice with the Roach—God bless my throat and keep me from things stranggled.
For the power of the Shears is direct as the life.
- 180 Let Addi rejoice with the Dace—It is good to angle with meditation.
For the power of the WEDGE is direct as it's altitude by communication of Almighty God.
- 181 Let Luke rejoice with the Trout—Blessed be Jesus in Aa, in Dee and in Isis.
For the Skrew, Axle and Wheel, Pulleys, the Lever and inclined Plane are known in the Schools.
- 182 Let Cosam rejoice with the Perch, who is a little tyrant, because he is not liable to that, which he inflicts.
For the Centre is not known but by the application of the members to matter.
- 183 Let Levi rejoice with the Pike—God be merciful to all dumb creatures in respect of pain.
For I have shown the Vis Inertiæ to be false, and such is all nonsense.
- 184 Let Melchi rejoice with the Char, who cheweth the cud.
For the Centre is the hold of the Spirit upon the matter in hand.

179 The proverbial saying, 'sound as a roach', may have prompted Smart's prayer. For other indications of his illness, see C68 ff., D125.

180-1 *Aa* (Aar), *Dee*, and *Isis*, all names of rivers, make up the name *Addi*, which appears only in *Luke's* genealogy of Joseph.

180 *to angle with meditation*: cf. Walton, 'the very sitting by the Rivers side is not onely the quietest for contemplation, but will invite an Angler to it' (31). FOR: The power of the *Wedge* is relative to its height: 'the acuter the wedge is, the more does it increase the power' (Chambers).

181 The wedge, screw, axis, and wheel pulley, lever, and inclined plane are the basic mechanical powers: Smart's point is that they were not discovered by modern scientists but were already known to scholastic philosophers ('the Schools').

182 *little tyrant*: perhaps an adaptation of Walton's description of the Pike as 'the Tyrant of the Rivers' (p. 105).

183-6 Smart's conception of matter and motion appears to be influenced by the 'scripture-philosophy' of John Hutchinson and his followers. The Hutchinsonians rejected Newton's postulates of a *vis inertiae* and a *vacuum*, and conceived a cosmic system full of solid matter and motivated by a perpetual interplay of spiritual forces: see Appendix.

183 Smart's *Tripos* verses, 'Materies gaudet vi inertiae' (1742), to which he is presumably referring, satirized mathematics and the physical sciences, but did not explicitly refute the notion of *Vis Inertia*.

184 According to Walton, it is the Pike who is said to 'chew the cud' (105). FOR: *Spirit* is one of the three forces, fire, light, and spirit, corresponding to the three persons of the Trinity, which according to Hutchinsonian theory govern the cosmic system.

- Let Joanna rejoice with the Anchovy—I beheld and lo! a great multitude!
For FRICTION is inevitable because the Universe is FULL of God's works.
- Let Neri rejoice with the Keeling Fish, who is also called the Stock Fish.
For the PERPETUAL MOTION is in all the works of Almighty GOD.
- Let Janna rejoice with the Pilchard—the Lord restore the seed of Abishai.
For it is not so in the engines of man, which are made of dead materials, neither indeed can be.
- Let Esli rejoice with the Soal, who is flat and spackles for the increase of motion.
For the Moment of bodies, as it is used, is a false term—bless God ye Speakers on the Fifth of November.
- Let Nagge rejoice with the Perriwinkle—for the rain it raineth every day.
For Time and Weight are by their severall estimates.
- Let Anna rejoice with the Porpus, who is a joyous fish and of good omen.
For I bless GOD in the discovery of the LONGITUDE direct by the means of GLADWICK.

185 *I beheld . . . multitude*: Rev. 7: 9. FOR: 'The scriptures are very express, that this system is full of created solid matter' (*An Abstract from the Works of John Hutchinson* (2nd edn., 1755), 47).

186-7 FOR: although *perpetual motion* is actually unachievable in the physical sphere, Newtonians conceived it as hypothetically possible (see C. Maclaurin, *An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries* (1748), 180). But Smart's notion is Hutchinsonian: 'We suppose the mechanism established in the heavens . . . so contrived as to be a regular perpetual motion' (R. Spearman, *An Enquiry into Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh, 1755), 368).

187 *seed of Abishai*: i.e. the Spanish, according to Smart (B442).

188 *Soal*: the sole. *spackles*: Smart's coinage, presumably from *spackly*, 'speedily' (Bond).

188-9 *the Moment of bodies*: a term in dynamics. Smart's objection is that time and weight should have separate terms of measurement. *Speakers . . . November*: 5 November was the day in the Anglican calendar on which the Papists' Conspiracy was commemorated by special sermons.

189 *for the rain . . . day*: Feste's song, *Twelfth Night*, V, 1.

190-1 *Anna*, the daughter of *Phanuel*, was in the temple at the presentation of Jesus, which she saw as an omen of redemption (Luke 2: 36-8). *Gladwick*: Smart's name for mica (see B199-203n.). Its use in the discovery of longitude is obscure:

- 191 Let Phanuel rejoice with the Shrimp, which is the childrens fishery.
For the motion of the *PENDULUM* is the longest in that it parries
resistance.
- 192 Let Chuza rejoice with the Sea-Bear, who is full of sagacity and prank.
For the *WEDDING GARMENTS* of all men are prepared in the
SUN against the day of acceptation.
- 193 Let Susanna rejoice with the Lamprey, who is an eel with a title.
For the *Wedding Garments* of all women are prepared in the *MOON*
against the day of their purification.
- 194 Let Candace rejoice with the Craw-fish—How hath the Christian
minister renowned the Queen.
For *CHASTITY* is the key of knowledge as in *Esdras*, Sr Isaac Newton
and now, God be praised, in me.
- 195 Let The Eunuch rejoice with the Thorn-Back—It is good to be
discovered reading the BIBLE.
For Newton nevertheless is more of error than of the truth, but I am of
the *WORD* of GOD.
- 196 Let Simon the Pharisee rejoice with the Grigg—the Lord bring up
Issachar and Dan.

perhaps Smart envisaged coloured mica as a substitute for dark glass in taking
measurements from the sun (see B349).

191 FOR: 'A pendulum suspended in an advantageous manner, will vibrate for a
great while, notwithstanding the resistance of the air' (Maclaurin, op. cit. 112).

192 The 'sagacity' of the *Sea-Bear* (fur-seal) was described in *Gent. Mag.* 1754.
192-3 *Wedding Garments* are a symbol of acceptance into the heavenly kingdom
(Matt. 22: 11-14), *Sun* . . . *Moon*: cf. B111.

194 *Chastity* connects with *Susanna* (193; cf. A92) and with *Candace*, which
means 'pure possession' (Cruden). *Chastity* . . . *Esdras*: see 2 *Esd.* 6: 32-3. *Newton*
declared that he had kept his chastity inviolate all his life (F. Manuel, *A Portrait of*
Isaac Newton (1968), 191).

194-5 *Candace*, the queen of Ethiopia, was 'renowned' because her treasurer, the
Eunuch, was discovered by Philip reading Isaiah, and was converted to Christianity
(Acts 8: 26-39).

195 *Word of God*: (i) the Bible; (ii) *Logos*, the creative Word (B160n.); (iii)
Jesus Christ, the second person of the Trinity. Smart is 'of the Word' in that he
preaches the gospel of Christ (B9) and defends the 'philosophy of Scripture' (B130).
Newton is 'of error' because of his mathematical philosophy and his anti-Trinitarian
views. Though concealed in his lifetime, these came to light with the posthumous
publication of *Two Letters of Sir Isaac Newton to Mr Le Clerc* in 1754 (see F.
Manuel, op. cit. 371-2 and 464 n. 24). Cf. B220.

196 Smart's idea is not wholly fanciful: cf. Chambers, 'Not a body in all nature
but will yield water. . . . The hardest stones, ground and distill'd, do always
discover a portion thereof.' Cf. B205n.

For *WATER* is not of solid constituents, but is dissolved from precious
stones above.

Let Simon the converted Sorcerer rejoice with the Dab quoth 197
Daniel.

For the life remains in its dissolvent state, and that in great power.

Let Joanna, of the Lord's line, rejoice with the Minnow, who is 198
multiplied against the oppressor.

For *WATER* is condensed by the Lord's *FROST*, tho' not by the
FLORENTINE experiment.

Let Jonas rejoice with the Sea-Devil, who hath a good name from his 199
Maker.

For *GLADWICK* is a substance growing on hills in the East, candied by
the sun, and of diverse colours.

Let Alexander rejoice with the Tunny—the worse the time the better 200
the eternity.

For it is neither stone nor metal but a new creature, soft to the ax, but hard
to the hammer.

Let Rufus rejoice with the Needle-fish, who is very good in his 201
element.

For it answers sundry uses, but particularly it supplies the place of
Glass.

196 constituents MS

197 *Simon* . . . *Sorcerer*: Simon Magus, converted by Philip (Acts 8: 9-13).

198 *Joanna* . . . *line*: i.e. Joanna in Joseph's genealogy (already named in B185),
as distinct from the wife of Chuza. *Florentine experiment*: the famous experiment at
the Accademia di Cimento in the 17th c. which demonstrated the incompressibility
of water: see Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Bk. II, ch. iv.

199 *Jonas* was the father of Simon Peter, but Jonas is also the NT form of
Jonah. Smart may have thought the *Sea-Devil* (toad-fish) was a kind of whale: it is
described as 25 ft. long in Newbery's *Wonders of Nature and Art* (1750; 2nd edn.,
1768, v, 84).

199-203 *Gladwick*: Smart is clearly describing mica, which had various names
at this date (Muscovy-glass, marienglass, etc.), and was much discussed (see
'Account of a fossil-glass found in Siberia', *Annual Register*, 1763). Smart's name
reflects his description of it as a 'benign light' (B202). It was identified with Pliny's
lapis specularis (36. 160), which Harduinus explains is used 'ad vicem & usum
vitreorum' (B201). Mica was noted for its toughness compared with glass (B202)
and its variety of colours (B203). *Malignity or mischief of glass*: cf. the popular
belief that glass is poisonous (Browne, *Works*, ii, 124).

200-1 *Alexander* and *Rufus* were sons of Simon of Cyrene, but the corresponding
verse shows that Smart had Alexander the coppersmith in mind. He inflicted 'much
evil' on Paul, despite which Paul is assured of an eternal reward (2 Tim. 4: 14-18).

- 202 Let Matthat rejoice with the Trumpet-fish—God revive the blowing of the TRUMPETS.
For it giveth a benign light without the fragility, malignity or mischief of Glass.
- 203 Let Mary, the mother of James, rejoice with the Sea-Mouse—it is good to be at peace.
For it attracteth all the colours of the GREAT BOW which is fixed in the EAST.
- 204 Let Prochorus rejoice with Epodes, who is a kind of fish with Ovid who is at peace in the Lord.
For the FOUNTAINS and SPRINGS are the life of the waters working up to God.
- 205 Let Timotheus rejoice with the Dolphin, who is of benevolence.
For they are in SYMPATHY with the waters above the Heavens, which are solid.
- 206 Let Nicanor rejoice with the Skeat—Blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus in fish and in the Shewbread, which ought to be continually on the altar, now more than ever, and the want of it is the Abomination of Desolation spoken of by Daniel.

203 mother James MS Sea-Mouse it MS

202 *blowing of the Trumpets* was a call to worship among the Israelites (Num. 10: 2).

203. *Great Bow*: the rainbow, symbol of God's covenant (Gen. 9:13) and his glory (Rev. 4:3).

204 *Epodes*: the reference to Ovid (Ps.-Ovid, *Halieutica*, 126) is given in Ainsworth.

204-6 The origin of *fountains, springs and rivers* was much debated: in 206 Smart follows the outmoded theory of Varenus that sea-water percolates back through fissures in the earth, which sifts out the salts and other impurities (cf. Thomson's *Seasons* (1746), 'Autumn' 743-9).

205 *waters . . . Heavens*: see Ps. 148: 4. The waters above and below the firmament were all one (hence 'in sympathy') before the Creation (see Gen. 1: 7). Smart's idea of 'solid' waters, made of precious stones (B196) probably derives from Rev. 4: 6, where the throne of heaven is said to be a 'sea of glass like unto crystal'; this crystalline sea was identified by Hebrew writers with the 'waters above the firmament.'

206-8 *Nicanor, Timon, and Paramenas* were three of the seven deacons (Acts 6: 5). The office of deacons was to distribute alms and assist in ministering the sacrament (Hammond on Phil. 1: 1). *Shewbread* means bread displayed in the presence of God; according to Jewish rite it had to be kept always on the table in the temple (Exod. 25: 30). But Smart seems to be thinking of it as a type of the Eucharistic bread, and to be reflecting contemporary High Church feeling about the decline of Eucharistic observance. See Samuel Hardy's *Scripture-Account of the Nature and Ends of the Holy Eucharist* (1784): 'we have great reason to believe, that

For the Fountains, springs and rivers are all of them from the sea, whose water is filtrated and purified by the earth.

Let Timon rejoice with Crusion—The Shew-Bread in the first place 207 is gratitude to God to shew who is bread, whence it is, and that there is enough and to spare.

For there is Water above the visible surface in a spiritualizing state, which cannot be seen but by application of a CAPILLARY TUBE.

Let Parmenas rejoice with the Mixon—Secondly it is to prevent the 208 last extremity, for it is lawful that rejected hunger may take it.

For the ASCENT of VAPOURS is the return of thanksgiving from all humid bodies.

Let Dorcas rejoice with Dracunculus—blessed be the name of the 209 Lord Jesus in the Grotto.

For the RAIN WATER kept in a reservoir at any altitude, suppose of a thousand feet, will make a fountain from a spout of ten feet of the same height.

Let Tychicus rejoice with Scolopendra, who quits himself of the hook 210 by voiding his intrails.

For it will ascend in a stream two thirds of the way and afterwards prank itself into ten thousand agreeable forms.

207 For is MS 209 feet will MS

the Primitive Christians considered the *Eucharist* as their *Shew-Bread*; and that they therefore reserved it . . . that it might be before the Lord Night and Day, continually.—And that it would be well, if the Present Church of Christ did likewise' (p. 353).

206 *Skeat*: skate. *the name . . . fish*: the fish symbol of Christ is supposed to derive from the acrostic *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτῆρ* ('Jesus Christ God's Son Saviour')=*ἰχθύς*, 'fish'. The *Abomination of the Desolation* (Dan. 11: 31) was the desecration of the temple.

207 *Crusion*: crucian, a kind of carp. *To shew who is bread*: i.e. Jesus, the 'bread of life' (John 6: 32-51). *Capillary attraction* was 'a famous phenomenon which has long imbarass'd the philosophers' (Chambers). Smart interprets the fact that the water-level in a capillary tube immersed in a basin of water will rise above the level outside as evidence of the existence of invisible 'spiritual' water. This was a Hermetic concept: see T. Vaughan, *Works*, 24.

208 *lawful . . . take it*: see Mark 2: 25-6, and A62n. *Ascent of Vapours*: the subject of lengthy discussion in *Philosophical Transactions*, 1755-60.

209 *Dorcas*, who was raised from the dead (Acts 9: 36-41), is linked with the resurrection of Jesus. *Grotto*: i.e. the sepulchre, which was 'hewn out of the rock' (Matt. 27: 60). *FOR*: an abbreviated and garbled paraphrase of Chambers's explanation (s.v. *Fountain*) of the construction of an artificial fountain operating by water-pressure.

209-39 All the names, except in 212-13, are from Acts.

210 *Scolopendra . . . intrails*: Pliny 9. 145.

- 211 Let Trophimus rejoice with the Sea-Horse, who should have been to Tychicus the father of Yorkshiremen.
For the SEA is a seventh of the Earth—the spirit of the Lord by Esdras.
- 212 Let Tryphena rejoice with Fluta—Saturday is the Sabbath for the mouth of God hath spoken it.
For MERCURY is affected by the AIR because it is of a similar subtlety.
- 213 Let Tryphosa rejoice with Acarne—With such preparation the Lord's Jubile is better kept.
For the rising in the BAROMETER is not effected by pressure but by sympathy.
- 214 Let Simon the Tanner rejoice with Alausa—Five days are sufficient for the purposes of husbandry.
For it cannot be separated from the creature with which it is intimately and eternally connected.
- 215 Let Simeon Niger rejoice with the Loach—The blacks are the seed of Cain.
For where it is stinted of air there it will adhere together and stretch on the reverse.

211 *Sea-Horse*: the walrus in 18th-c. terminology. *Tychicus* is associated with Yorkshiremen perhaps because his name suggests 'tyke' (Stead). FOR: see 2 Esd. 6: 42.

212-13 *Tryphena* and *Tryphosa* were helpers of Paul (Rom. 16: 12). The *Sabbath*, originally the seventh day, as decreed in the 4th commandment, was at this time increasingly applied to the first day, Sunday, the Lord's Day; early Christians observed the Sabbath as a day of devotion in addition to the Lord's Day (Nelson, 18-19).

212ff Experiments with barometers and air-pumps aroused great interest in Smart's time. The principle of a barometer is that the level of mercury in a tube is relative to the pressure of air outside: the mercury falls when the air is lighter, and rises when it is heavier. Smart observes this effect (215) but attributes it to 'sympathy' between mercury and air (212-13), which makes separation impossible (214). *Sympathy* was a scholastic concept, meaning 'the agreement or amitie naturall in divers senseless things' (Holland ii, Aviv) which caused them to be attracted to each other. Cf. 'On the Power of the Supreme Being', 80-1.

213-95 The alphabetical grouping of names of fishes from this point suggests that Smart was working from some kind of list, or more probably from the dictionary. Most of the descriptions come, often verbatim, from Ainsworth or Pliny. Names that appear out of order usually have a Latin name that fits: e.g. *Loach* (cobitus), *Water-Tortoise* (chelonica), *Sea-Urchin* (echinus), etc. Unless otherwise noted, the ultimate source of the Latin names is Pliny.

214 Peter 'tarried many days' with *Simon the Tanner* (Acts 9: 43); but 'many' is the AV rendering of *ikarós*, 'sufficient', in the Greek text, which Smart appears to be using or remembering.

215-16 *blacks* . . . *Cain*: cf. A89, B425. By tradition, Africans were descended from Ham, but Ham was descended from Cain's brother, Seth (Gen. 5: 6-23). Smart may have identified Ham's ancestor, Cainan, with Cain.

- Let Lucius rejoice with Corias—Some of Cain's seed was preserved in the loins of Ham at the flood. 216
For it works by ballancing according to the hold of the spirit.
- Let Manaen rejoice with Donax. My DEGREE is good even here, 217
 in the Lord I have a better.
For QUICK-SILVER is spiritual and so is the AIR to all intents and purposes.
- Let Sergius Paulus rejoice with Dentex—Blessed be the name Jesus 218
 for my teeth.
For the AIR-PUMP weakens and dispirits but cannot wholly exhaust.
- Let Silas rejoice with the Cabot—the philosophy of the times ev'n now 219
 is vain deceit.
For SUCKTION is the withdrawing of the life, but life will follow as fast as it can.
- Let Barsabas rejoice with Cammarus—Newton is ignorant for if a man 220
 consult not the WORD how should he understand the WORK?—
For there is infinite provision to keep up the life in all the parts of Creation.
- Let Lydia rejoice with Attilus—Blessed be the name of him which eat 221
 the fish and honey comb.
For the AIR is contaminated by curses and evil language.
- Let Jason rejoice with Alopecias, who is subtlety without offence. 222
For poysonous creatures catch some of it and retain it or ere it goes to the adversary.

219 Cabot the MS

217 *Degree*: more likely to refer to the three symbolical 'Degrees' of Freemasonry than to academic awards: cf. B129n., and 'On Gratitude'.

218 *Dentex*: 'a kind of fish with sharp teeth' (Ainsworth). FOR: 'The Air-Pump can never produce a precise Vacuum . . . every exsuction only takes out part of the air: so that there will be some left after any finite number of exsuctions' (Chambers, s.v. Vacuum). *Dispirits*: literally, 'eliminates the spirit (air)'.

219 *philosophy* . . . *deceit*: cf. B130n. *Silas* accompanied Paul on his mission to Greece, where Paul challenged the philosophy of the Epicureans and Stoics at Athens (Acts 17: 16-34).

220 *Newton* . . . *Work*: see B195n.

221 *him* . . . *honey comb*: the resurrected Christ (Luke 24: 42).

221, 224 FOR: According to occult writers, the air 'receives into it self, as it were a divine Looking-glass, the species of all things, as well naturall, as artificiall, as also all manner of speeches, and retains them' (Agrippa, 10).

222 *Alopecias*: the 'sea-fox'.

- 223 Let Dionysius rejoice with Alabes who is peculiar to the Nile.
For IRELAND was without these creatures, till of late, because of the simplicity of the people.
- 224 Let Damaris rejoice with Anthias—The fountain of the Nile is known to the Eastern people who drink it.
For the AIR is purified by prayer which is made aloud and with all our might.
- 225 Let Apollos rejoice with Astacus, but St Paul is the Agent for England.
For loud prayer is good for weak lungs and for a vitiated throat.
- 226 Let Justus rejoice with Crispus in a Salmon-Trout—the Lord look on the soul of Richard Atwood.
For SOUND is propagated in the spirit and in all directions.
- 227 Let Crispus rejoice with Leviathan—God be gracious to the soul of HOBBS, who was no atheist, but a servant of Christ, and died in the Lord—I wronged him God forgive me.
For the VOICE of a figure is compleat in all its parts.
- 228 Let Aquila rejoice with Beemoth who is Enoch, no fish but a stupendous creeping Thing.
For a man speaks HIMSELF from the crown of his head to the sole of his feet.

227 figure compleat MS 228 Enoch no MS HIMSELF MS

223 Ireland was believed to have been cleared of poisonous reptiles by the blessing of St. Patrick (Browne, *Works*, ii, 474).

225 The idea that St. Paul founded the Christian Church in England was popularized by Nelson (137-8); it was propounded in Edward Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicae* (1685). Apollos was a founder, with Paul, of the church at Corinth.

226 Richard Atwood (d. 1734) was Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge; his epitaph calls him 'Vir doctus, beneficus, pius' and refers to his love of fishing (Attwater, 88).

227-8 *Leviathan* and *Behemoth* are titles of books by Hobbes, whom Smart pilloried in 'Materies gaudet vi inertiae' (1742); the change of opinion may have been caused by the defence of Hobbes against the charge of atheism in *Biographia Britannica*, iv (1757). Hobbes is said to have 'embraced the Christian religion as taught in the reformed Church of England . . . and professed himself equally ready to defend her tenets, when attacked either by Papists or Sectaries'. This article was by John Campbell (see B166).

228-9 *Beemoth who is Enoch*: a textual point. *Behemoth* in the Syriac and Ethiopic versions of 2 Esd. 6: 49-52 is *Enoch* in AV. According to this passage the world was divided between Behemoth, who ruled the dry land, and Leviathan, the sea. *Behemoth* is usually identified as the hippopotamus. *Cythera*: a confusion (or conflation) of Venus's island with *cytharus*, a kind of turbot (Pliny 32. 146).

- Let Priscilla rejoice with Cythera. As earth increases by Beemoth so the sea likewise enlarges. 229
For a LION roars HIMSELF compleat from head to tail.
- Let Tyrannus rejoice with Cephalus who hath a great head. 230
For all these things are seen in the spirit which makes the beauty of prayer.
- Let Gaius rejoice with the Water-Tortoise—Paul and Tychicus were 231
in England with Agricola my father.
For all whispers and unmusical sounds in general are of the Adversary.
- Let Aristarchus rejoice with Cynoglossus—The Lord was at Glaston- 232
bury in the body and blessed the thorn.
For 'I will hiss saith the Lord' is God's denunciation of death.
- Let Alexander rejoice with the Sea-Urchin—The Lord was at Bristol 233
and blessed the waters there.
For applause or the clapping of the hands is the natural action of a man on the descent of the glory of God.
- Let Sopater rejoice with Elacate—The waters of Bath were blessed by 234
St Matthias.
For EARTH which is an intelligence hath a voice and a propensity to speak in all her parts.
- Let Secundus rejoice with Echeneis who is the sea-lamprey. 235
For ECHO is the soul of the voice exerting itself in hollow places.

231 Paul . . . England; cf. B211, 225. Tychicus was associated with Paul during his imprisonment, and since Paul's supposed mission to England took place after his release, Smart's supposition that Tychicus accompanied him is reasonable. Their journey could also have coincided with Agricola's first visit to England as a military tribune in AD 61. *Agricola my father*: cf. B58n.

232-3 The root of Smart's idea that Christ visited the west of England must be the legend recorded by William of Malmesbury that the church at Glastonbury was dedicated by Christ in person. Though discredited by Stillingfleet (*Origines Britannicae*, 1685), the story was still being quoted in Rapin's *History of England* (1725-31) which Smart read at Cambridge. *The thorn*: the Glastonbury thorn is supposed to bud on Christmas-day; cf. Hymn 32. 31-2.

232 FOR: see Isa. 5: 26.

233 FOR: see Ps. 47: 1-2.

234 St. Matthias's visit to Bath is Smart's invention, presumably based on the tradition that some of the apostles preached the gospel in England (Nelson, 137). FOR: a Hermetic idea: 'For Nature is the Voice of God, not a mere sound or command but a substantial, active breath, proceeding from the Creator and penetrating all things' (T. Vaughan, *Works*, 84).

- 236 Let Eutychus rejoice with Cnide—Fish and honeycomb are blessed to eat after a recovery.—
For *ECHO* cannot act but when she can parry the adversary.
- 237 Let Mnason rejoice with Vulvula a sort of fish—Good words are of God, the cant from the Devil.
For *ECHO* is greatest in Churches and where she can assist in prayer.
- 238 Let Claudius Lysias rejoice with Coracinus who is black and peculiar to Nile.
For a good voice hath its Echo with it and it is attainable by much supplication.
- 239 Let Bernice rejoice with Corophium which is a kind of crab.
For the *VOICE* is from the body and the spirit—and is a a body and a spirit.
- 240 Let Phebe rejoice with Echinometra who is a beautiful shellfish red and green.
For the prayers of good men are therefore visible to second-sighted persons.
- 241 Let Epenetus rejoice with Erythrinus who is red with a white belly.
For *HARPSICHORDS* are best strung with gold wire.
- 242 Let Andronicus rejoice with Esox, the Lax, a great fish of the Rhine.
For *HARPS* and *VIOLS* are best strung with Indian weed.
- 243 Let Junia rejoice with the Faber—Fish—Broil'd fish and honeycomb may be taken for the sacrament.
For the *GERMAN FLUTE* is an indirect—the common flute good, bless the Lord Jesus *BENJAMIN HALLET*.

243 BENJIMIN MS

236 *Eutychus* was restored to life by Paul (Acts 20: 9–12). *Fish and honeycomb*: cf. B221n.

237 *Vulvula*: actually a 'little womb' (Apicius 2. 3), but called 'a kind of fish' by Ainsworth. *Good words . . . Devil*: see B85n. *Echo . . . Churches*: see Harris's account of an echo in Shipley church, Sussex, 'much the finest and most distinct Echo that ever I tried' (*Lexicon Technicum* (2nd edn., 1723), s.v. Echo).

240–94 The names are a catalogue of the faithful, taken more or less in order from the Epistles. The names in 240–66 are all from Rom. 16.

241 FOR: 'Chords of gold wire in Harpsichords, yield a sound almost twice as strong as those of brass' (Chambers, s.v. Chord).

242 *Indian weed*: 'Indian grass', a name for silk-worm gut.

243 *fish and honeycomb*: cf. B221n. and 236. The *German Flute* (transverse flute) replaced the *common flute* (recorder) during the 18th c. *Benjamin Hallet* was a child-musician who took part in Mrs. Midnight's Oratory, 1751–2 (*Midwife*, iii, 61).

- Let Amplias rejoice with Garus, who is a kind of Lobster. 244
For the feast of *TRUMPETS* should be kept up, that being the most direct and acceptable of all instruments.
- Let Urbane rejoice with Glanis, who is a crafty fish who bites away the bait and saves himself. 245
For the *TRUMPET* of God is a blessed intelligence and so are all the instruments in *HEAVEN*.
- Let Stachys rejoice with Glauciscus, who is good for Women's milk. 246
For *GOD* the father Almighty plays upon the *HARP* of stupendous magnitude and melody.
- Let Apelles rejoice with Glaucus—behold the seed of the brave and ingenious how they are saved! 247
For innumerable Angels fly out at every touch and his tune is a work of creation.
- Let Aristobulus rejoice with Glycymerides who is pure and sweet. 248
For at that time malignity ceases and the devils themselves are at peace.
- Let Herodion rejoice with Holothuria which are prickly fishes. 249
For this time is perceptible to man by a remarkable stillness and serenity of soul.
- Let Narcissus rejoice with Hordeia—I will magnify the Lord who multiplied the fish. 250
For the *Æolian harp* is improveable into regularity.

244 instrument. MS

250 Hordeia I MS

244 The feast of *Trumpets* (Lev. 23: 24) was celebrated in the seventh month of the Jewish religious calendar, i.e. October (this verse was written about 15 October 1759).

245 *Glanis . . . himself*: Pliny 9. 145.

246 *Glauciscus . . . milk*: Pliny 32. 129.

246–9 For belief in the divine power of music, see J. Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500–1700* (Princeton, 1961). The symbol of the harp was used by the Cambridge Platonists for their concept of 'Plastick Nature', the agency by which the divine work of creation was executed: see R. Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678), Bk. I, ch. iii, sect. 37; H. More, *Annotations upon Lux Orientalis* (1682), 129.

247 *Glaucus . . . saved*: Harduinus refers to Aelian's story of how the father fish guards his young, swallowing them in moments of danger and disgorging them unharmed when the crisis has passed (*De Anim.* 1. 16).

250–1 *Hordeia*, a kind of fish in Plautus (*Casina* 4.9.4), means lit. 'of barley'. Smart picks up Plautus's pun, to work in an allusion to the feeding of the five thousand with the fish and barley loaves. Smart's interest in the *Æolian harp* dated from 1750 when he wrote 'Inscriptions on an Æolian Harp' for a Norfolk friend. It was still a novelty at that date: see *Gent. Mag.* (1754), 174–5, and G. Grigson, *The Harp of Aeolus* (1948).

- 251 Let Persis rejoice with Liparis—I will magnify the Lord who multiplied the barley loaves.
For when it is so improved it will be known to be the SHAWM.
- 252 Let Rufus rejoice with Ichthyocolla of whose skin a water-glass is made.
For it would be better if the LITURGY were musically performed.
- 253 Let Asyncritus rejoice with Labrus who is a voracious fish.
For the strings of the SHAWM were upon a cylinder which turned to the wind.
- 254 Let Phlegon rejoice with the Sea-Lizard—Bless Jesus THOMAS BOWLBY and all the seed of Reuben.
For this was spiritual musick altogether, as the wind is a spirit.
- 255 Let Hermas rejoice with Lamyruus who is of things creeping in the sea.
For there is nothing but it may be played upon in delight.
- 256 Let Patrobas rejoice with Lepas, all shells are precious.
For the flames of fire may be blown thro musical pipes.
- 257 Let Hermes rejoice with Lepus, who is a venomous fish.
For it is so higher up in the vast empyrean.
- 258 Let Philologus rejoice with Ligarius—shells are all parries to the adversary.
For [nothing] is so real as that which is spiritual.
- 259 Let Julia rejoice with the Sleeve-Fish—Blessed be Jesus for all the TAYLERS.
For an IGNIS FATUUS is either the fool's conceit or a blast from the adversary.

251 Liparis I MS 252 LITURTY MS
258 For nothing is Stead's emendation

251, 253 The *Shawm* was actually a reed instrument, but the word was associated with stringed instruments in the 17th c: see Coles's *English Dictionary* (1676), s.v. *Psaltery*, 'a shalm (like a harp) with 10 strings' (unchanged in 1732 edn.). Smart may have been thinking of the legend of the harp which was hung above David's bed and played on by the wind (S. B. Finesinger, *Musical Instruments in the Old Testament* (Baltimore 1926), 18).

253 *Labrus*: a kind of ravenous fish' (Ainsworth).

254 *Thomas Bowlby* (1721-95), a contemporary of Smart's at Durham School and Cambridge, became Commissioner of Excise and Paymaster of the Forces.

256 FOR: Smart may have witnessed or read about experiments of the kind recorded by Brian Higgins in 1777, in which a jet of hydrogen burning in an open tube was found to emit a musical note (Bond). Cf. Smart's 'instruments unknown . . . Work'd by ethereal fire', Hymn 9, 38-40.

259 *Sleeve-Fish*, a name for cuttle-fish, reminds Smart of tailors. Major Tayler subscribed to ten copies of Smart's *Poems*, 1752. FOR: cf. Samuel Butler's description of the 'spiritual light' claimed by Ralph (a tailor) in *Hudibras*: 'An Ignis Fatuus, that bewitches, / And leads men into pools or ditches' (I, i, 503-4).

- Let Nereus rejoice with the Calamary—God give success to our fleets. 260
For SHELL-FIRE or ELECTRICAL is the quick air when it is caught.
- Let Olympas rejoice with the Sea-Lantern, which glows upon the waters. 261
For GLASS is worked in the fire till it partakes of its nature.
- Let Sosipater rejoice with Cornuta. There are fish for the Sea-Night-Birds that glow at bottom. 262
For the electrical fire is easily obtain'd by the working of glass.
- Let Lucius rejoice with the Cackrel Fish. God be gracious to JMS 263
FLETCHER who has my tackling.
For all spirits are of fire and the air is a very benign one.
- Let Tertius rejoice with Maia which is a kind of crab. 264
For the MAN in VACUO is a flat conceit of preposterous folly.
- Let Erastus rejoice with Melandry which is the largest Tunny. 265
For the breath of our nostrils is an electrical spirit.
- Let Quartus rejoice with Mena. God be gracious to the immortal soul 266
of poor Carte, who was barbarously and cowardly murder'd—the Lord prevent the dealers in clandestine death.
For an electrical spirit may be exasperated into a malignant fire.

262 there MS 263 [MS] I Mr Stead, Mr Bond 265 Erastis MS
266 may exasperated MS

260 *Nereus* (Rom. 16: 15) evidently reminds Smart of Nereus, the sea-god. In the autumn of 1759 the navy was defending England against a threatened invasion from France. Rodney was sent to demolish the invasion craft at Le Havre, Boscawen destroyed the Toulon fleet at Lagos Bay in August, and Hawke's ships were blockading the French fleet at Brest, finally defeating it at Quiberon Bay in November. *Shell-fire* (like *ignis fatuus*) is phosphorescence from decaying vegetation, often associated with static electricity in this period.

261 *Sea-Lantern* must be Pliny's *lucerna*, 'a fish, the lantern of the sea' (Ainsworth).

262ff. Interest in electrical charges was stimulated in the 1740s by the invention of the Leyden Jar and experiments by Benjamin Franklin. An account of the production of 'natural electricity' from glass by friction was published in the *Gent. Mag.* 1754.

263 *Lucius* probably conceals a pun on *lux*, light (cf. B261-2), and St. Luke, whose day falls on 18 October when this verse was written. *James Fletcher*, a bookseller at Oxford, had a shop in St. Paul's Churchyard in London, at which *A Song to David* was sold. FOR: cf. Berkeley's concept of aetherial fire, 'the vital spirit of the world' and source of the life-giving properties of air (*Siris* (1744), sect. 143ff.).

266 *Carte* . . . *murder'd* is followed in the MS by the words, heavily deleted, *by Atterbury*, which indicates that the reference is to Thomas Carte who was involved

- 267 Let Sosthenes rejoice with the Winkle—all shells like the parts of the body are good kept for those parts.
For it is good to quicken in paralytic cases being the life applied unto death.
- 268 Let Chloe rejoice with the Limpin—There is a way to the terrestrial Paradise upon the knees.
For the method of philosophizing is in a posture of Adoration.
- 269 Let Carpus rejoice with the Frog-Fish—A man cannot die upon his knees.
For the School-Doctrine of Thunder and Lightning is a Diabolical Hypothesis.
- 270 Let Stephanas rejoice with Mormyra who is a fish of divers colours.
For it is taking the nitre from the lower regions and directing it against the Infinite of Heights.
- 271 Let Fortunatus rejoice with the Burret—it is good to be born when things are crossed.
For THUNDER is the voice of God direct in verse and musick.

268 philosophizing MS

in Atterbury's Jacobite conspiracy, but does not explain Smart's mystifying allegation. When Atterbury was arrested in 1722 Carte fled to France, but was allowed to return in 1728. He was in Cambridge during Smart's residence, so they may have met. Carte died (of diabetes) in 1754, twenty-two years after Atterbury (Bond).

267 Part of the ear is named *concha* (shellfish) because of its resemblance to a shell: Pliny gives a remedy for ear-trouble using the blood of shellfish (32. 77). FOR: Benjamin Franklin described 'The Effects of Electricity in Paralytic Cases' in *Philosophical Transactions* (1758); similar observations were reported in the *Gent. Mag.* 1755-9.

268 *There . . . knees*: cf. Hymn 3. 9-10.

269-70 The hypothesis to which Smart objects had indeed originated with Aristotle, but had been restated by Newton: 'Some sulphureous streams, at all times when the earth is dry, ascending into the air, ferment there with nitrous acids, and sometimes taking fire cause lightening and thunder' (*Opticks*, 2nd edn. (1718), 355). This was the standard theory before Franklin's explanation of the electrical origin of lightning (cf. Milton, *PL vi*, 512-15).

271 *Fortunatus* (1 Cor. 16: 17) reminds Smart of Venantius Fortunatus, whose famous hymn on the Crucifixion, 'Vexilla Regis' is sung on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the Roman Rite. The Cross is described as 'ornata regis purpura'. The *Burret* (murex) is a source of purple dye. The rest of the verse puns on *born* (it is good to be born with the promise of redemption through the Crucifixion) and *borne* (referring to the banners carried in procession on this day); possibly also on *Fortunatus* (fortis + natus).

- Let Lois rejoice with the Angel-Fish—There is a fish that swims in the fluid Empyrean. 272
For LIGHTNING is a glance of the glory of God.
- Let Achaicus rejoice with the Fat-Back—The Lord invites his fishers to the WEST INDIES. 273
For the Brimstone that is found at the times of thunder and lightning is worked up by the Adversary.
- Let Sylvanus rejoice with the Black-Fish—Oliver Cromwell himself was the murderer in the Mask. 274
For the voice is always for infinite good which he strives to impede.
- Let Titus rejoice with Mys—O Tite siquid ego adjuero curamve levasso! 275
For the Devil can work coals into shapes to afflict the minds of those that will not pray.
- Let Euodias rejoice with Myrcus—There is a perfumed fish I will offer him for a sweet savour to the Lord. 276
For the coffin and the cradle and the purse are all against a man.
- Let Syntyche rejoice with Myax—There are shells in the earth which were left by the FLOOD. 277
For the coffin is for the dead and death came by disobedience.

272 *fluid Empyrean*: the region of waters forming the highest heaven, in Mosaic cosmology (Gen. 1: 7).

273 FOR: 'That there is in lightening a sulphureous vapour, appears from the sulphur which attends it' (Chambers, s.v. Thunder).

274 *Oliver Cromwell* may have been suggested by the reference in 273 to the West Indies, because of his conquest of Jamaica. *murderer in the Mask*: i.e. the masked executioner of Charles I (Stead). Smart's idea is of course pure fantasy: an anecdote concerning the real executioner, Richard Brandon, was published in the *Student* (3, 299f.) during Smart's editorship.

275 *Titus*, Paul's companion and disciple, reminds Smart of Cicero's friend, Titus Pomponius Atticus, to whom Cicero applied the quotation from Ennius, *O Tite*, etc. ('O Titus, if I have in any way helped you or lightened your trouble') in *De Senectute*, i. 1.

275-80 FOR: Smart refers to a method of divination by fire: 'In the North, the cinders that bound from the fire are examined by old women, children, &c. and according to their respective forms, are called either coffins or purses; and consequently thought to be presages of death or wealth' (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*; cf. *Drury-Lane Journal* (1752), 176-7). The *cradle* seems to be Smart's own addition to the superstition.

276 *Myrcus* does not exist: it may be a mistake for *myrus* (*μυρος*), the sea-cel; *μυρον* means 'perfume'.

277-82 Smart's interest in the study of fossils was probably more theological than scientific. John Woodward's *Essay toward a Natural History of the Earth* (1695)

- 278 Let Clement rejoice with Ophidion—There are shells again in earth at sympathy with those in sea.
For the cradle is for weakness and the child of man was originally strong from the womb.
- 279 Let Epaphroditus rejoice with Ophthalmias—The Lord increase the Cambridge collection of fossils.
For the purse is for money and money is dead matter with the stamp of human vanity.
- 280 Let Epaphras rejoice with Orphus—God be gracious to the immortal soul of Dr Woodward.
For the adversary frequently sends these particular images out of the fire to those whom they concern.
- 281 Let Justus rejoice with Pagrus—God be gracious to the immortal soul of Dr Middleton.
For the coffin is for me because I have nothing to do with it.
- 282 Let Nymphas rejoice with Pagurus—God bless Charles Mason and all Trinity College.
For the cradle is for me because the old Dragon attacked me in it and [I] overcame in Christ.
- 283 Let Archippus rejoice with Nerita whose shell swimmeth.
For the purse is for me because I have neither money nor human friends.
- 284 Let Eunice rejoice with Oculata who is of the Lizard kind.
For LIGHT is propagated at all distances in an instant because it is actuated by the divine conception.

282 and I overcame Stead's emendation

and *Fossils of all Kinds* (1728) were dedicated to proving the Mosaic account of the history of the earth from fossil evidence. Woodward contended that fossil shells found embedded in the earth must have been deposited by the Flood.

279–80 John Woodward (1655–1728) founded the Woodwardian Chair at Cambridge and left his collection of fossils to the university.

281 Conyers Middleton (1683–1750) was the first Woodwardian professor.

282 Charles Mason (1699–1771), Fellow of Trinity College, succeeded Middleton as Woodwardian professor. FOR: In infancy Smart 'was of a very delicate constitution, having been born earlier than the natural period' (Hunter, I, vi). Another allusion to the Hercules myth may be intended (cf. Agon.).

283 *Nerita*: 'a shellfish that saileth on the sea' (Ainsworth).

284–5 Belief in the instantaneous propagation of light was not only consistent with the biblical account of the creation (Gen. 1: 3), but appeared scientifically valid until it was disproved by Römer's observations of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites; Newton's calculations of the velocity of light were based on Römer's

Let Onesiphorus rejoice with Orca, who is a great fish. 285
For the Satellites of the planet prove nothing in this matter but the glory of Almighty God.

Let Eubulus rejoice with Ostrum the scarlet—God be gracious to Gordon and Groat. 286
For the SHADE is of death and from the adversary.

Let Pudens rejoice with Polypus—The Lord restore my virgin! 287
For Solomon said vanity of vanities, vanity of vanities all is vanity.

Let Linus rejoice with Ozæna who is a kind of Polype—God be gracious to Lyne and Anguish. 288
For Jesus says verity of verities, verity of verities all is verity.

Let Claudia rejoice with Pascer—the purest creatures minister to wantoness by unthankfulness. 289
For Solomon said THOU FOOL in malice from his own vanity.

Let Artemas rejoice with Pastinaca who is a fish with a sting. 290
For the Lord reviled not [at] all in hardship and temptation unutterable.

285 Onesiphorus MS 287 vanities vanity MS
290 not at all Stead's emendation

evidence. All this Smart could have read in Chambers (s.v. Light), but like the Hutchinsonians he preferred the 'Mosaic' theory. Cf. B325.

286 *Ostrum*: 'the fish of the liquor whereof a sort of purple, or scarlet colour is made' (Ainsworth). John Gordon was at Durham School and Cambridge with Smart, and helped Smart after his release in 1763 (Gray, *Corresp.* ii, 803). He and Robert Groat subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752. *Shade* probably means eclipse: see previous note and B308–16.

287 FOR: Eccles. 1: 2.

288 Richard Lyne (1715–67): Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the King. Thomas Anguish (1724–85) was at Cambridge with Smart, subscribed to his *Poems* and *Psalms*, and helped him after his release in 1763 (Gray, *Corresp.* ii, 803–4).

289 *Pascer* must be a mistake for *passer*, a fish in Pliny's list (Bk. 32) from which the following fishes are taken. *Passer* also means 'a lecherous fellow' (Ainsworth).

289–90 FOR: Smart continues the contrast between the teaching of Solomon and of Jesus from 287–8. The proverbs of Solomon are a castigation of folly, but Jesus warned, 'whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire' (Matt. 5: 22). *not [at] all*: the MS reading is intelligible, but Stead's inspired emendation is preferable. An intransitive use of *revile*, which is in keeping with Smart's linguistic habits, suggests an apt allusion to 1 Pet. 2: 21–3, where Christ's refusal to vilify ('Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again'), even when suffering, is given as an example of Christian virtue.

- 291 Let Zenas rejoice with Pecten—The Lord obliterate the laws of man!
For Fire hath this property that it reduces a thing till finally it is not.
- 292 Let Philemon rejoice with Pelagia—The laws and judgement are
 impudence and blindness.
For all the filth of wicked men shall be done away by fire in Eternity.
- 293 Let Apphia rejoice with Pelamis—The Lord Jesus is man's judge-
 ment.
*For the furnace itself shall come up at the last according to Abraham's
 vision.*
- 294 Let Demetrius rejoice with Peloris, who is greatest of Shell-Fishes.
For the Convex of Heaven shall work about on that great event.
- 295 Let Antipas rejoice with Pentadactylus—A papist hath no sentiment
 —God bless CHURCHILL.
*For the ANTARTICK POLE is not yet but shall answer in the
 Consummation.*
- 296 *For the devil hath most power in winter, because darkness prevails.*
- 297 *For the Longing of Women is the operation of the Devil upon their
 conceptions.*

291 Zemas MS 292 wicked of men MS 294 Heaven of shall MS
 295 sentiment God MS

291 Zenas was a lawyer (Titus 3: 13).

291-3 The theme of both LET and FOR verses is the Last Judgement. Abraham's vision of a 'smoking furnace' in Gen. 15: 12-17, was interpreted as a prophecy of the Last Judgement (St. Augustine, *Civ. Dei.*, xvi, 25).

293 *Lord . . . judgment* refers to the prophecy of the Day of Judgement in Matt. 13: 40-2.

294 *Convex*: i.e. burning-glass, a common usage in the 18th c. Smart envisages the whole arc of the sky as a gigantic burning-glass, bringing about the final conflagration. (See J. Ower, *The Explicator*, xxx (1972), 72.)

295 *Antipas*: an unknown Christian martyred at Pergamos (Rev. 2: 13). Hammond discusses the theory that his name signifies that the early martyrs were anti-papists. Charles *Churchill* (1731-64), the poet, was at this time curate of St. John's, Westminster, and had not published any poems. *Consummation*: the conclusion of the divine scheme, in which, according to Origen, all evil will be consumed by fire and humanity consummated by regaining its pristine perfection (*De Princ.* I, vi). The *Antartick Pole* represents this purgation because it is the polar opposite of the north, the region of evil (see B422).

296 Picks up from B295 LET: 'Antipas was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth' (Rev. 2: 13). *Power . . . prevails*: cf. B315n.

297-8 'The longing of a woman with child doth act upon anothers body, when it signs the infant in the womb with the mark of the thing longed for' (Agrippa, p. 14).

- For the marking of their children is from the same cause both of which are
 to be parried by prayer.* 298
- For the laws of King James the first against Witchcraft were wise, had it
 been of man to make laws.* 299
- For there are witches and wizards even now who are spoken to by their
 familiars.* 300
- For the visitation of their familiars is prevented by the Lord's incarna-
 tion.* 301
- For to conceive with intense diligence against one's neighbour is a branch of
 witchcraft.* 302
- For to use pollution, exact and cross things and at the same time to think
 against a man is the crime direct.* 303
- For prayer with musick is good for persons so exacted upon.* 304
- For before the NATIVITY is the dead of the winter and after it the
 quick.* 305
- For the sin against the HOLY GHOST is INGRATITUDE.* 306
- For stuff'd guts make no musick; strain them strong and you shall have
 sweet melody.* 307
- For the SHADOW is of death, which is the Devil, who can make false
 and faint images of the works of Almighty God.* 308
- For every man beareth death about him ever since the transgression of
 Adam, but in perfect light there is no shadow.* 309

299 Wh Witchcraft MS 300 witchces MS

299-302 Although belief in witchcraft was rare among the educated at this date, it was not wholly discredited: Johnson defended it in principle (Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, 16 August 1773), and John Wesley equated disbelief in witches with disbelief in the Bible (*Journal*, 25 May 1768). King James I's Act (1604) making witchcraft a capital offence was repealed in 1736. Smart condemned witch-hunting in the *Midwife* (ii, 61-9).

303-4 Smart uses *exact* in the sense of 'afflict' or 'attack', as in Ps. 89: 22 (AV): 'The enemy shall not exact upon him' ('do him violence', BCP). Belief in the power of music to exorcize evil (cf. B248) was deeply rooted in classical and Christian tradition, but no doubt Smart would think particularly of David playing to Saul.

308-16 Smart again associates *Shadow* with death, the Devil, and eclipse (cf. B286n.). *Shadow* is evil inasmuch as it symbolizes the mortality of man since the Fall (the stock biblical phrase, 'the shadow of death' is obviously in Smart's mind); is a 'false image' (in an eclipse the shadow of one planet is cast on another); and is a power of darkness. But *Shadow* in the sense of 'representation' is good when it stands for God's promise ('fair word') of good things hereafter (see next note).

- 310 For all Wrath is Fire, which the adversary blows upon and exasperates.
 311 For SHADOW is a fair Word from God, which is not returnable till the furnace comes up.
 312 For the ECLIPSE is of the adversary—blessed be the name of Jesus for Whisson of Trinity.
 313 For the shadow is his and the penumbra is his and his the perplexity of the the phenomenon.
 314 For the eclipses happen at times when the light is defective.
 315 For the more the light is defective, the more the powers of darkness prevail.
 316 For deficiencies happen by the luminaries crossing one another.
 317 For the SUN is an intelligence and an angel of the human form.
 318 For the MOON is an intelligence and an angel in shape like a woman.
 319 For they are together in the spirit every night like man and wife.
 320 For Justice is infinitely beneath Mercy in nature and office.
 321 For the Devil himself may be just in accusation and punishment.
 322 For HELL is without eternity from the presence of Almighty God.
 323 For Volcanos and burning mountains are where the adversary hath most power.

311 *Shadow* is used in the AV typologically, to mean a foreshadowing, pre-figuration (Col. 2: 17; Heb. 8: 5). This seems to be Smarts' usage here: i.e. *Shadow* is a promise from God, to be fulfilled after the final conflagration. *The furnace*: see B293n.

312 An *Eclipse* of the sun was predicted for 1761 by Halley (see *Genl. Mag.* (1758), 367–8), but Smart may be thinking of the eclipse at the time of the Crucifixion (Luke 23: 44–5). Stephen *Whisson* (1715–83) became a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1741; he subscribed to Smart's *Psalms* and may be mentioned here in that connection: although proposals for the translation had not yet been published, Smart may already have begun canvassing friends privately.

315–18 The Pythagorean concept of an 'intelligence' controlling planetary bodies was retained by astronomers as late as Kepler, but the combination of ideas here—the powers of evil prevailing in darkness, the sun and moon as 'intelligences' and 'angels'—suggests a source in occult literature: see, e.g., Robert Fludd, *Mosaical Philosophy* (1659), 178–82, and Agrippa, 10: 'As therefore the spirits of darkness are stronger in the dark; so good spirits, which are angels of light, are augmented . . . by that light, which is divine, of the sun.'

319. The wedding of the sun (the male principle) and the moon (the female principle) was a feature of alchemical theory.

322 cf. Origen's doctrine of the final destruction of the powers of the Devil himself (*De Princ.* III, vi, 5).

323 *Volcanos and burning mountains* are said by Thomas Burnet to be 'the lesser essays or preludes to the general fire' (*Theory of the Earth* (1684), ii, 55).

- For the angel GRATITUDE is my wife—God bring me to her or her to me. 324
 For the propagation of light is quick as the divine Conception. 325
 For FROST is damp and unwholsome air candied to fall to the best advantage. 326
 For I am the Lord's News-Writer—the scribe—evangelist—Widow Mitchel, Gun and Grange bless the Lord Jesus. 327
 For Adversity above all other is to be deserted of the grace of God. 328
 For in the divine Idea this Eternity is compleat and the Word is a making many more. 329
 For there is a forlorn hope ev'n for impenitent sinners because the furnace itself must be the crown of Eternity. 330
 For my hope is beyond Eternity in the bosom of God my saviour. 331
 For by the grace of God I am the Reviver of ADORATION amongst ENGLISH-MEN. 332
 For being desert-ed is to have desert in the sight of God and intitles one to the Lord's merit. 333
 For things that are not in the sight of men are thro' God of infinite concern. 334
 For envious men have exceeding subtlety quippe qui in—videant. 335
 For avaricious men are exceeding subtle like the soul seperated from the body. 336
 For their attention is on a sinking object which perishes. 337
 For they can go beyond the children of light in matters of their own misery. 338
 For Snow is the dew candied and cherishes. 339

324 God be bring MS 331 beyond MS 333 beeing MS

324 *angel Gratitude*: cf. 'On the Goodness of the Supreme Being', 72, and *Hymns for Children*, xxii.

325 See Gen. 1: 3 and B284n.

327 *Widow Mitchel*: M. Metchell (or Mechell), widow of J. Mechell, the printer, took over the printing of the *Westminster Journal* in 1754. The editor was Smart's friend, Richard Rolt, and at least one of Smart's poems appeared in its pages ('Jenny Gray', May 1754). *Grange* was signatory of a letter in the issue of 8 November 1755; perhaps *Gun* was another contributor.

329–31 See B170–76n., B292.

334–8 The theme is the contrast between true and false riches, as in the parable of the unjust steward, from which Smart quotes: 'For the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light' (Luke 16: 8). *quippe qui in—videant*, 'inasmuch as they see into things': a pun on *invidere*, 'to envy'.

- 340 For *TIMES* and *SEASONS* are the Lord's—*Man is no CHRONOLOGER*.
- 341 For there is a *CIRCULATION* of the *SAP* in all vegetables.
- 342 For *SOOT* is the dross of Fire.
- 343 For the *CLAPPING* of the hands is naught unless it be to the glory of God.
- 344 For God will descend in visible glory when men begin to applaud him.
- 345 For all *STAGE-Playing* is Hypocrisy and the Devil is the master of their revels.
- 346 For the *INNATATION* of corpuscles is solved by the Gold-beater's hammer—God be gracious to Christopher Peacock and to all my God-Children.
- 347 For the *PRECESSION* of the Equinoxes is improving nature—something being gained every where for the glory of God perpetually.
- 348 For the souls of the departed are embodied in clouds and purged by the Sun.

340 'It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power' (Acts 1: 7). Cf. 'On the Omniscience of the Supreme Being', 116-18. Another criticism of Newton may be implied: his *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (1728) was intended to correct the traditional chronology of ancient history by means of astronomical calculations. Pope's quip about men who aspire to 'Correct old Time, and regulate the Sun' (*Essay on Man*, II, 22) was said by Warburton to be aimed at Newton.

341 Malpighi's theory of the *Circulation of the Sap* in plants, analogous to the circulation of blood in animals, was popular early in the 18th c. Although refuted in Hales's *Vegetable Staticks* (1727) it continued to be disseminated through Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*.

343-4 Cf. B233n.

345 The argument of William Law's *Absolute Unlawfulness of the Stage-Entertainment* (1726).

346 *Innatation*: 'intermingling' (Smart's coinage from L. *innatare*). *corpuscles*: small particles, the basic components of matter according to corpuscular philosophy. The question to be 'solved' was how particles cohere, 'a great and yet unknown secret' according to Locke (*Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, II, xxiii, 26). Newton explained the cohesion of matter by attraction, but the phenomenon of ductility, which was demonstrated by gold-beating, was thought to result from 'the particles of the ductile body being, as it were, joynted and entangled within each other' (Chambers, s.v. Ductility). Smart thus uses the *Gold-beater's hammer* to refute Newton again.

347 *Precession of the Equinoxes*: the phenomenon, much discussed in the 18th c., whereby equinoxes occur earlier in each successive sidereal year, owing to nutation of the earth's axis.

348 Perhaps Smart's version of the Hermetic idea that the air is 'the immediate receptacle of spirits after dissolution, whence they pass to a superior limbus' (T. Vaughan, *Works*, 25).

- For the *LONGITUDE* may be discovered by attending the motions of the Sun. *Way 2d*. 349
- For you must consider the Sun as dodging, which he does to parry observation. 350
- For he must be taken with an Astrolabe, and consider'd respecting the point he left. 351
- For you must do this upon your knees and that will secure your point. 352
- For I bless God that I dwell within the sound of Success, and that it is well with ENGLAND this blessed day. *NATIVITY* of our LORD N.S. 1759. 353

* * *

- For a Man is to be looked upon in that which he excells as on a prospect. 354
- For there be twelve cardinal virtues—three to the East—Greatness, Valour, Piety. 355
- For there be three to the West—Goodness, Purity and Sublimity. 356
- For there be three to the North—Meditation, Happiness, Strength. 357
- For there be three to the South—Constancy, Pleasantry and Wisdom. 358
- For the Argument *A PRIORI* is GOD in every man's CONSCIENCE. 359
- For the Argument *A POSTERIORI* is God before every man's eyes. 360
- For the Four and Twenty Elders of the Revelation are Four and Twenty Eternities. 361
- For their Four and Twenty Crowns are their respective Consummations. 362

355 East Greatness MS

349 *Longitude*: cf. B169n.

352 Cf. B177n.

353 English victories in 1759 were so numerous that Horace Walpole complained that the church bells were worn out from ringing (B. Williams, *The Whig Supremacy* (1939), 340).

355-8 The *twelve cardinal virtues* recur in this order in B602-13, and *A Song to David*, 19-21. There are four cardinal virtues in Christian tradition, but Smart's scheme may derive from Masonic ritual (see B60n.).

359-60 The *a priori* argument for a Deity is that the existence of the idea of God necessitates his existence in fact; the *a posteriori* argument is that the created world presupposes a divine creator. Henry More, who used both kinds of evidence, argued especially from conscience: 'I conclude from *naturall Conscience* in a Man . . . that *there is a God*' (*Antidote against Atheism* (1653), Bk. I, ch. x).

361-2 Rev. 4: 4. *Consummations*: see B368n.

- 363 For a CHARACTER is the votes of the Worldlings, but the seal is of Almighty GOD alone.
- 364 For there is no musick in flats and sharps which are not in God's natural key.
- 365 For where Accusation takes the place of encouragement a man of Genius is driven to act the vices of a fool.
- 366 For the Devil can set a house on fire, when the inhabitants find combustibles.
- 367 For the old account of time is the true—Decr 28th 1759—60—
- 368 For Faith as a grain of mustard seed is to believe, as I do, that an Eternity is such in respect to the power and magnitude of Almighty God.
- 369 For a DREAM is a good thing from GOD.
- 370 For there is a dream from the adversary which is terror.
- 371 For the phenomenon of dreaming is not of one solution, but many.
- 372 For Eternity is like a grain of mustard as a growing body and improving spirit.
- 373 For the malignancy of fire is owing to the Devil's hiding of light, till it became visible darkness.
- 374 For the Circle may be SQUARED by swelling and flattening.
- 375 For the Life of God is in the body of man and his spirit in the Soul.
- 376 For there was no rain in Paradise because of the delicate construction of the spiritual herbs and flowers.
- 377 For the Planet Mercury is the WORD DISCERNMENT.

374 SQUARED MS

- 363 the seal is the mark of redemption in Rev. 7: 2-3.
- 364 God's natural key: the diatonic scale, introduced by Pythagoras, was known as the 'natural scale'. Cf. B33n. Flats were introduced in the 11th c., sharps in the 16th c.
- 367 The Calendar was changed from Old to New Style in 1752, by the omission of eleven days in September. Smart had evidently changed his mind about it: he commented on the proposed change with approval in 1751 (*Midwife*, i, 285). This verse was written on 8 January, 1760, NS.
- 368 Faith . . . seed: Matt. 17: 20. Smart seems to regard Eternity as a probationary period preparatory to a final consummation (cf. B361-2, B372, B170-6n.).
- 372 See B368n.
- 373 visible darkness: Cf. Milton, *PL* i, 63.
- 377-91 Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn (the five 'moving planets', which with the Sun and Moon make up the seven) are each assigned a 'Word', which is glossed by the following verse. Mercury is 'Intellect' in traditional astrology; the remaining planets in Smart's scheme stand for the cardinal virtues, Prudence, Fortitude, Justice, and Temperance.

- For the Scotchman seeks for truth at the bottom of a well, the Englishman 378
in the Heaven of Heavens.
- For the Planet Venus is the WORD PRUDENCE or providence. 379
- For GOD nevertheless is an extravagant BEING and generous unto loss. 380
- For there is no profit in the generation of man and the loss of millions is not 381
worth God's tear.
- For this is the twelfth day of the MILLENNIUM of the MILLEN- 382
NIUM foretold by the prophets—give the glory to God ONE THOU-
SAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY—
- For the Planet Mars is the word FORTITUDE. 383
- For to worship naked in the Rain is the bravest thing for the refreshing 384
and purifying the body.
- For the Planet Jupiter is the WORD DISPENSATION. 385
- For Tully says to be generous you must be first just, but the voice of Christ 386
is distribute at all events.
- For Kittim is the father of the Pygmies, God be gracious to Pigg his family. 387
- For the Soul is divisible and a portion of the Spirit may be cut off from one 388
and applied to another.

382 For is MS MILLENNIUM of MS prophets give MS

378 Cf. the proverb, 'Truth lies at the bottom of a well'. There was also a theory (popularized by the numerous 18th-c. editions of Aristotle's *Problems*) that a man looks down when thinking of the past and up to heaven when imagining (see Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, Bk. II, ch. vii). Smart may be thinking of the great Scottish historians of the 1750s, Hume and Robertson; John Campbell (see B166n.) also published historical works.

382 Written on 12 January, NS (1 January, OS). In Protestant interpretations of Rev. 17-20, the Millennium was to follow the overthrow of the Church of Rome: Smart probably regarded the victories over France in 1759 in this light: cf. the pamphlet published in 1758: *A Short Explication of the Apocalypse of St. John . . . wherein is shewn, that the present war may probably terminate in the restoration of the Jews, and in the millennium.*

384 To worship naked was the practice of the Adamites, a Christian sect of the 2nd c. (cf. Johnson, *Boswell's Life*, ii, 251). Rain: cf. C110-13.

385 Dispensation: i.e. Justice (see following verse), the traditional attribute of Jupiter in astrology.

386 Tully . . . just: 'nihil est enim liberale, quod non idem justum' (Cicero, *De Offic.* I, xiv). The voice . . . distribute: Luke 18: 22; cf. Hymn 18. 35.

387 Kittim was the son of Javan, who was traditionally the father of the Greeks: Smart's idea appears original. Pigg: Thomas Pigge, son of Andrew Pigge (B116n.), was curate of Wormegay, Norfolk, close to the home of the Pratts (see Introduction, p. xvii).

- 389 For *NEW BREAD* is the most wholesome especially if it be leaven'd with honey.
- 390 For a *NEW SONG* also is best, if it be to the glory of God; and taken with the food like the psalms.
- 391 For the Planet Saturn is the word *TEMPERANCE* or *PATIENCE*.
- 392 For Jacob's Ladder are the steps of the Earth graduated hence to Paradise and thence to the throne of God.
- 393 For a good wish is well but a faithful prayer is an eternal benefit.
- 394 For *SPICA VIRGINIS* is the star that appeared to the wise men in the East and directed their way before it was yet insphered.
- 395 For an *IDEA* is the mental vision of an object.
- 396 For Locke supposes that an human creature, at a given time may be an atheist i.e. without God, by the folly of his doctrine concerning innate ideas.
- 397 For it is not lawful to sell poyson in England any more than it is in Venice, the Lord restrain both the finder and receiver.
- 398 For the *ACCENTS* are the invention of the Moabites, who learning the GREEK tongue marked the words after their own vicious pronuntiation.
- 399 For the *GAULS* (the now-French and original Moabites) after they were subdued by Cæsar became such Grecians at Rome.

399 moabites MS

392 *Jacob's Ladder* (Gen. 28: 12-17) figures in Masonic ritual; also associated with Masonry is the Mithraic symbol of a ladder of seven staves (corresponding to the seven planets), representing the soul's ascent to the throne of God. In Masonry, Jacob's ladder has three rungs, representing the theological virtues, but the cardinal virtues form part of the ritual for the 'First Degree': this may explain the two stages of ascent envisaged by Smart, and the references to planets and their virtues in preceding verses.

394 Most 18th-c. commentators accepted Kepler's explanation of the star of the wise men as a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn. Smart's idea is original and ingenious. *Spica Virginis*, the brightest star in the constellation of Virgo, is obviously appropriate for the son of the Virgin, but Smart probably also remembered Pliny's comment that it rises in Egypt as the seasonal winds cease (18. 311); a miraculous lull in the wind at the nativity is described in Hymn 32, 25-8, (cf. Milton's *Nativity Ode*, 61-8). *Before . . . insphered*: Smart seems to be remembering Hammond's paraphrase and comment on Matt. 2: 2, in which the star is taken to be new.

396 Although Locke denies the existence of *innate ideas* of God, he argues that his existence can be deduced by process of reason (*Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, IV, x, 1); but since, by his showing, the capacity to reason is acquired only by degrees, it follows that there is a time when man is 'without God'.

398-9 *Accents* were in fact introduced by Alexandrian scholars, but Smart probably bases his idea on Caesar's report that Greek letters were in use among the Druids in Gaul (*De Bello Gallico*, vi, 14). *French . . . Moabites*: cf. B438.

- For the *Gaullic manuscripts* fell into the hands of the inventors of printing. 400
- For all the inventions of man, which are good, are the communications of Almighty God. 401
- For all the stars have satellites, which are terms under their respective words. 402
- For tiger is a word and his satellites are Griffin, Storgis, Cat and others. 403
- For my talent is to give an impression upon words by punching, that when the reader casts his eye upon 'em, he takes up the image from the mould which I have made. 404
- For *JOB* was the son of Issachar and patience is the child of strength. 405
- For the Names of the *DAYS*, as they now stand, are foolish and abominable. 406
- For the Days are the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh. 407
- For the names of the months are false—the Hebrew appellatives are of God. 408
- For the Time of the Lord's temptation was in early youth and imminent danger. 409
- For an equivocal generation is a generation and no generation. 410
- For putrifying matter nevertheless will yield up its life in diverse creatures and combinations of creatures. 411
- For a *TOAD* can dwell in the centre of a stone, because—there are stones whose constituent life is of those creatures. 412

412 stone whose constituent MS

404 'Impression then, is a talent or gift of Almighty God, by which a Genius is empowered to throw an emphasis upon a word or sentence in such wise, that it cannot escape any reader of sheer good sense, and true critical sagacity' (Smart's introduction to *The Works of Horace, translated into verse* (1767), I, p. xii). The word *punching* is in larger script in the MS; the metaphor is from type-founding.

405 Smart associates *Job*, the son of Issachar, with *Job* whose patience was proverbial, for the sake of his moral point; there is no scriptural connection. *Strength* is Issachar's attribute in Gen. 49: 14.

406-8 Smart's objection is presumably based on the derivation of the names from pagan deities.

410-11 *Equivocal generation* (or 'spontaneous generation') had been disproved for larger organisms by the 18th c. but it was still believed that minute organisms (*animalculae*) bred 'spontaneously' in putrifying matter.

412 Reports of live toads found inside stones were published in *Gent. Mag.* 1756. *stones . . . creatures* refers to the Toadstone, which was supposed to be produced by toads.

- 413 For a Toad hath by means of his eye the most beautiful prospects of any other animal to make him amends for his distance from his Creator in Glory.
- 414 For FAT is the fruit of benevolence, therefore it was the Lord's in the Mosaic sacrifices.
- 415 For the very particular laws of Moses are the determinations of CASES that fell under his cognizance.
- 416 For the Devil can make the shadow thicker by candlelight by reason of his pow'r over malignant fire.
- 417 For the Romans clipped their words in the Augustan thro idleness and effeminacy and paid foreign actors for speaking them out.
- 418 For when the weight and the pow'r are equivalent the prop is of none effect.
- 419 For shaving of the beard was an invention of the people of Sodom to make men look like women.
- 420 For the ends of the world are the accomplishment of great events, and the consummation of periods.
- 421 For ignorance is a sin because illumination is to be obtained by prayer.
- 422 For Preferment is not from the East, West or South, but from the North, where Satan has most power.
- 423 For the ministers of the Devil set the hewer of wood over the head of God's free Man.

414 *Fat* signifies both fruitfulness and blessings in the OT (Gen. 27: 28, etc.), and was used in sacrificial offerings.

417 *Romans . . . effeminacy*: probably a confused recollection of Seneca. In Ep. 40. 10, Q. Haterius, an Augustan orator, is criticized for his over-hasty delivery, but 'clipped words' sounds more like the 'amputatae sententiae et verba ante expectatum cadentia' for which Seneca criticizes the orators of Sallust's generation (Ep. 114. 17). Seneca's general argument that speech is a reflection of character is illustrated by the effeminacy of Maecenas (Ep. 114. 4). *Foreign actors*: most actors on the Roman stage were imported from abroad (see J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (1969), 279).

419 *shaving of the beard* was forbidden to the Jews (Lev. 21: 5).

420 See B170-6n.

422 'For promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the south' (Ps. 75: 6). The tradition that the forces of Satan come from the north is based on Isa. 14: 13. Cf. Milton, *PL* v, 688-9.

423 *the hewer of wood* is the epitome of servitude: see Josh. 9: 23.

- For this is inverting God's good order, edifice and edification, and appointing place, where the Lord has not appointed. 424
- For the Ethiopian question is already solved in that the Blacks are the children of Cain. 425
- For the phenomenon of the horizontal moon is the truth—she appears bigger in the horizon because she actually is so. 426
- For it was said of old 'can the Ethiopian change his skin?' the Lord has answer'd the question—by his merit and death he shall.— 427
- For the moon is magnified in the horizon by Almighty God, and so is the Sun. 428
- For she has done her day's-work and the blessing of God upon her, and she communicates with the earth. 429
- For when she rises she has been strength'ned by the Sun, who cherishes her by night. 430
- For man is born to trouble in the body, as the sparks fly upwards in the spirit. 431
- For man is between the pinchers while his soul is shaping and purifying. 432
- For the ENGLISH are the seed of Abraham and work up to him by Joab, David, and Naphtali. God be gracious to us this day. General Fast March 14th 1760. 433
- For the Romans and the English are one people the children of the brave man who died at the altar praying for his posterity, whose death was the type of our Saviour's. 434

424 this inverting MS . 427 skin? the MS question by MS

425 Cf. B215n.

426-30 'The magnitude of the moon at rising and setting is a phenomenon that has extremely embarrassed the modern philosophers' (Chambers). There were several current theories, explaining it in terms of atmospheric and optical effects, but Smart prefers an animistic solution.

427 'can . . . skin': Jer. 13: 23. Cf. A89.

430 Cf. B319.

431 See Job 5: 7.

433ff. The tradition of tracing genealogies to the descendants of Noah was begun by Josephus, but Smart ignores the traditional pedigrees. That the *English* are (peculiarly) the descendants of Abraham is a dominant idea in Smart's religious poetry from this period (cf. B73 and Hymn 1. 41-2). *March 14th, 1760* was appointed a public fast by royal authority.

434 The ancestor of the Romans and English, according to Smart, was Joab (see B62), who was killed at the altar on Solomon's orders as a punishment for the murder of Abner, and to purge any guilt from the house of David (1 Kgs. 2: 28-34): it is only in this rather strained sense that his death was the 'type' of Christ's. *Praying for his posterity* is Smart's invention.

- 435 For the *WELCH* are the children of Mephibosheth and Ziba with a mixture of David in the Jones's.
- 436 For the Scotch are the children of Doeg with a mixture of Cush the Benjamite, whence their innate antipathy to the English.
- 437 For the *IRISH* are the children of Shimei and Cush with a mixture of something lower—the Lord raise them!
- 438 For the *FRENCH* are Moabites even the children of Lot.
- 439 For the *DUTCH* are the children of Gog.
- 440 For the Poles are the children of Magog.
- 441 For the Italians are the children of Samuel and are the same as the Grecians.
- 442 For the Spaniards are the children of Abishai Joab's brother, hence is the goodwill between the two nations.
- 443 For the Portuguese are the children of Ammon—God be gracious to Lisbon and send good angels amongst them!
- 444 For the Hottentots are the children of Gog with a Black mixture.
- 445 For the Russians are the Children of Ishmael.
- 446 For the Turks are the children of Esaw, which is Edom.
- 447 For the Wallachians are the children of Huz. God be gracious to Elizabeth Hughes, as she was.
- 448 For the Germans are the children of the Philistins even the seed of Anak.
- 449 For the Prussians are the children of Goliath—but the present, whom God bless this hour, is a Campbell of the seed of Phinees.

435 *Welch* . . . *Ziba*: cf. B91.

436 *Doeg* is chosen presumably because, as a priest-slayer (1 Sam. 22: 18), Smart sees him as a 'type' of Presbyterian. *Doeg* and *Cush the Benjamite* were both enemies of David.

438 *Moabites*: cf. B399. *Moab* was the grandson of *Lot*. No doubt Smart saw the conquest of the Moabites by David as a portent of England's victory over France in the current war: cf. C96-7.

441 Cf. B458. An article on the origin of the Romans in *Gent. Mag.* 1755, argued that they were of Greek origin, by descent from the Aeolians (cf. C48n.).

442 *the two nations*: i.e. Spanish and English, since the English descend from Joab (B62). The friendship with Spain did not survive long: a secret treaty between Spain and France was signed in 1761, and England declared war on Spain in 1762.

443 *Lisbon*: probably alludes to the great earthquake of 1755.

448 *the seed of Anak* were giants (Deut. 9: 2). Cf. B449n.

449 *Prussians* . . . *Goliath*: an allusion to the giant grenadiers of Frederick William I. *Phinees* is the Apocrypha form of *Phinehas*, who fought against the Midianites (Num. 31: 6). John Campbell, Esq. (perhaps the John Campbell, Esq. who subscribed

- For the Hanoverians are Hittites of the seed of Uriah. God save the king. 450
- For the Hessians are Philistines with a mixture of Judah. 451
- For the Saxons are Benjamites, men of great subtlety and Marshal Saxe was direct from Benjamin. 452
- For the Danes are of the children of Zabulon. 453
- For the Venetians are the children of Mark and Romans. 454
- For the Swiss are Philistins of a particular family. God be gracious to Jonathan Tyers his family and to all the people at Vaux Hall. 455
- For the Sardinians are of the seed of David—The Lord forward the Reformation amongst the good seed first.— 456
- For the Mogul's people are the children of Phut. 457
- For the Old Greeks and the Italians are one people, which are blessed in the gift of Musick by reason of the song of Hannah and the care of Samuel with regard to divine melody. 458
- For the Germans and the Dutch are the children of the Goths and Vandals who did a good in destruction of books written by heathen Free-Thinkers against God. 459

459 destruction books MS

to Smart's *Poems and Psalms*) had been appointed commander of a battalion in January (*Gent. Mag.* (1760), 47).

450 *the king*: still George II at this date (May 1760).

452 *Marshal Saxe* (1696-1750), the French commander, was renowned for his brilliant military exploits and his huge stature (Stead). *From Benjamin*: Smart is probably linking him with Saul, son of Kish, 'a man of Benjamin', of whom it is said, 'from his shoulders upward he was higher than any of the people' (1 Sam. 9: 2).

454 *St. Mark* is the patron saint of Venice, but the connection with *Romans* is obscure.

455 *Jonathan Tyers*, proprietor of Vauxhall Gardens, and his son Thomas were old friends of Smart's; both subscribed to Smart's *Psalms*.

456 *Sardinians*: see B67n.

458 *Greeks* . . . *people*: cf. B441n. *The song of Hannah* celebrated the birth of Samuel (1 Sam. 2: 1-10), and forms the centrepiece of Smart's oratorio, *Hannah* (1764). Smart links Hannah and David as singers of 'divine melody' in Hymn 1. 37-8, but the connection of Samuel with music is obscure.

459 This cannot refer to the Alexandrian Library, as Stead suggested, because it was not destroyed by Goths and Vandals; the allusion must be more generally to the ravages of the barbarians in Athens, Rome, and other centres of learning. The *heathen Free-Thinkers* probably include Pyrrho and Epicurus, whose works survive only in fragments: Smart mentions both contemptuously in 'Materies gaudet vi inertiae', 20.

- 460 For there are Americans of the children of Toi.—
 461 For the Laplanders are the children of Gomer.
 462 For the Phenomena of the Diving Bell are solved right in the schools.
 463 For NEW BREAD is the most wholesome—God be gracious to Baker.
 464 For the English are the children of Joab, Captain of the host of Israel, who was the greatest man in the world to GIVE and to ATCHIEVE.
 465 For TEA is a blessed plant and of excellent virtue. God give the Physicians more skill and honesty!
 466 For nutmeg is exceeding wholesome and cherishing, neither does it hurt the liver.
 467 For The Lightning before death is God's illumination in the spirit for preparation and for warning.
 468 For Lavender Cotton is exceeding good for the teeth. God be gracious to Windsmore.
 469 For the Fern is exceeding good and pleasant to rub the teeth.
 470 For a strong preparation of Mandragora is good for the gout.
 471 For the Bark was a communication from God and is sovereign.
 472 For the method of curing an ague by terror is exaction.
 473 For Exaction is the most accursed of all things, because it brought the Lord to the cross, his betrayers and murderers being such from their exaction.
 474 For an Ague is the terror of the body, when the blessing of God is with'eld for a season.
 475 For benevolence is the best remedy in the first place and the bark in the second.

470 preperation MS 471 sovereing MS 473 murderes MS

460 Toi is associated with sugar-fens in B78, which probably suggested the sugar-plantations of America to Smart.

462 The first practical diving-bell was invented by Edmund Halley (1717), but the original invention was ascribed by tradition to Roger Bacon, the 13th-c. scholastic philosopher. (Chambers).

463 *New Bread*: cf. B389. Baker, perhaps Thomas Baker (d. 1778), who was at Pembroke College, Cambridge, with Smart and subscribed to his *Poems*, 1752.

464 Cf. A60, B62, B434.

467 *Lightning before death*: a revival of spirits supposed to occur at the point of death (cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, V. iii. 90).

471 *Bark*: an 'Account of the Quinquina, or Jesuits Bark', from which quinine is extracted, was published in *Gent. Mag.* 1754.

472-3 *Exaction*: see B303-4n.

- For, when the nation is at war, it is better to abstain from the punishment of criminals especially, every act of human vengeance being a check to the grace of God. 476
 For the letter ל which signifies GOD by himself is on the fibre of some leaf in every Tree. 477
 For ל is the grain of the human heart and on the network of the skin. 478
 For ל is in the veins of all stones both precious and common. 479
 For ל is upon every hair both of man and beast. 480
 For ל is in the grain of wood. 481
 For ל is in the ore of all metals. 482
 for ל is on the scales of all fish. 483
 For ל is on the petals of all flowers. 484
 For ל is upon all shells. 485
 For ל is in the constituent particles of air. 486
 For ל is on the mite of the earth. 487
 For ל is in the water yea in every drop. 488
 For ל is in the incomprehensible ingredients of fire. 489
 For ל is in the stars the sun and in the Moon. 490
 For ל is upon the Sapphire Vault. 491
 For the doubling of flowers is the improvement of the gardeners talent. 492
 For the flowers are great blessings. 493
 For the Lord made a Nosegay in the meadow with his disciples and preached upon the lily. 494

485 upon on all MS 494 medow MS

477ff. the letter ל, Hebrew *lamed*, corresponds to the English letter L. Smart puns on *el* (L) and Hebrew *El* (God). The Cabbalistic idea of a character inscribed on the works of nature may have come to Smart from Rosicrucian sources: 'These characters and letters, as God hath here and there incorporated them in the Holy Scriptures . . . so hath he imprinted them most apparently into the wonderful creation of heaven and earth' (*Confessio Fraternitatis*, tr. T. Vaughan (1652), reprinted in *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, by F. A. Yates (1972), 257). Smart had used this idea in 'On the Eternity of the Supreme Being', 2-5.

494 *Lord* . . . *Nosegay*: probably suggested by the feeding of the five thousand, at which the disciples are described in the Greek text as seated 'in garden beds' (Mark 6: 40, translated 'in ranks' in AV). But it was in the Sermon on the Mount that Christ 'preached upon the lily' (Matt. 6: 28). Cf. Brog.

- 495 *For the angels of God took it out of his hand and carried it to the Height.*
 496 *For a man cannot have publick spirit, who is void of private benevolence.*
 497 *For there is no Height in which there are not flowers.*
 498 *For flowers have great virtues for all the senses.*
 499 *For the flower glorifies God and the root parries the adversary.*
 500 *For the flowers have their angels even the words of God's Creation.*
 501 *For the warp and woof of flowers are worked by perpetual moving spirits.*
 502 *For flowers are good both for the living and the dead.*
 503 *For there is a language of flowers.*
 504 *For there is a sound reasoning upon all flowers.*
 505 *For elegant phrases are nothing but flowers.*
 506 *For flowers are peculiarly the poetry of Christ.*
 507 *For flowers are medicinal.*
 508 *For flowers are musical in ocular harmony.*
 509 *For the right names of flowers are yet in heaven. God make gard'ners better nomenclators.*
 510 *For the Poorman's nosegay is an introduction to a Prince.*
 511 *For it were better for the SERVICE, if only select psalms were read.*
 512 *For the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Songs from other scriptures, and parts of Esdras might be taken to supply the quantity.*
 513 *For A is the beginning of learning and the door of heaven.*
 514 *For B is a creature busy and bustling.*
 515 *For C is a sense quick and penetrating.*
 516 *For D is depth.*

496 Cf. the maxim in *An Index to Mankind*, probably edited by Smart (1751): 'It is impossible that an ill-natur'd Man can have a publick Spirit: for how should he love ten thousand Men, who never loved one?' (p. 29).

499 'The second part of the sentence refers to the medicinal value of roots in curing disease' (Stead). But cf. *Hymns for Children*, xviii, 4, where Smart calls 'grace the bloom, and faith the root' of prayer.

505 Cf. Hymn 2. 49-50.

508 Cf. Hymn 12. 8. The concept of 'ocular harmony' may derive from Newton's *Opticks*, in which a theory of a 'harmony' of colour and sound was developed (see M. H. Nicolson, *Newton Demands the Muse* (1966), 85-7).

513ff. Smart's exercises on the alphabet seem to be intended to give English letters the significance assigned to Hebrew characters by the Cabbalists. *A* is Christ (see Cr8n.), who is both 'the beginning' (Rev. 1: 8) and 'the door' (John 10: 9).

- For E is eternity—such is the power of the English letters taken singly.* 517
For F is faith. 518
For G is God—whom I pray to be gracious to Livemore my fellow prisoner. 519
For H is not a letter, but a spirit—Benedicatur Jesus Christus, sic spirem! 520
For I is identity. God be gracious to Henry Hatsell. 521
For K is king. 522
For L is love. God in every language. 523
For M is musick and Hebrew ך is the direct figure of God's harp. 524
For N is new. 525
For O is open. 526
For P is power. 527
For Q is quick. 528
For R is right. 529
For S is soul. 530
For T is truth. God be gracious to Jermyn Pratt and to Harriote his Sister. 531
For U is unity, and his right name is Uve to work it double. 532
For W is word. 533
For ☉ is hope—consisting of two check G—God be gracious to Anne Hope. 534

517 *power* . . . *singly* refers to the Cabbalistic procedure, adopted by the Freemasons, of using initial letters to stand for words: cf. Cr11n.

519 *Livemore*: probably Ezra Livermore, a patient at St. Luke's Hospital at the same time as Smart (Stead).

520 *a spirit*: i.e. an aspirate (called *spiritus asper* by Latin grammarians). *Benedicatur* . . . *spirem*: 'Blessed be Jesus Christ, so may I breathe': another allusion to Smart's illness (cf. Br179).

521 *Henry Hatsell*, a barrister, subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752. He became Reader of the Middle Temple in 1763.

524 ך is Hebrew *mem* (M).

531 *Jermyn Pratt* . . . *Sister*: see Introduction, p. xvii.

532 *Uve*: i.e. U-V, identical letters in the Roman alphabet. 'U' still had a dual function as vowel and consonant in the 18th c.

534 ☉ *is hope*: presumably because it is the symbol of Christ. Written thus, the letter is something like two 'G's back to back ('two check G'). *Anne Hope*: Anne Vane (see Introduction, p. xv) married Charles Hope Weir in 1746.

- 535 For Y is yea. God be gracious to Bennet and his family!
- 536 For Z is zeal.
- 537 For in the education of children it is necessary to watch the words, which they pronounce with difficulty, for such are against them in their consequences.
- 538 For A is awe, if pronounced full. Stand in awe and sin not.
- 539 For B pronounced in the animal is bey importing authority.
- 540 For C pronounced hard is ke importing to shut.
- 541 For D pronounced full is day.
- 542 For E is east particularly when formed little e with his eye.
- 543 For F in it's secondary meaning is fair.
- 544 For G in a secondary sense is good.
- 545 For H is heave.
- 546 For I is the organ of vision.
- 547 For K is keep.
- 548 For L is light, and \curvearrowright is the line of beauty.
- 549 For M is meet.
- 550 For N is nay.
- 551 For O is over.
- 552 For P is peace.
- 553 For Q is quarter.
- 554 For R is rain, or thus reign, or thus rein.
- 555 For S is save.
- 556 For T is take.
- 557 For V is veil.

535 *Bennet and his family*: James Bennet (see D53n.) subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752. 'Miss Kitty Bennet', to whom Smart addressed a poem in 1752, may have been his daughter.

537 *words . . . consequences*: probably refers to the punishment of those who could not pronounce 'Shibboleth', Judg. 12: 6 (Bond).

538 *Stand . . . not*: Ps. 4: 4.

539 Smart puns on *bay* and *bey* (a Turkish governor).

540 *ke*: i.e. *key*.

548 \curvearrowright : see B477n. Hogarth expounded the theory that the spiral curve was the 'Line of Beauty', the basic principle of beauty in nature and art, in his *Analysis of Beauty* (1753).

- For W is world. 558
- For \mathfrak{G} beginneth not, but connects and continues. 559
- For Y is young—the Lord direct me in the better way of going on in the Fifth year of my jeopardy June the 17th N.S. 1760. God be gracious to Dr YOUNG. 560
- For Z is zest. God give us all a relish of our duty. 561
- For Action and Speaking are one according to God and the Ancients. 562
- For the approaches of Death are by illumination. 563
- For a man cannot have Publick Spirit, who is void of private benevolence. 564
- For the order of Alamoith is first three, second six, third eighteen, fourth fifty four, and then the whole band. 565
- For the order of Sheminith is first ten, second twenty, third thirty and then the whole band. 566
- For the first entrance into Heaven is by complement. 567
- For Flowers can see, and Pope's Carnations knew him. 568
- For the devil works upon damp and lowth and causes agues. 569
- For Ignorance is a sin, because illumination is to be had by prayer. 570
- For many a genius being lost at the plough is a false thought—the divine providence is a better manager. 571
- For a man's idleness is the fruit of the adversary's diligence. 572

571 thought the MS

559 \mathfrak{G} resembles the connection between links of a chain.

560 *my jeopardy*: see B1n. Although there is no record of Smart's confinement before 1757, he probably dates his 'jeopardy' from his serious illness in 1756. *Dr Young*: two subscribers to the *Psalms* bear this name, but Smart may be referring to Edward Young, the poet, who was awarded the DCL in 1719. Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759) had recently been published, and Smart seems to have read it (see B571n.).

563 See B467n.

564 See B496n.

565–6 The meaning of *Alamoith* and *Sheminith*, musical terms used in the OT, is disputed; Smart's numerical series have no biblical source.

567 *complement*: that which makes complete, or perfect, i.e. 'consummation': see B368n.

569 *lowth*: 'lowlands' (Yorks. dialect).

570 Cf. B421.

571 Perhaps provoked by Edward Young: 'There might have been more able Consuls called from the plough, than ever arrived at that honour: Many a Genius, probably, there has been, which could neither write, nor read' (*Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759), 35).

572 Cf. the proverb, 'if the devil catch a man idle, he'll set him at work'.

- 573 *For diligence is the gift of God, as well as other good things.*
 574 *For it is a good NOTHING in one's own eyes and in the eyes of
 fools.*
 575 *For æra in its primitive sense is but a weed amongst corn.*
 576 *For there is no knowing of times and seasons, in submitting them to God
 stands the Christian's Chronology.*
 577 *For Jacob's brown sheep wore the Golden fleece.*
 578 *For Shaving of the face was the invention of the Sodomites to make men
 look like women.*

* * *

- 579 *For God has given us a language of monosyllables to prevent our
 clipping.*
 580 *For a toad enjoys a finer prospect than another creature to compensate his
 lack.*

*Tho' toad I am the object of man's hate.
 Yet better am I than a reprobate. (who has the worst of
 prospects).*

- 581 *For there are stones, whose constituent particles are little toads.*
 582 *For the spiritual musick is as follows.*
 583 *For there is the thunder-stop, which is the voice of God direct.*
 584 *For the rest of the stops are by their rhimes.*
 585 *For the trumpet rhimes are sound bound, soar more and the like.*
 586 *For the Shawm rhimes are lawn fawn moon boon and the like.*
 587 *For the harp rhimes are sing ring string and the like.*
 588 *For the cymbal rhimes are bell well toll soul and the like.*
 589 *For the flute rhimes are tooth youth suit mute and the like.*
 590 *For the dulcimer rhimes are grace place beat heat and the like.*
 591 *For the Clarinet rhimes are clean seen and the like.*

577 the Golden the fleece MS 580 no brackets, MS

575 *æra* means both a period of time, and a kind of rye-grass.
 576 Cf. B340n.; it is obviously prompted here by *æra* in B575.
 577 *Jacob's brown sheep* were the means by which he acquired wealth (Gen. 30:
 32-43): cf. A7.
 578 See B419n.
 579 See B417n.
 580-1 See B412n.-413.
 583 See B271.

- For the Bassoon rhimes are pass, class and the like. God be gracious to
 Baumgarden.* 592
*For the dulcimer are rather van fan and the like and grace place &c are of
 the bassoon.* 593
For beat heat, weep peep &c are of the pipe. 594
*For every word has its marrow in the English tongue for order and for
 delight.* 595
For the dissyllables such as able table &c are the fiddle rhimes. 596
For all dissyllables and some trissyllables are fiddle rhimes. 597
For the relations of words are in pairs first. 598
For the relations of words are sometimes in oppositions. 599
*For the relations of words are according to their distances from the
 pair.* 600
For there be twelve cardinal virtues the gifts of the twelve sons of Jacob. 601
For Reuben is Great. God be gracious to Lord Falmouth. 602
For Simeon is Valiant. God be gracious to the Duke of Somerset. 603

595 it marrow MS

592 *Baumgarden*: a bassoon-player in London theatres from 1757. He was
 playing at the Haymarket at the time of *Mother Midnight's* concerts in the 1757-8
 season.

601-13 *twelve cardinal virtues*: cf. B355-8n. Smart's scheme may have been
 suggested by the Twelve Grand Points of Masonry, which were linked with the
 twelve tribes of Israel in the initiation ceremony (see A. Sherbo, 'Christopher
 Smart, Free and Accepted Mason', *JEGP* liv (1955), 664-9). The correspondence
 between virtues and their Jewish exemplars is loosely, though not consistently,
 based on biblical sources. The application to modern figures appears more arbitrary;
 as Bond points out, Lord Bath was noted for his *inconstancy*. The principle on
 which they were chosen is obscure. Possibly they were freemasons, but political
 allegiance appears a more likely factor: several of them were prominent in the
 Opposition (cf. B107n.).

601 Cf. Smart's Ps. 68: 163-4: 'God to the sires of all the tribes/Some great
 peculiar gift ascribes'; the idea is Smart's interpolation.

602 Hugh Boscawen (1707-82), Viscount *Falmouth*, helped to bring down
 Walpole by organizing the Cornish boroughs. Lady Falmouth subscribed to
 Smart's *Psalms*.

603 Edward Seymour (1718-92), 9th Duke of *Somerset*, took little part in
 politics, but Smart probably honours him for the sake of his relation to Charles
 Seymour, the 6th duke, whom Smart praises in the 'Ode to the Earl of Northumber-
 land' (ll. 97-102) for resisting James II's attempt to introduce the Papal Nuncio at
 court. The Duke of Somerset was related by marriage to Smart's patroness, the
 Duchess of Cleveland.

- 604 For Levi is Pious. God be gracious to the Bishop of London.
 605 For Judah is Good. God be gracious to Lord Granville.
 606 For Dan is Clean—neat, dextrous, apt, active, compact. God be gracious to Draper.
 607 For Naphtali is sublime—God be gracious to Chesterfield.
 608 For Gad is Contemplative—God be gracious to Lord Northampton.
 609 For Ashur is Happy—God be gracious to George Bowes.
 610 For Issachar is strong—God be gracious to the Duke of Dorset.
 611 For Zabulon is Constant—God be gracious to Lord Bath.
 612 For Joseph is Pleasant—God be gracious to Lord Bolingbroke.
 613 For Benjamin is Wise—God be gracious to Honeywood.
 614 For all Foundation is from God depending.
 615 For the two Universities are the Eyes of England.

604 Thomas Sherlock (1678–1761), Bishop of London, was formerly Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, and his *Letter to the Clergy and People of London* (1750) may have influenced Smart's ode 'On the Power of the Supreme Being' (Dearnley, 107–8).

605 John Carteret (1690–1763), Earl of Granville, was Secretary of State under Walpole, 1721–4, but later became his leading opponent.

606 Draper: see B19n.

607 Philip Dormer Stanhope (1694–1773), Earl of Chesterfield, was a leader of the Whig opposition, especially through his mordant contributions to the *Craftsman* and other journals.

608 Charles Compton (1737–63), 7th Earl of Northampton, had not yet made his mark in politics, but Smart may be thinking of his father (d. 1758), the 6th Earl, a Tory and persistent opponent of Walpole.

609 George Bowes (1701–60), a great landowner in Co. Durham, and MP from 1727, was prominent in the Whig opposition. He subscribed to four copies of Smart's *Poems*, 1752. *Ashur*: Smart's spelling confuses Ashur of 1 Chr. 4: 5 with Asher (means 'happiness') the son of Jacob.

610 Lionel Cranfield Sackville (1688–1765), Duke of Dorset, joined the Whig opposition after the fall of Walpole. He owned large estates in Kent, and was father of the Earl of Middlesex, to whom Smart dedicated his *Poems*, 1752.

611 *Zabulon*: NT form of Zebulun. William Pulteney (1684–1764), Earl of Bath, helped to bring down Walpole by his oratory in Parliament and writings in the *Craftsman*: he was related by marriage to the Vanes.

612 Frederick St. John (1734–87), 2nd Viscount Bolingbroke, played no significant part in politics, but Smart may be thinking of Henry St. John (d. 1751), the friend of Pope and Swift, an influential writer and a leading opponent of Walpole after quarrelling with him in 1725.

613 *Frazer Honeywood* (d. 1764), a wealthy banker and zealous Whig, was MP for Steyning from 1759; he subscribed to Smart's *Psalms*.

615–17 The image of the universities as 'eyes' was common (*OED* s.v. Eye, sb.¹, 3e), but Smart's application may have been suggested by Giles Fletcher:

- For Cambridge is the right and the brightest. 616
 For Pembroke Hall was founded more in the Lord than any College in Cambridge. 617
 For mustard is the proper food of birds and men are bound to cultivate it for their use. 618
 For they that study the works of God are peculiarly assisted by his Spirit. 619
 For all the creatures mentiond by Pliny are somewhere or other extant to the glory of God. 620
 For Rye is food rather for fowls than men. 621
 For Rye-bread is not taken with thankfulness. 622
 For the lack of Rye may be supplied by Spelt. 623
 For languages work into one another by their bearings. 624
 For the power of some animal is predominant in every language. 625
 For the power and spirit of a CAT is in the Greek. 626
 For the sound of a cat is in the most useful preposition κατ' ευχην. 627
 For the pleasantry of a cat at pranks is in the language ten thousand times over. 628
 For JACK UPON PRANCK is in the performance of περι together or seperate. 629
 For Clapperclaw is in the grappling of the words upon one another in all the modes of versification. 630
 For the sleekness of a Cat is in his αγλαιηφι. 631
 For the Greek is thrown from heaven and falls upon its feet. 632
 For the Greek when distracted from the line is sooner restored to rank and rallied into some form than any other. 633

'what are the two eyes of this Land, but the two Universities . . . and truly I should forget myself, if I should not call Cambridge the right eye'; Fletcher, like Smart, goes on to claim his own college (Trinity) as 'the fairest sight in Cambridge': Dedication of Christ's *Victory and Triumph* (1610).

627 κατ' ευχην, 'according to prayer', or 'in pursuance of a vow'.

629 *Jack Upon Pranck* perhaps means 'head-over-heels': περι means 'round', 'round about'; as a compound with κάτω it means 'upside down'.

630 *Clapperclaw*: 'claw', 'scratch' (cf. 'Madam and the Magpie', 44); but Smart gives it a special application here.

631 αγλαιηφι, 'splendour', 'beauty'.

632 *Greek . . . heaven*: see B645 and B6n. *Falls upon its feet*: Smart may be thinking again of versification (B630). *Catalexis* is the shortening or omission of a foot. *Cata-* means 'down'.

- 634 For the purring of a Cat is his *πρῦζει*.
 635 For his cry is in *οὐαι*, which I am sorry for.
 636 For the Mouse (*Mus*) prevails in the Latin.
 637 For *Edi-mus, bibi-mus, vivi-mus—ore-mus*.
 638 For the Mouse is a creature of great personal valour.
 639 For—this is a true case—Cat takes female mouse from the company of male—male mouse will not depart, but stands threatening and daring.
 640 For this is as much as to challenge, if you will let her go, I will engage you, as prodigious a creature as you are.
 641 For the Mouse is of an hospitable disposition.
 642 For bravery and hospitality were said and done by the Romans rather than others.
 643 For two creatures the Bull and the Dog prevail in the English.
 644 For all the words ending in *-ble* are in the creature. *Invisi-ble, Incomprehensi-ble, ineffa-ble, A-ble*.
 645 For the Greek and Latin are not dead languages, but taken up and accepted for the sake of him that spake them.
 646 For *can* is (*canis*) is cause and effect a dog.
 647 For the English is concise and strong. Dog and Bull again.
 648 For Newton's notion of colours is *αλογος* unphilosophical.
 649 For the colours are spiritual.
 650 For *WHITE* is the first and the best.
 651 For there are many intermediate colours, before you come to *SILVER*.
 652 For the next colour is a lively *GREY*.
 653 For the next colour is *BLUE*.
 654 For the next is *GREEN* of which there are ten thousand distinct sorts.

644 in ble MS

634 *πρῦζει*: from *πρῦζω*, 'murmur'.

635 *οὐαι*, 'ah!', 'woe!'

637 'For we eat, we drink, we live—let us pray.'

645 Cf. B6n.

648 Newton's theory was that the colours of objects were simply the disposition of bodies to reflect certain rays more copiously than others (*Opticks* (1704), i, 135). *αλογος* means literally 'without the Word': cf. B220.

- For the next is *YELLOW* which is more excellent than red, tho Newton makes red the prime. God be gracious to John Delap. 655
 For *RED* is the next working round the Orange. 656
 For Red is of sundry sorts till it deepens to *BLACK*. 657
 For black blooms and it is *PURPLE*. 658
 For purple works off to *BROWN* which is of ten thousand acceptable shades. 659
 For the next is *PALE*. God be gracious to William Whitehead. 660
 For pale works about to *White* again. 661
NOW that colour is spiritual appears inasmuch as the blessing of God upon all things descends in colour. 662
 For the blessing of health upon the human face is in colour. 663
 For the blessing of God upon purity is in the Virgin's blushes. 664
 For the blessing of God in colour is on him that keeps his virgin. 665
 For I saw a blush in Staindrop Church, which was of God's own colouring. 666
 For it was the benevolence of a virgin shewn to me before the whole congregation. 667
 For the blessing of God upon the grass is in shades of Green visible to a nice observer as they light upon the surface of the earth. 668
 For the blessing of God unto perfection in all bloom and fruit is by colouring. 669
 For from hence something in the spirit may be taken off by painters. 670
 For Painting is a species of idolatry, tho' not so gross as statuary. 671
 For it is not good to look with earning upon any dead work. 672
 For by so doing something is lost in the spirit and given from life to death. 673

655 John Delap (1735–1812), a playwright and poet, was Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and a friend of Gray and Johnson. He subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752.

660 William Whitehead (1715–85), the Poet-Laureate, was another Cambridge contemporary of Smart's, and subscribed to his *Poems* and *Psalms*.

664–5 *purity . . . blushes*: cf. Hymn 2. 34–5, where Smart again associates blushing with chastity.

666–7 Probably a reference to Anne Vane (cf. B534n. and D186), whose home at Raby Castle was adjacent to *Staindrop Church* (see Introduction, p. xv).

671 Smart's interpretation of the second commandment (Exod. 20: 4). Cf. Hymn 25. 29.

- 674 For BULL in the first place is the word of Almighty God.
 675 For he is a creature of infinite magnitude in the height.
 676 For there is the model of every beast of the field in the height.
 677 For they are blessed intelligences and all angels of the living God.
 678 For there are many words under Bull.
 679 For Bul the Month is under it.
 680 For Sea is under Bull.
 681 For Brook is under Bull. God be gracious to Lord Bolingbroke.
 682 For Rock is under Bull.
 683 For Bullfinch is under Bull. God be gracious to the Duke of Cleveland.
 684 For God, which always keeps his work in view has painted a Bullfinch in the heart of a stone. God be gracious to Gosling and Canterbury.
 685 For the Bluecap is under Bull.
 686 For the Humming Bird is under Bull.
 687 For Beetle is under Bull.
 688 For Toad is under bull.
 689 For Frog is under Bull, which he has a delight to look at.

684 paired MS

674 The Bull, one of the four cherubim of Ezekiel's vision, is one of the 'emanations' of God in Cabbalist doctrine; in Hutchinsonian theology it represents the first person of the Trinity (*An Abstract from the Works of John Hutchinson* (2nd edn., 1755), 176).

676 Another Cabbalist notion: 'All that which is found (or exists) upon the earth has its spiritual counterpart also to be found on High' (J. F. C. Fuller, *The Secret Wisdom of the Qabalah* [1936], 44).

677 'they' may have been the sun and moon again in the missing LET verse: cf. B315-3n.

679 Bul: the eighth month in the Jewish pre-exilic year.

680 The Sea-bull, or horned fish, is described in Newbery's *Wonders of Nature and Art* (1750: 2nd edn. 1768, v, 84).

681 Bullbrook is an area of Berkshire. Frederick St. John, Lord Bolingbroke was nicknamed 'Bully' (Walpole, *Corresp.* ix, 185).

682 Bull Rock is an islet off the west coast of Ireland.

683 William Fitzroy, *Duke of Cleveland*, married Henrietta Finch, Smart's patroness (see Introduction, p. xvi).

684 Francis Gosling, a bookseller and banker, recommended Smart for admission to St. Luke's Hospital in 1757 (Devlin, 94).

685 Bluecap usually means the bluetit, but it is also a name for the young salmon, which 'is under Bull' in that bull-trout is another name for salmon.

687 'Bull-comber' is a name for the dung-beetle.

- For the Pheasant-eyed Pink is under Bull. Blessed Jesus RANK EL. 690
 For Bugloss is under Bull. 691
 For Bugle is under Bull. 692
 For Oxeye is under Bull. 693
 For Fire is under Bull. 694
 For I will consider my Cat Jeoffry. 695
 For he is the servant of the Living God duly and daily serving him. 696
 For at the first glance of the glory of God in the East he worships in his way. 697
 For is this done by wreathing his body seven times round with elegant quickness. 698
 For then he leaps up to catch the musk, which is the blessing of God upon his prayer. 699
 For he rolls upon prank to work it in. 700
 For having done duty and received blessing he begins to consider himself. 701
 For this he performs in ten degrees. 702
 For first he looks upon his fore-paws to see if they are clean. 703
 For secondly he kicks up behind to clear away there. 704
 For thirdly he works it upon stretch with the fore paws extended. 705
 For fourthly he sharpens his paws by wood. 706
 For fifthly he washes himself. 707
 For Sixthly he rolls upon wash. 708
 For Seventhly he fleas himself, that he may not be interrupted upon the beat. 709
 For Eighthly he rubs himself against a post. 710
 For Ninthly he looks up for his instructions. 711
 For Tenthly he goes in quest of food. 712
 For having consider'd God and himself he will consider his neighbour. 713

707 fiftly MS

690 Rank El: i.e. 'in the rank of God' (see B477n.). In the Cabbala, the title EL is used of Christ in Isa. 9: 6 (Mathers, 144). This entry was written on 6 August, Feast of the Transfiguration of Jesus.

691 The varieties of Bugloss include the Prickly Ox-tongue.

692 Bugle is a dialect term for a young bull.

- 714 For if he meets another cat he will kiss her in kindness.
- 715 For when he takes his prey he plays with it to give it chance.
- 716 For one mouse in seven escapes by his dallying.
- 717 For when his day's work is done his business more properly begins.
- 718 For he keeps the Lord's watch in the night against the adversary.
- 719 For he counteracts the powers of darkness by his electrical skin and glaring eyes.
- 720 For he counteracts the Devil, who is death, by brisking about the life
- 721 For in his morning orisons he loves the sun and the sun loves him.
- 722 For he is of the tribe of Tiger.
- 723 For the Cherub Cat is a term of the Angel Tiger.
- 724 For he has the subtlety and hissing of a serpent, which in goodness he suppresses.
- 725 For he will not do destruction, if he is well-fed, neither will he spit without provocation.
- 726 For he purrs in thankfulness, when God tells him he's a good Cat.
- 727 For he is an instrument for the children to learn benevolence upon.
- 728 For every house is incompleat without him and a blessing is lacking in the spirit.
- 729 For the Lord commanded Moses concerning the cats at the departure of the Children of Israel from Egypt.
- 730 For every family had one cat at least in the bag.
- 731 For the English Cats are the best in Europe.
- 732 For he is the cleanest in the use of his fore-paws of any quadrupede.
- 733 For the dexterity of his defence is an instance of the love of God to him exceedingly.
- 734 For he is the quickest to his mark of any creature.
- 735 For he is tenacious of his point.
- 736 For he is a mixture of gravity and waggery.
- 737 For he knows that God is his Saviour.

718 For keeps MS

729 The children of Israel were instructed to take their flocks and herds at their departure (Exod. 13: 32), but the cats are Smart's interpolation.

- For there is nothing sweeter than his peace when at rest. 738
- For there is nothing brisker than his life when in motion. 739
- For he is of the Lord's poor and so indeed is he called by benevolence perpetually—Poor Jeoffry! poor Jeoffry! the rat has bit thy throat. 740
- For I bless the name of the Lord Jesus that Jeoffry is better. 741
- For the divine spirit comes about his body to sustain it in compleat cat. 742
- For his tongue is exceeding pure so that it has in purity what it wants in musick. 743
- For he is docile and can learn certain things. 744
- For he can set up with gravity which is patience upon approbation. 745
- For he can fetch and carry, which is patience in employment. 746
- For he can jump over a stick which is patience upon proof positive. 747
- For he can spraggle upon waggle at the word of command. 748
- For he can jump from an eminence into his master's bosom. 749
- For he can catch the cork and toss it again. 750
- For he is hated by the hypocrite and miser. 751
- For the former is afraid of detection. 752
- For the latter refuses the charge. 753
- For he camels his back to bear the first notion of business. 754
- For he is good to think on, if a man would express himself neatly. 755
- For he made a great figure in Egypt for his signal services. 756
- For he killed the Ichneumon-rat very pernicious by land. 757
- For his ears are so acute that they sting again. 758
- For from this proceeds the passing quickness of his attention. 759
- For by stroaking of him I have found out electricity. 760
- For I perceived God's light about him both wax and fire. 761
- For the Electrical fire is the spiritual substance, which God sends from heaven to sustain the bodies both of man and beast. 762

757 Ichneumon MS

748 *spraggle*: a dialect word meaning 'sprawl' or (Sc.) 'clamber'.

756-7 Smart evidently ascribes the veneration for cats in Egypt to their usefulness in destroying vermin; but the *Ichneumon-rat* was in fact highly valued by the Egyptians for its destruction of other rats, mice, and poisonous snakes.

760 An article on electricity in cats appeared in *Gent. Mag.* 1754.

- 763 *For God has blessed him in the variety of his movements.*
 764 *For, tho he cannot fly, he is an excellent clamberer.*
 765 *For his motions upon the face of the earth are more than any other quadrupede.*
 766 *For he can tread to all the measures upon the musick.*
 767 *For he can swim for life.*
 768 *For he can creep.*

FRAGMENT C

- Let Ramah rejoice with Cochineal. 1
For H is a spirit and therefore he is God.
 Let Gaba rejoice with the Prickly Pear, which the Cochineal feeds on. 2
For I is person and therefore he is God.
 Let Nebo rejoice with the Myrtle-Leaved-Sumach as with the Skirret 3
 Jub. 2d.
For K is king and therefore he is God.
 Let Magbish rejoice with the Sage-Tree Phlomis as with the Goats- 4
 beard Jub: 2d.
For L is love and therefore he is God.
 Let Hashum rejoice with Moon-Trefoil. 5
For M is musick and therefore he is God.
 Let Netophah rejoice with Cow-Wheat. 6
For N is novelty and therefore he is God.
 Let Chephirah rejoice with Millet. 7
For O is over and therefore he is God.
 Let Beeroth rejoice with Sea-Buckthorn. 8
For P is power and therefore he is God.
 Let Kirjath-arim rejoice with Cacalianthemum. 9
For Q is quick and therefore he is God.
 Let Hadid rejoice with Capsicum Guiney Pepper. 10
For R is right and therefore he is God.
 Let Senaah rejoice with Bean Caper. 11
For S is soul and therefore he is God.
 3 Skirrel Stead, Bond 11 Bean Cape MS

This section was written from 21 February to 12 May 1761. Biblical names, with a few exceptions, come from Ezra and Nehemiah. Botanical names are from standard 18th-c. herbals and horticultural books or Pliny.

1-17 FOR: a revised version of Smart's first alphabet (B513-36).

1-2 *Cochineal* dye is made from the dried bodies of insects: the name signifies both the insect and the plant on which it feeds.

3-4 *Jub. 2d* may refer to the missing second double-folio of *Jubilate Agno*, in which perhaps Nebo had already been coupled with Skirret, and Magbish with Goatsbeard (Bond).

- 12 Let Kadmiel rejoice with Hemp-Agrimony.
For T is truth and therefore he is God.
- 13 Let Shobai rejoice with Arbor Molle.
For U is union and therefore he is God.
- 14 Let Hatita rejoice with Millefolium Yarrow.
For W is worth and therefore he is God.
- 15 Let Zihā rejoice with Mitellia.
For X has the pow'r of three and therefore he is God.
- 16 Let Hasupha rejoice with Turkey Balm.
For Y is yea and therefore he is God.
- 17 Let Hattil rejoice with Xeranthemum.
For Z is zeal and therefore, he is God, whom I pray to be gracious to the Widow Davis and Davis the Bookseller.
- 18 Let Bilshan rejoice with the Leek. David for ever! God bless the Welch March 1st 1761. n.s.
For Christ being A and Ω is all the intermediate letters without doubt.
- 19 Let Sotai rejoice with the Mountain Ebony.
For there is a mystery in numbers.
- 20 Let Sophereth rejoice with White Hellebore.
For One is perfect and good being at unity in himself.

15 FOR: Elsewhere in the MS, this letter is written 'XG'; Greek X can be seen as made up of three letters: *chi* (X) itself, the symbol of Christ; *lambda* (λ), and *gamma* (γ).

17 Lockyer Davis, a bookseller in London from 1753 to 1791, was renowned for his agreeable personality and immense knowledge of books (Timperley's *Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdotes*); but Smart may be referring to Tom Davies, Johnson's friend, who was one of the booksellers for Smart's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1763). Davies subscribed for two copies of Smart's *Psalms*.

18 1 March is St. David's Day. FOR: 'For I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord' (Rev. 1: 8).

19-34 Use of number-symbolism was eccentric in the 18th c., but Pythagorean numerology had been incorporated in Masonic ritual, and Smart's borrowing of Iamblichus's *Life of Pythagoras* from Pembroke College Library may be evidence of an early interest in the subject. Smart's ideas are not consistently Pythagorean, however, and in fact are so commonplace in numerological tradition as to make a specific source unidentifiable.

20-4 FOR: Pythagoras . . . said, that Unity was God, and . . . that Duality was a Divell, and an evil intellect . . . The number of three is an uncompounded number, a number of perfection' (Agrippa, 178-9).

- Let Darkon rejoice with the Melon-Thistle. 21
For Two is the most imperfect of all numbers.
- Let Jaalah rejoice with Moly wild garlick. 22
For every thing infinitely perfect is Three.
- Let Ami rejoice with the Bladder Sena in season or out of season bless 23
the name of the Lord.
For the Devil is two being without God.
- Let Pochereth rejoice with Fleabane. 24
For he is an evil spirit male and female.
- Let Keros rejoice with Tree Germander. 25
For he is called the Duce by foolish invocation on that account.
- Let Padon rejoice with Tamnus Black Briony. 26
For Three is the simplest and best of all numbers.
- Let Mizpar rejoice with Stickadore. 27
For Four is good being square.
- Let Baanah rejoice with Napus the French Turnip. 28
For Five is not so good in itself but works well in combination.
- Let Reelaiah rejoice with the Sea-Cabbage. 29
For Five is not so good in itself as it consists of two and three.
- Let Parosh rejoice with Cacubalus Chickweed. 30
For Six is very good consisting of twice three.
- Let Hagab rejoice with Serpyllum Mother of Thyme. Hosanna to the 31
memory of Q. Anne. March 8th n.s. 1761—God be gracious to old
Windsmore.
For Seven is very good consisting of two compleat numbers.
- Let Shalmāi rejoice with Meadow Rue.— 32
*For Eight is good for the same reason and propitious to me Eighth of
March 1761 hallelujah.*

25 *Duce* (Deuce): a slang term for the devil.

31 8 March is the anniversary of the accession of Queen Anne: cf. Hymn 17, 49-66. *Seven* is a 'perfect' number in St. Augustine's numerology, one important reason being that it is the sum of 'the first odd whole number' and 'the first whole even number' (*Civ. Dei*, xi, 31).

32 'The Pythagorians call eight the number of justice . . . because it is first of all divided into numbers equally even' (Agrippa, 202). Smart celebrates the eighth of the month again in C94, D120, D214.

- 33 Let Habaiah rejoice with Asteriscus Yellow Starwort.
For Nine is a number very good and harmonious.
- 34 Let Tel-harsa rejoice with Aparine Clivers.
For Cipher is a note of augmentation very good.
- 35 Let Rehoboam rejoice with Polium Montanum. God give grace to the Young King.
For innumerable ciphers will amount to something.
- 36 Let Hanan rejoice with Poley of Crete.
For the mind of man cannot bear a tedious accumulation of nothings without effect.
- 37 Let Sheshbazzar rejoice with Polygonatum Solomon's seal.
For infinite upon infinite they make a chain.
- 38 Let Zeboim rejoice with Bastard Dittany.
For the last link is from man very nothing ascending to the first Christ the Lord of All.
- 39 Let The Queen of Sheba rejoice with Bulapathon Herb Patience.
For the vowell is the female spirit in the Hebrew consonant.
- 40 Let Cyrus rejoice with Baccharis Plowman's Spikenard. God be gracious to Warburton.
For there are more letters in all languages not communicated.
- 41 Let Lebanah rejoice with the Golden Winged Flycatcher a Mexican Small Bird of Passage.
For there are some that have the power of sentences. O rare thirteenth of march 1761.

33 FOR: Refers to the music of the spheres: cf. Milton, 'the celestial sirens' harmony, / That sit upon the nine enfolded spheres' (*Arcades*, 63-4).

34 *Cipher* (zero) 'augments' numbers by multiplying them by ten.

35 *Rehoboam* succeeded Solomon as king of Israel. George III succeeded on 25 October 1760, at the age of twenty-two.

37 FOR: Refers to the mathematical symbol for infinity (∞), which appears like a chain of noughts (Stead).

39 The Hebrew word for *vowel* is feminine; Hebrew grammarians called the vowels (which were unwritten) the soul, and the consonants the body of the word.

40 Smart satirized William Warburton in the *Horatian Canons of Friendship* (1750).

41 *some . . . sentences*: describes the secret language ('notaricon') of the Cabbalists, in which each letter of a word provides the initial of another word, so that a sentence can be formed out of a single word (Chambers, s.v. Cabbala).

- Let Hagabah rejoice with Orchis. Blessed be the name of the Lord
Jesus for my seed in eternity. 42
For St Paul was caught up into the third heavens.
- Let Siaha rejoice with the Razor-Fish. God be gracious to John Bird
and his wife. 43
For there he heard certain words which it was not possible for him to understand.
- Let Artaxerxes rejoice with Vanelloes. Palm Sunday 1761. The Lord
Strengthen me. 44
For they were constructed by uncommunicated letters.
- Let Bishlam rejoice with the Cotton-bush. 45
For they are signs of speech too precious to be communicated for ever.
- Let Mithridath rejoice with Balsam of Tolu. 46
For after ך there follows another letter in the Hebrew tongue.
- Let Tabeel rejoice with the Carob-Tree. 47
For his name is Wau and his figure is thus װ.
- Let Ariel rejoice with Balsam of Peru, which sweats from a tree, that
flowers like the Foxglove. 48
For the Æolians knew something of him in the spirit, but could not put him down.

42 Orchis Blessed MS

42-3 FOR: See 2 Cor. 12: 2-4. *Orchis* was used for 'provoking lust and increasing seed' (Salmon).

43 *John Bird* (d. 1792) was at Jesus College, Cambridge, 1745-8. He subscribed to Smart's *Poems and Psalms*.

44 *Vanelloes* (vanilla) was used as 'a cordial and restorative' (Hill). *Palm Sunday* fell on 15 March in 1761.

45 The Cabbala is said to be based on secret traditions, the 'Unwritten Cabbala', which are never entrusted to writing but transmitted orally from generation to generation (Mathers, 13-14).

46-7 FOR: The difficulty of these verses is partly due (no doubt) to deliberate obscurity, partly to Smart's apparent confusion over the Hebrew characters. ך is Hebrew *tau*, but Smart seems to intend the similar character *he* (ח) which is, in fact, followed by *wau* (ו) in the Hebrew alphabet. These two letters, together with *yod*, make up the sacred Tetragrammaton ךךךך (YHWH), *JEHOVAH*, the Hebrew name of God first revealed to Moses (Exod. 6: 3). The Tetragrammaton is the foundation of all knowledge in the Cabbala. װ is not a Hebrew character, but looks like Arabic *lām*, 'alif' (L, A) as it is represented in Walton's Polyglott Bible (1657), which Smart used at Cambridge. Smart might have equated Arabic ALLAH (which is not in fact written with *lām*-*alif*) with Hebrew YHWH.

48 FOR: *him*: sc. God (see previous note). *Æolians*: Greeks (see B441n.). Smart uses this name probably for its 'spiritual' associations with Aeolus, god of the

- 49 Let Ebed rejoice with Balsam of Gilead. God be gracious to Stede.
For the figures were first communicated to Esau. God be gracious to Musgrave.
- 50 Let Jarib rejoice with Balsam of Capivi. The Lord strengthen my reins.
For he was blest as a merchant.
- 51 Let Shimshai rejoice with Stelis Missletoe on Fir.
For the blessing of Jacob was in the spirit and Esau's for temporal thrift.
- 52 Let Joiarib rejoice with Veronica Fluellen or Speedwell.
For the story of Orpheus is of the truth.
- 53 Let Tatnai rejoice with the Barbadoes Wild Olive.
For there was such a person a cunning player on the harp.
- 54 Let Ezra rejoice with the Reed. The Lord Jesus make musick of it. Good Friday 1761.
For he was a believer in the true God and assisted in the spirit.
- 55 Let Josiphiah rejoice with Tower-Mustard. God be gracious to Durham School.
For he play'd upon the harp in the spirit by breathing upon the strings.

winds (see B253-4). St. Paul told the Athenians that the 'Unknown God' whom they worshipped was in reality the Christian God (Acts 17: 22-31). A versified paraphrase of St. Paul's speech was published in the *Student* (ii, 76-8).

49 *Stede*: 'an old gentleman late prompter and now in the Cabinet Council of Covent Garden Theatre' (*Boswell's London Journal* (19 December 1762), 96). Mrs Stede subscribed to Smart's *Psalms*.

49-51 *FOR*: *Esau* certainly became wealthy, but there is no biblical authority for Smart's statement in C49. For the blessing of Jacob and Esau by Isaac, see Gen. 27: 26-40. *Musgrave*: Edward Musgrave (d. 1773) was at Pembroke College with Smart, and afterwards became rector of Knapwell, Cambs. He subscribed to Smart's *Poems* and *Psalms*.

50 *Balsam of Capivi* is described as 'good in all complaints of the urinary passages' (Hill), *reins*: loins.

52 The theory that *Orpheus* had a real existence as a historical figure was expounded by Cudworth (*The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678), Bk. I, ch. xvii) and supported by many scholars in Smart's day. Earlier, Smart had accepted Delany's idea that *Orpheus* was a legendary figure based on the historical David ('On the Goodness of the Supreme Being', 1-2).

54 Smart refers to *Orpheus* as the founder of Orphism, a mystic Greek cult, some elements of which anticipated and influenced Christian doctrines.

55 *Durham School*: Smart's school. *harp* . . . *strings*: cf. B250-4.

- Let Shether-boznai rejoice with Turnera. End of Lent 1761. No. 5. 56
For this will affect every thing that is sustained by the spirit, even every thing in nature.
- Let Jozadak rejoice with Stephanitis a vine growing naturally into chaplets. 57
For it is the business of a man gifted in the word to prophecy good.
- Let Jozabad rejoice with the Lily-Daffodil. Easter Day 22nd March 1761. 58
For it will be better for England and all the world in a season, as I prophecy this day.
- Let Telem rejoice with Hart's Penny-royal. 59
For I prophecy that they will obey the motions of the spirit descended upon them as at this day.
- Let Abdi rejoice with Winter-green. God be gracious to Abdy. 60
For they have seen the glory of God already come down upon the trees.
- Let Binnui rejoice with Spotted Lungwort or Couslip of Jerusalem. 61
 God give blessing with it.
For I prophecy that it will descend upon their heads also.
- Let Aziza rejoice with the Day Lily. 62
For I prophecy that the praise of God will be in every man's mouth in the Publick streets.
- Let Zabbai rejoice with Buckshorn Plaintain Coronopus. 63
For I prophecy that there will be Publick worship in the cross ways and fields.

56 *No. 5*: perhaps a cross-reference is intended. Double-folio 5 begins at B513 with an allusion to 'A' (= Christ: cf. C18) as 'the door of heaven'; the Resurrection is called 'the gate of everlasting life' in the Collect for the end of Lent. Or *No. 5* may mean the fifth Lent Smart had spent in confinement, as Sherbo suggests (p. 266).

57 *Stephanitis* . . . *chaplets*: see Pliny 14. 42.

58 *FOR*: Smart's 'prophecies' begin with a verse written on Easter Day and continue through the rest of this fragment. *Orpheus* was regarded as father of the prophetic arts.

59 *FOR*: Probably refers to the Collect for Easter Day: 'We humbly beseech thee, as by thy special grace preventing us, thou dost put into our minds good desires, so by thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect.'

60 *Abdy*: probably related to Sir John Abdy (1714-59), MP. for Essex, who subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752. *FOR*: written in spring, this may refer to the idea (see B662-9) that the colours of vegetation reflect the blessing of God (Bond).

62 *FOR*: Cf. B89n.

- 64 Let Ramoth rejoice with Persicaria.
For I prophecy that the general salutation will be. The Lord Jesus prosper you. I wish you good luck in the name of the Lord Jesus!
- 65 Let Athlai rejoice with Bastard Marjoram.
For I prophecy that there will be more mercy for criminals.
- 66 Let Uel rejoice with Lysimachia Loose-strife which drinks of the brook by the way.
For I prophecy that there will be less mischief concerning women.
- 67 Let Kelaiah rejoice with Hermannia.
For I prophecy that they will be cooped up and kept under due controul.
- 68 Let Elasa rejoice with Olibanum White or Male Frankinsense from an Arabian tree, good against Catarrhs and Spitting blood from which Christ Jesus deliver me.
For I prophecy that there will be full churches and empty play-houses.
- 69 Let Adna rejoice with Gum Opopanax from the wounded root of a species of panace, Heracleum, a tall plant growing to be two or three yards high with many large wings of a yellowish green—good for old coughs and asthmas.
For I prophecy that they will learn to take pleasure in glorifying God with great cheerfulness.
- 70 Let Bedeiah rejoice with Gum Sagapenum flowing from a species of Ferula which grows in Media. Lord have mercy on my breast.
For I prophecy that they will observe the Rubrick with regard to days of Fasting and Abstinence.
- 71 Let Ishijah rejoice with Sago gotten from the inward pith of the bread-tree. The Lord Jesus strengthen my whole body.
For I prophecy that the clergy in particular will set a better example.
- 72 Let Chelal rejoice with Apios Virginian Liquorice Vetch.
For I prophecy that they will not dare to imprison a brother or sister for debt.

69 panace Heracleum a MS

68 FOR: Cf. B345.

68-70 Further evidence that Smart was suffering from some kind of respiratory illness: cf. B179. *Olibanum*, *Opopanax*, *Sagapenum*: Smart's descriptions are taken almost verbatim from William Salmon's *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, the standard work in the 18th c. (Stead).

- Let Miamin rejoice with Mezereon. God be gracious to Polly and Bess and all Canbury. 73
For I prophecy that hospitality and temperance will revive.
- Let Zebida rejoice with Tormentil good for hæmorrhages in the mouth—even so Lord Jesus. 74
For I prophecy that men will be much stronger in the body.
- Let Shemaria rejoice with Riciasides. 75
For I prophecy that the gout, and consumptions will be curable.
- Let Jadau rejoice with Flixweed. 76
For I prophecy that man will be as good as a Lupine.
- Let Shimeon rejoice with Squills. 77
For the Lupine professes his Saviour in Grain.
- Let Sheal rejoice with Scorpioides. God be gracious to Legg. 78
For the very Hebrew letter is fairly graven upon his Seed.
- Let Ramiah rejoice with Water-Germander. 79
For with diligence the whole Hebrew Alphabet may be found in a parcel of his seed.
- Let Jeziah rejoice with Viper's Grass. 80
For this is a stupendous evidence of the communicating God in externals.
- Let Machnadebai rejoice with the Mink, a beast. 81
For I prophecy that they will call the days by better names.
- Let Meremoth rejoice with the Golden Titmouse of Surinam. 82
For the Lord's day is the first.
- Let Mattenai rejoice with Hatchet Vetch. 83
For the following is the second.

74 mouth even MS. 80 this a MS

73 Polly and Bess: Smart's daughters, Marianne and Elizabeth, who were born at Canonbury (cf. B75n.).

74 Zebida: the Vulgate form (*Zebina* in AV.). *Tormentil* 'stops all fluxes' (Salmon). *Even* . . . Jesus refers to the healing of the woman with 'an issue of blood' (Matt. 9: 20-2).

77-9 FOR: Cf. B477n. Why Smart should single out the Lupine is unclear.

78 Legg: perhaps Jonathan Legg, a singer at Covent Garden, 1751-67.

79 Henry More devotes a chapter of *An Antidote against Atheism* (1653) to 'The Seeds and Signatures of Plants, arguments of a divine Providence' (Bk. II, ch. vi); but cf. B477n.

81-4 FOR: Cf. B406-7n.

- 84 Let Chelluh rejoice with Horehound.
For so of the others untill the seventh.
- 85 Let Jaasau rejoice with Bird's foot.
For the seventh day is the Sabbath according to the word of God direct for ever and ever.
- 86 Let Maadai rejoice with Golden Rod.
For I prophecy that the King will have grace to put the crown upon the altar.
- 87 Let Sharai rejoice with Honey-flower.
For I prophecy that the name of king in England will be given to Christ alone.
- 88 Let Shashai rejoice with Smyrnum.
For I prophecy that men will live to a much greater age. This ripens apace God be praised.
- 89 Let Hananiah the son of an apothecary rejoice with Bdelium.
For I prophecy that they will grow taller and stronger.
- 90 Let Hassenaah rejoice with the White Beet. God be gracious to Hasse and all musicians.
For degeneracy has done a great deal more than is in general imagined.
- 91 Let Hachaliah rejoice with Muscus Arboreus.
For men in David's time were ten feet high in general.
- 92 Let Sanballat rejoice with Ground Moss found sometimes on human skulls.
For they had degenerated also from the strength of their fathers.
- 93 Let Col-hozeh rejoice with Myrobalans, Bellerica, Chebula, Citrina, Emblica and Indica.

85 according the MS 88 this MS

88-92 FOR: The longevity and gigantic stature of antediluvian men is discussed by St. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, xv, 9); the notion is based on Gen. 6: 3-4.

89 *Hananiah* . . . *apothecary* (Neh. 3: 8); as distinct from Hananiah of Judah, named in A77. *Bdelium*: Smart is presumably thinking of the shrub, whose gum has a variety of medicinal uses, not the stone named in Gen. 2: 12.

90 *Hasse*: Johann Adolph Hasse (1699-1783), a German composer whose operas and burlettas were popular on the London stage in the 18th c. A concerto by Hasse was played in the Old Woman's Oratory in 1752.

91-2 *Muscus Arboreus*: Tree Moss, as distinct from *Ground Moss*. Both kinds in fact were said to grow on human skulls. *Moss of an Human Skull* was said to be 'good against disorders of the head' (Hill).

93 *Bellerica* . . . *Indica*: the five varieties of the Indian Myrobalan tree, whose fruit was used for purges. FOR: cf. B345, C68.

- For I prophecy that players and mimes will not be named amongst us.
- Let Meah rejoice with *Varia*, a kind of streaked panther. April 8th 94
praise the name of the Lord.
For I prophecy in the favour of dancing which in mutual benevolence is for the glory of God.
- Let Eliashib rejoice with Shepherd's Purse. 95
For I prophecy that the exactions of Moab will soon be at an end.
- Let Azbuk rejoice with Valerianella Corn Sallet. 96
For the Moabites even the French are in their chastisement for humiliation.
- Let Geshem (which is Rain) rejoice with Kneeholm. Blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus for Rain and his family and for the plenteous rain this day. April 9th 1761. N.S. 97
For I prophecy that the Reformation will make way in France when Moab is made meek by being well drubbed by the English.
- Let Bavai rejoice with Calceolus Ladies Slipper. 98
For I prophecy that the Reformation will make great way by means of the Venetians.
- Let Henadad rejoice with Cacalianthemum. 99
For the Venetian will know that the Englishman is his brother.
- Let Shallum rejoice with Mullein *Tapsus barbatus*, good for the breast. 100
For the Liturgy will obtain in all languages.
- Let Ophel rejoice with Camara. 101
For England is the head and not the tail.
- Let Meshezabeel rejoice with Stephanomelis. Old April bless the name of the Lord Jesus. 102
For England is the head of Europe in the spirit.
- Let Zadok the son of Baana rejoice with Viburnum. 103
For Spain, Portugal and France are the heart.

100 Shallun MS barbatus good MS

94 *Varia* . . . *panther*: Pliny 8. 63. The 8th is noted as propitious in C32.

96 FOR: Probably refers to allied successes in the war against the French in February 1761.

97 *Geshem* means 'rain' in Hebrew (Parish).

98 FOR: Probably refers to the rebellion of the Venetians against the Pope in 1749-51 (see Walpole, *Corresp.* xx, 160ff.).

100 *Mullein Tapsus barbatus*: 'excellent in coughs and other disorders of the lungs' (Hill's *British Herbal* (1756)).

102 Written on Smart's birthday, 11 April, N.S. 'Old April', because he was born under the old Calendar (cf. C122).

- 104 Let Vaniah rejoice with Pug in a pinner. God be gracious to the house of Vane especially Anne.
For Holland and Germany are the middle.
- 105 Let Besodeiah rejoice with the Nettle.
For Italy is one of the legs.
- 106 Let Melatiah rejoice with Adonis Bird's eye.
For I prophecy that there will not be a meetinghouse within two miles of a church.
- 107 Let Jadon rejoice with Borrage.
For I prophecy that schismatics will be detected.
- 108 Let Palal rejoice with the female Balsamime. God be gracious to my wife.
For I prophecy that men will learn the use of their knees.
- 109 Let Ezer rejoice with Basella Climbing Nightshade.
For every thing that can be done in that posture (upon the knees) is better so done than otherwise.
- 110 Let Uzai rejoice with Meadow Sweet.
For I prophecy that they will understand the blessing and virtue of the rain.
- 111 Let Zalaph rejoice with Rose-bay.
For rain is exceedingly good for the human body.
- 112 Let Halohesh rejoice with Ambrosia, that bears a fruit like a club.
For it is good therefore to have flat roofs to the houses, as of old.
- 113 Let Malchiah Son of Rechab rejoice with the Rose-colour'd flow'ring Rush.
For it is good to let the rain come upon the naked body unto purity and refreshment.
- 114 Let Sia rejoice with Argemone Prickly Poppy.
For I prophecy that they will respect decency in all points.
- 115 Let Lebana rejoice with Amaranthoides Globe Amaranth.
For they will do it in conceit, word, and motion.

104 to house MS

104 *Pug in a pinner*: Smart's variant of pug-in-a-primmer, a dialect name for polyanthus. *Pug* was a term of endearment, and *pinner* a kind of bonnet, hence perhaps the association with Anne Vane (Stead). *Anne Vane*: see Introduction, p. xv.

108-9 FOR: Cf. B177, B352.

110-13 FOR: Cf. B384.

- Let Rephaiah the Son of Hur rejoice with the Berry-bearing Angelica. 116
For they will go forth afield.
- Let Harhaiah of the Goldsmiths rejoice with Segullum, the earth that detects the mine. 117
For the Devil can work upon stagnating filth to a very great degree.
- Let Harumaph rejoice with the Upright Honeysuckle. 118
For I prophecy that we shall have our horns again.
- Let Hashabniah rejoice with the Water Melon. Blessed be the manuscripts of Almighty God. 119
For in the day of David Man as yet had a glorious horn upon his forehead.
- Let Phaseah rejoice with the Cassioberry Bush. 120
For this horn was a bright substance in colour and consistence as the nail of the hand.
- Let Nephishesim rejoice with Cannacorus Indian Reed. 121
For it was broad, thick and strong so as to serve for defence as well as ornament.
- Let Tamah rejoice with Cainito Star-Apple—God be praised for this Eleventh of April o.s. in which I enter into the Fortieth Year of my age. Blessed. Blessed. Blessed! 122
For it brighten'd to the Glory of God, which came upon the human face at morning prayer.
- Let Siloah rejoice with Guidonia with a Rose-Colour'd-Flower. 123
For it was largest and brightest in the best men.

119 Men MS

117 *Segullum*: a kind of soil said to indicate the presence of native gold (Pliny 33. 67).

118ff. Smart's disquisition on *horns*, which occupies the remainder of the FOR verses in C, doubtless has psychological significance, but it also has a basis in OT symbolism: see Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1899), ii, 415-16.

119 Hashabniah took part in the ritual reading of the book of God's law (Neh. 9). *the manuscripts* . . . *God*: cf. C77-80. FOR: use of the *horn* symbol is particularly bold and frequent in the psalms of David, but Smart's image here derives from the Vulgate description of Moses descending from Mt. Sinai, 'cornuta esset facies sua ex consortio sermonis Dei' (Exod. 34: 29). This was the source of representations of Moses with horns (as on Michelangelo's statue).

122 *Eleventh of April O.S.* (Smart's birthday, cf. C102): i.e. 22 April, NS. FOR: probably suggested by the AV version of Exod. 34: 29 (see previous note): 'the skin of his face shone while he talked with God'. *Shone* and *horn* have a common root in Hebrew.

- 124 Let Benjamin a Rebuilder of Jerusalem rejoice with the Rock-Rose. Newton, bless!
For it was taken away all at once from all of them.
- 125 Let Malchijah Son of Harim rejoice with Crysanthemoides.
For this was done in the divine contempt of a general pusillanimity.
- 126 Let Besai rejoice with Hesperis Queen's Gilly-Flow'r.
For this happened in a season after their return from the Babylonish captivity.
- 127 Let Perida rejoice with Podded Fumitory.
For their spirits were broke and their manhood impair'd by foreign vices for exaction.
- 128 Let Tabbaoth rejoice with Goldy Locks. God be merciful to my wife.
For I prophecy that the English will recover their horns the first.
- 129 Let Bakbuk rejoice with Soft Thistle.
For I prophecy that all the nations in the world will do the like in turn.
- 130 Let Hodevah rejoice with Coronilla.
For I prophecy that all Englishmen will wear their beards again.
- 131 Let Tobiah rejoice with Crotolaria. God be praised for his infinite goodness and mercy.
For a beard is a good step to a horn.
- 132 Let Mehetabeel rejoice with Hæmanthus the Blood Flower. Blessed be the name of the Blood of the Lord Jesus.
For when men get their horns again, they will delight to go uncovered.
- 133 Let Bazlith rejoice with the Horned Poppy.
For it is not good to wear any thing upon the head.

124 *Benjamin . . . Jerusalem* (Neh. 3: 23), as distinct from Benjamin, son of Jacob. *Newton* is associated with the Rose again in D170. The connection may be through chastity, for which the rose is a symbol in Smart's Hymn 2, 34. Smart links Newton with Esdras for chastity in B194, and Esdras with the Rose in A47. There may also be an allusion to Rosicrucianism and freemasonry. For the association of the two, and for Newton's interest in Rosicrucianism (which Smart may have known of), see F. A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1972). Freemasonry was supposed to have its origins in the building of Jerusalem.

124-7 The Jews earned 'divine contempt' after their return from captivity by intermarrying with foreigners and adopting their customs (Ezra 9). This followed the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem.

128 *Goldy Locks*: a kind of buttercup. Smart's verses on 'The Lass with the Golden Locks' were written in praise of his wife.

131 *Tobiah* means 'the goodness of the Lord' (Cruden).

133-5 FOR: 'For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God' (1 Cor. 11: 7). Smart wrote in the *Student*, 'Whenever

- Let Hagaba rejoice with the Turnsole. God be gracious to Cutting. 134
For a man should put no obstacle between his head and the blessing of Almighty God.
- Let Shalmai rejoice with Lycopersicum Love-apple. God be gracious 135
to Dunn.
For a hat was an abomination of the heathen. Lord have mercy upon the Quakers.
- Let Arah rejoice with Fritillaria the Chequer'd Tulip. 136
For the ceiling of the house is an obstacle and therefore we pray on the house-top.
- Let Raamiah rejoice with the Double Sweetscented Pione. 137
For the head will be liable to less disorders on the recovery of its horn.
- Let Hashub Son of Pahath-moab rejoice with the French Honey- 138
suckle.
For the horn on the forehead is a tower upon an arch.
- Let Ananiah rejoice with the Corn-Flag. 139
For it is a strong munition against the adversary, who is sickness and death.
- Let Nahamani rejoice with the May-apple. God give me fruit to this 140
month.
For it is instrumental in subjecting the woman.
- Let Mispereth rejoice with the Ring Parrakeet. 141
For the insolence of the woman has increased ever since Man has been crest-fallen.
- Let Nehum rejoice with the Artichoke. 142
For they have turned the horn into scoff and derision without ceasing.

138 Son Pahath-moab MS

I observe a quaker-like connection between the hat and the head, I cannot look upon the wearer without some degree of pity and contempt' (ii, 330).

134 *Hagaba* is the spelling of Neh. 7: 48; *Hagabah* (Ezra 2: 45) appears in C42. Leonard Cutting was an undergraduate at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in Smart's time (Sherbo, 138).

135 *Dunn*: William Dunn, of Fishburn, Durham, who was at Trinity College, Cambridge, in Smart's time, subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752. William Dunn, perhaps the same, was in St. Luke's Hospital in 1757-8 and afterwards in Bedlam where he died in 1759 (Stead).

140 Written on 1 May.

140-2 FOR: the phallic symbolism of the *horn* underlies its use as a sign of cuckoldry: a man has 'horns' when he has lost power over his wife, or is impotent. It is in this sense that women 'have turned the horn into scoff and derision'.

- 143 Let Ginnethon rejoice with the Bottle Flower.
For we are amerced of God, who has his horn.
- 144 Let Zidkijah rejoice with Mulberry Blight. God be gracious to Gum my fellow Prisoner.
For we are amerced of the blessed angels, who have their horns.
- 145 Let Malluch rejoice with Methonica Superb Lily.
For when they get their horns again they will put them upon the altar.
- 146 Let Jeremiah rejoice with Hemlock, which is good in outward application.
For they give great occasion for mirth and musick.
- 147 Let Bilgai rejoice with Tamalapatra Indian Leaf.
For our Blessed Saviour had not his horn upon the face of the earth.
- 148 Let Maaziah rejoice with Chick Pease. God be gracious to Harris White 5th of May 1761.
For this was in meekness and condescension to the infirmities of human nature at that time.
- 149 Let Kelita rejoice with Xiphion the Bulbous Iris.
For at his second coming his horn will be exalted in glory.
- 150 Let Pelaiiah rejoice with Cloud-Berries. God be gracious to Peele and Ferry.
For his horn is the horn of Salvation.
- 151 Let Azaniah rejoice with the Water Lily.
For Christ Jesus has exalted my voice to his own glory.
- 152 Let Rehob rejoice with Caucalis Bastard Parsley.
For he has answered me in the air as with a horn from Heaven to the ears of many people.

143 Ginnithon MS

143 *amerced*: punished by deprivation (cf. Milton, *PL*, i, 609). *God . . . horn*: see Hab. 3: 4.

144 *Gum my fellow Prisoner* cannot be William Ginn, as Stead suggests, because Ginn had died in St. Luke's in 1757.

145 The pointed projections at the corners of the altar of sacrifice in Jewish worship are called *horns*.

146 *Hemlock*: 'outwardly it is strongly repercussive' (Salmon).

148 *Harris White* subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752.

149 FOR: Cf. the song of Hannah, traditionally interpreted as a prophecy of the Messiah: 'the Lord shall . . . exalt the horn of his anointed' (1 Sam. 2: 10).

150 John *Peele* was at Pembroke College, Cambridge, with Smart, as an undergraduate and a Fellow, and was vicar of Tilney All Saints, Norfolk (1749-1805). He helped rescue Smart from debt in 1747 (Gray, *Corresp.* i, 291) and subscribed to his *Poems*, 1752. FOR: see Luke 1: 69.

- Let Sherebiah rejoice with Nigella, that bears a white flower. 153
For the horn is of plenty.
- Let Beninu rejoice with Heart-Pear. God be gracious to George Bening. 154
For this has been the sense of all ages.
- Let Bunni rejoice with Bulbine—leaves like leek, purple flower. 155
For Man and Earth suffer together.
- Let Zatthu rejoice with the Wild Service. 156
For when Man was amerced of his horn, earth lost part of her fertility.
- Let Hizkijah rejoice with the Dwarf American Sun-Flower. 157
For the art of Agriculture is improving.
- Let Azzur rejoice with the Globe-Thistle. 158
For this is evident in flowers.
- Let Hariph rejoice with Summer Savoury. 159
For it is more especially manifest in double flowers.
- Let Nebai rejoice with the Wild Cucumber. 160
For earth will get it up again by the blessing of God on the industry of man.
- Let Magpiash rejoice with the Musk. 161
For the horn is of plenty because of milk and honey.
- Let Hezir rejoice with Scorpion Sena. 162
For I pray God be gracious to the Bees and the Beeves this day.

154 Benina MS
157 Hiskijah MS

155 Bulbine leaves like leek purple MS
159 For is MS

154 *George Bening* may have been related to William Bening, or Benning, of Peterhouse, Cambridge (see D21n.). A Mr Bening subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752.

155 *Bulbine*: 'an herb having leaves like to leeks, and a purple flower' (Ainsworth): Pliny (20. 107) says it is the root that is purple.

159 FOR: cf. B492.

160 FOR: cf. C116.

FRAGMENT D

- 1 Let Dew, house of Dew rejoice with Xanthenes a precious stone of an amber colour.
- 2 Let Round, house of Round rejoice with Myrmecites a gem having an Emmet in it.
- 3 Let New, house of New rejoice with Nasamonites a gem of a sanguine colour with black veins.
- 4 Let Hook, house of Hook rejoice with Sarda a Cornelian—blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus by hook.
- 5 Let Crook, house of Crook rejoice with Ophites black spotted marble—Blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus by crook. The Lord enable me to shift.
- 6 Let Lime, house of Lime rejoice with Sandareses a kind of gem in Pliny's list.
- 7 Let Linnet, house of Linnet rejoice with Tanos, which is a mean sort of Emerald.
- 8 Let Hind, house of Hind rejoice with Pæderos Opal—God be gracious to Mrs Hind, that lived at Canbury.
- 9 Let Tyrrel, house of Tyrrel rejoice with Sardius Lapis an Onyx of a black colour. God speed Hawke's Fleet.

This section was written from 12 June to 30 January 1763. Personal names were probably taken from lists of deaths in current periodicals (see Introduction, p. xxvii). They are often linked in pairs or clusters by rhyme or other association, but no larger pattern is apparent. Latin names of stones, herbs, etc. are to be found in Pliny, unless otherwise noted.

² *Emmet*: ant. Pliny says only that *Myrmecitis* has the likeness of an ant in it ('formicae effigiem', 37. 187).

⁶ *Sandareses*: 'a kind of gem, Plin. 37' (Ainsworth); *sandaresus* in Harduinus and modern editions.

⁸ *Canbury*: see B75n.

⁹ *Sardius Lapis*: 'a kind of onyx of a black colour' (Ainsworth): not in Pliny, but in the Vulgate as one of the stones in Aaron's breastplate (Exod. 28: 17). *Hawke's Fleet*: it was reported on 14 June 1762 (six days before this entry) that 'troops for a new expedition embarked on board Admiral Hawke's fleet at Spithead' (*Gent. Mag.* (1762), 293).

Let Moss, house of Moss rejoice with the Pearl-Oyster behold how
God has consider'd for him that lacketh. 10

Let Ross, house of Ross rejoice with the Great Flabber Dabber Flat
Clapping Fish with hands. Vide Anson's Voyage and Psalm 98th ix. 11

Let Fisher, house of Fisher rejoice with Sandastros a kind of burning
stone with gold drops in the body of it. God be gracious to Fisher of
Cambridge and to all of his name and kindred. 12

Let Fuller, house of Fuller rejoice with Perileucos a precious stone
with a white thread descending from its face to the bottom. 13

Let Thorpe, house of Thorpe rejoice with Xystios an ordinary stone of
the Jasper-kind. 14

Let Alban, house of Alban rejoice with Scorpites a precious stone in
some degree of the creatures. 15

Let Wand, house of Wand rejoice with Synochitis a gem supposed by
Pliny to have certain magical effects. 16

Let Freeman, house of Freeman rejoice with Carcinias a precious
stone the colour of a sea-crab. The Lord raise the landed interest. 17

Let Quince, house of Quince rejoice with Onychipuncta a gem of the
jasper kind. 18

12 Sandastros kind MS

¹⁰ *Pearl-Oyster*: described in George Anson's *Voyage Round the World* (1748), 218 (Stead).

¹¹ *Great Flabber Dabber* appears to be Smart's name for the 'large kind of flat fish' described by Anson (*Voyage*, 217), 'which we supposed to be the fish that is said frequently to destroy the pearl-divers, by clasping them in its fins' (Stead). *Psalm 98:9* (BCP): 'Let the floods clap their hands'.

¹² *Fisher of Cambridge*: perhaps William Fisher, Clare College 1742-5, or the musician, 'Mr. Fisher from Cambridge', who performed at a concert put on by Charles Burney in 1752 (Sherbo, 145).

¹⁴ *Xystios*: 'an ordinary stone in the Indies, of a jasper kind' (Ainsworth); *xanthos* in modern editions of Pliny (37. 128).

¹⁵ *Scorpites*: a stone named after the scorpion ('ab animalibus cognominantur', Pliny 37. 187) because of its supposed resemblance.

¹⁶ *Synochitis*: said to have been used to keep up spirits which had been raised from the dead; Pliny in fact reports this as one of the falsehoods of sorcerers (37. 192).

¹⁷ Ralph Freeman was a leading Hanoverian Tory: Tories were traditionally the upholders of the 'landed interest' (landowners). Defence of the landed interest against the advances of the moneyed men was a constant motive in the political career of Bolingbroke, whom Smart admired (B612, 681): see H. T. Dickinson, *Bolingbroke* (1970).

- 19 Let Manly, house of Manly rejoice with the Booby a tropical bird.
- 20 Let Fage, house of Fage rejoice with the Fiddlefish—Blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus in the fish's mouth.
- 21 Let Benning, house of Benning rejoice with the Sea-Egg. Lord have mercy on the soul of Benning's wife.
- 22 Let Singleton, house of Singleton rejoice with the Hog-Plumb. Lord have mercy on the soul of Lord Vane.
- 23 Let Thickness, house of Thickness rejoice with The Papah a fruit found at Chequetan.
- 24 Let Heartly, house of Heartly rejoice with the Drummer-Fish. God be gracious to Heartly of Christ, to Marsh, Hingeston and Bill.
- 25 Let Sizer, house of Sizer rejoice with Trichros a precious stone black at bottom, white atop and blood-red in the middle.
- 26 Let Chetwind, house of Chetwind rejoice with Hammocrysos, a gem with gold sands on it.
- 27 Let Branch, house of Branch rejoice with Hæmatites—Blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus THE BRANCH.
- 28 Let Dongworth, house of Dongworth rejoice with Rhymay the Bread-fruit. God be gracious to the immortal soul of Richard Dongworth.
- 29 Let Randall, house of Randall rejoice with Guavoes. God give Randall success.
- 30 Let Osborne, house of Osborne rejoice with Lithizontes a sort of carbuncle. God be gracious to the Duke of Leeds and his family.

19-23 *Booby*, *Fiddlefish*, *Sea-Egg*, *Hog-Plumb*, and *Papah* are all described in Anson's *Voyage* (Stead).

21 *Benning's wife*: William Benning (1725-92), a Fellow of Peterhouse and vicar of Abington, Cambs., married a Mrs Stevenson in August 1761.

22 *Lord Vane*: William Vane of Fairlawn, created Viscount Vane in 1720, died in 1734. Smart's father was his steward (see Introduction, p. xv).

24 The *Drummer-Fish* is described in Hans Sloane's *Natural History of Jamaica* (1725), ii, 290. George *Hartley*, Richard *Marsh*, Charles *Hingeston*, and John *Bill* were all at Christ's College, Cambridge, while Smart was at Pembroke. The last three all subscribed to Smart's *Psalms*.

27 The Messiah is called 'the BRANCH' in the AV (Zech. 3: 8). Cf. Smart's psalm 75, 41.

28 *Rhymay*: 'called by the Indians *Rima*, but by us the *Bread-fruit*', Anson's *Voyage*, 310 (Stead). *Richard Dongworth* (1703-61) was Master of Durham School in Smart's time, and subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752.

29 *Guavoes* are mentioned in Anson's *Voyage*, 310 (Stead). Thomas *Randall* became Master of Durham School on Dongworth's death in 1761.

30 *Osborne*: family name of the *Duke of Leeds*.

- Let Oldcastle, house of Oldcastle rejoice with Leucophthalmos. God put it in heart of king to repair and beautify Dover Castle. 31
- Let Beeson, house of Beeson rejoice with Pyropus, carbuncle opal. God be gracious to Masters of Yoke's Place. 32
- Let Salmon, house of Salmon rejoice with Sapinos a kind of Amethyst. 33
- Let Crutenden, house of Crutenden rejoice with Veneris Gemma a kind of amethyst. 34
- Let Bridges, house of Bridges rejoice with Jasponyx, which is the Jasper-Onyx. 35
- Let Lane, house of Lane rejoice with Myrmecias a precious stone with little knots in it. 36
- Let Cope, house of Cope rejoice with Centipedes. God give me strength to cope with all my adversaries. 37
- Let Sutton, house of Sutton rejoice with Cholos a gem of the Emerald kind. 38
- Let Pelham, house of Pelham rejoice with Callimus in Taphiusio one stone in the body of another. God bless the Duke of Newcastle. 39
- Let Holles, house of Holles rejoice with Pyriasis a black stone that burns by friction. The Lord kindle amongst Englishmen a sense of their name. 40
- Let Lister, house of Lister rejoice with Craterites a very hard stone. The Lord hear my prayer even as I attend unto his commandments. 41
- Let Ash, house of Ash rejoice with Callaica a green gem. God be gracious to Miss Leroche my fellow traveler from Calais. 42

32 *Yokes* (or *Yotes*) Place, Mereworth, Kent—within a few miles of Smart's home—had been in the *Master* family since the 17th c.

39-40 Thomas *Pelham* adopted the name *Holles* on inheriting the Holles estate in 1711. He was created *Duke of Newcastle* in 1715, Chancellor of Cambridge University 1748. He formed a coalition with Pitt in 1757, but resigned in May 1762, shortly before this entry.

40 *Pyriasis*: 'a precious stone of a black colour, which with rubbing burneth the fingers' (Ainsworth); evidently a variant of Pliny's *pyritis*, 'nigra quidem, sed atritu digitos adurit' (37. 189). *Lord* . . . name: a reflection on Pelham's change of name (see previous note).

42 *Callaica* . . . *Calais*: a concealed pun: the stone is *callais* in Pliny, but Harduinus notes that it is called *callaica* by other writers. *Miss Leroche*: Elizabeth Roach, the mistress of Sir Francis Blake Delaval, played Emilia in the Delavals' performance of *Othello* in 1751, for which Smart wrote his 'Occasional Prologue and Epilogue'. She was billed as Miss La Roche. The crossing from Calais (of which this is the only evidence) may have taken place in 1748: see Dearnley, 310-14.

- 43 Let Baily, house of Baily rejoice with Catopyrites of Cappadocia. God be gracious to the immortal soul of Lewes Baily author of the Practice of Piety.
- 44 Let Glover, house of Glover rejoice with Capnites a kind of Jasper—blessed be the memory of Glover the martyr.
- 45 Let Egerton, house of Egerton rejoice with Sphragis, green but not pellucid.
- 46 Let Reading, house of Reading rejoice with Synodontites found in the fish Synodontes. 27th July n.s. 1762 Lord Jesus have mercy on my soul.
- 47 Let Bolton, house of Bolton rejoice with Polygrammos, a kind of Jasper with white streaks.
- 48 Let Paulet, house of Paulet rejoice with Chalcites, a precious stone of the colour of Brass.
- 49 Let Stapleton, house of Stapleton rejoice with Scythis a precious stone—the Lord rebuild the old houses of England.
- 50 Let Newdigate, house of Newdigate rejoice with Sandaserion a stone in India like Green Oil.
- 51 Let Knightly, house of Knightly rejoice with Zoronysios a gem supposed by the ancients to have magical effects. Star—word—herb—gem.
- 52 Let Fellows, house of Fellows rejoice with Syrites a gem found in a Wolf's bladder.
- 53 Let Ascham, house of Ascham rejoice with Thyitis a precious stone remarkably hard. God be gracious to Bennet.

44 Jasper blessed MS 45 Sphragis green MS 49 stone the MS

43 *Lewis Bayly's* popular manual, first published c.1613, had a strong anti-Catholic bias which would have recommended it to Smart.

44 Robert *Glover*, a protestant martyr mentioned by Bayly, was burnt for heresy in 1555.

47 *Bolton*: probably suggested by *Reading*: Robert Bolton, vicar of St. Mary's, Reading, subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752.

48 *Paulet*: family name of the Duke of Bolton.

49 *Scythis*: 'a kind of precious-stone' (Ainsworth), i.e. the Scythian emerald (Martianus Capella, i. 67).

51 *star—word—herb—gem*: see Introduction, p. xxvi.

53 *Thyitis*: 'a kind of very hard stone whereof mortars were made' (Ainsworth). James *Bennet*, the nominal editor of Ascham's *English Works*, which had been published the previous year (actually edited by Johnson), was Master of Hoddesdon Grammar School, which Smart's nephew, Christopher Hunter, and Newbery's son Francis attended. Cf. B535n.

- Let Mowbray, house of Mowbray rejoice with The Black and Blue Creeper a beautiful small bird of Brazil. 54
- Let Aldrich, house of Aldrich rejoice with the Trincolo or Tricolor, a leaf without a flower or the flower of a leaf. 55
- Let Culmer, house of Culmer rejoice with Phloginos a gem of a fire-colour. 56
- Let Catesby, house of Catesby rejoice with Cerites a precious stone like wax. 57
- Let Atterbury, house of Atterbury rejoice with Eurotias a black stone with the appearance of mould on it. 58
- Let Hoare, house of Hoare rejoice with Crysoptis a precious stone of a gold-colour. God be gracious to John Rust. 59
- Let Fane, house of Fane rejoice with Chalcedonius Lapis a sort of onyx called a Chalcedony. 60
- Let Lorman, house of Lorman rejoice with Cheramites, a sort of precious stone. 61
- Let Flexney, house of Flexney rejoice with Triopthalmos—God be gracious to Churchill, Loyd and especially to Sheels. 62
- Let Gavel, house of Gavel rejoice with Phlogites a precious stone of a various flame-colour. 63
- Let Hederick, house of Hederick rejoice with Pyritis a precious stone which held in the hand will burn it; this is fixed fire. 64

60 called Chalcedony *Stead, Bond*

54 The *Black and Blue Creeper* of Brazil is described in George Edwards's *Gleanings of Natural History* (1758).

55 *Tricolor*: a species of amaranth (*amarantus tricolor*).

59 *John Rust*, tutor to the son of Sir Richard Hoare, entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1741, and became a Fellow in 1747. He died in 1788: see *Gent. Mag.* (March 1789), 198-9.

62 William *Flexney*, a London bookseller, sold Smart's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1763) and *Psalms*, to which he also subscribed. In 1761-2 he published Churchill's *Rosciad*, Lloyd's *Epistle to Charles Churchill*, and Sheeles's *Sermon on the Fast*. For Churchill, see B295n. Robert Lloyd (1733-64), Churchill's friend, was editor of *St. James's Magazine* in which several of Smart's poems appeared in 1763-4. James Sheeles (1738-62), rector-designate of Long Burton, Dorset, had already had poems published in 1760-1. He may have been especially mentioned because he was ill: this entry was written in August 1762, two months before his death (see 'Sacred to the Memory of the Rev'd James Sheeles'). His sister helped to secure Smart's release from hospital in 1763, and three of his family subscribed to the *Psalms*.

64 *Pyritis*: see D40n.

- 65 Let Pleasant, house of Pleasant rejoice with The Carrier Fish—God be gracious to Dame Fysh.
- 66 Let Tayler, house of Tayler rejoice with the Flying Mole—God keep him from the poor man's garden. God be gracious to William Tayler Sen and Junr.
- 67 Let Grieve, house of Grieve rejoice with Orites a precious stone perfectly round. Blessed be the name of the Man of Melancholy, for Jacob Grieve.
- 68 Let Bowes, house of Bowes rejoice with the Dog Fly. Lord have mercy upon me and support me in all my plagues and temptations.
- 69 Let Alberton, house of Alberton rejoice with Paneros a precious stone good against barrenness.
- 70 Let Morgan, house of Morgan rejoice with Prasius Lapis of a Leek-green colour.
- 71 Let Powell, house of Powell rejoice with Synochitis a precious stone abused by the ancient sorcerers.
- 72 Let Howell, house of Howell rejoice with Ostracias a gem like an oyster.
- 73 Let Close, house of Close rejoice with Chalcophonos a gem sounding like brass. O all ye gems of the mine bless ye the Lord, praise him and magnify him for ever.
- 74 Let Johnson, house of Johnson rejoice with Omphalocarpa a kind of bur. God be gracious to Samuel Johnson.
- 75 Let Hopgood, house of Hopgood rejoice with Nepenthes an herb which infused in wine drives away sadness—very likely.

65 *Carrier Fish*: a kind of mollusc. *Dame Fysh*, see B114n.

66 *Flying Mole*: the mole-cricket. *William Tayler*, see B259n.

67–8 *Man of Melancholy*: Christ, 'a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief' (Isa. 53: 3). *Jacob Grieve* died in 1761; he married a cousin of George *Bowes* (see B609n.).

70–1 *Morgan Powell* was a Welshman Smart knew at Cambridge; he subscribed to Smart's *Psalms*. 'To the Rev. Mr. ——— on the Non-Performance of a Promise' (1753) was addressed to him.

73 *Close* marks the end of the catalogue of gems, hence the apostrophe, *O all . . . ever*, echoing the first verse of the *Benedicite*.

74 *Samuel Johnson* may have visited Smart in the asylum at this date (see *Boswell's Life*, i, 397).

75 *Nepenthes . . . sadness*: Pliny 21. 159 (quoting Homer, *Od.* iv. 221) is the source, but the phrasing is Ainsworth's; *very likely*, in darker ink in the MS, is apparently an afterthought.

Let Hopwood, house of Hopwood rejoice with Aspalathus the Rose of Jerusalem. 76

Let Benson, house of Benson rejoice with Sea-Ragwort or Powder'd Bean. Lord have mercy on the soul of Dr Benson Bsp. of Gloucester. 77

Let Marvel, house of Marvel rejoice with Brya a little shrub like birch. 78

Let Hull, house of Hull rejoice with Subis a bird called the Spight which breaks the Eagle's eggs. 79

Let Mason, house of Mason rejoice with Suberies the Capitol Cork Tree. Lord be merciful to William Mason. 80

Let Fountain, house of Fountain rejoice with Syriacus Rephanus a sweet kind of Radish. 81

Let Scroop, house of Scroop rejoice with Fig-Wine—Palmi primarium vinum. Not so—Palmi-primum is the word. 82

Let Hollingstead, house of Hollingstead rejoice with Sissitietæris herb of good fellowship. Praise the name of the Lord September 1762. 83

Let Moyle, house of Moyle rejoice with Phlox a flame-colour'd flower without smell. tentanda via est. Via, veritas, vita sunt Christus. 84

77 Gloucester MS

77 *Martin Benson*, Bishop of Gloucester 1735–52, was Canon of Durham while Smart was at Durham School and subscribed to Smart's *Poems*.

78–9 *Marvell* was born near *Hull* and represented it in Parliament. *Subis*: 'a bird which breaketh the eagle's eggs, a spight' (Ainsworth): this is a mistake: the *Spight* is Holland's name for Pliny's *picus* (woodpecker), described just after the *subis* (Holland, i, 277).

80 *William Mason* (1724–97), the poet, a native of *Hull*, was eulogized by Smart in 'The Brocaded Gown and Linen Rag' (1754). He was a Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, at the same time as Smart and helped him during his confinement by sending money and collecting subscribers for the *Psalms* (Gray, *Corresp.* ii, 614, 801). *Suberies*: 'a kind of tree whereout is taken the strongest and best swimming cork' (Ainsworth): Festus is cited as source.

81 *Fountain*: William Mason was appointed Precentor of York by the Dean, Dr Fountain, in February 1762.

82 *Palmi primarium vinum*: an inaccurate recollection of Pliny's description of fig-wine, 'quem alii palmiprimum . . . vocant' (14. 102). *Not so . . . word* (in paler ink in the MS) is evidently a correction. Harduinus notes *palmiprimum* as a doubtful reading; modern editors prefer *pharnuprium*.

83 *Sissitietæris* (syssitietæris): 'an herb of good fellowship' (Ainsworth): *hestiatoris* in modern editions of Pliny (24. 165).

84 *tentanda via est*: the quotation is from Virgil, *Georg.* (iii. 8), in which Virgil proposes to try 'new ways' of writing. Smart is probably alluding to his hymns (see D148, D199), which were to take the Christian 'way'. *Via, veritas, vita sunt Christus*: John 14: 6.

- 85 Let Mount, house of Mount rejoice with Anthera a flowering herb.
The Lord lift me up.
- 86 Let Dowers, house of Dowers rejoice with The American Nonpareil
a beautiful small-bird.
- 87 Let Cudworth, house of Cudworth rejoice with the Indian Jaca Tree,
which bears large clusters of fruit like apples.
- 88 Let Cuthbert, house of Cuthbert rejoice with Phyllandrian a good
herb growing in marshes—Lord have mercy on the soul of Cornelius
Harrison.
- 89 Let Chillingworth, house of Chillingworth rejoice with Polygonoides
an herb with leaves like laurel, long and thick, good against serpents.
- 90 Let Conworth, house of Conworth rejoice with Nenuphar a kind of
Water Lily.
- 91 Let Ransom, house of Ransom rejoice with Isidos Plocamos a sea
shrub of the Coral kind, or rather like Coral.
- 92 Let Ponder, house of Ponder rejoice with Polion an herb, whose
leaves are white in the morning, purple at noon, and blue in the
evening.
- 93 Let Woodward, house of Woodward rejoice with Nerium the Rose-
Laurel—God make the professorship of fossils in Cambridge a useful
thing.
- 94 Let Spincks, house of Spinks rejoice with Struthiomela a little sort of
Quinces—The Lord Jesus pray for me.

89 laurel long *MS* thick good *MS* 91 Isidos *Stead, Bond*

92 are are *MS* 94 Struthiomela *Stead, Bond*

85 *Anthera* is called 'a flowry herb' by Ainsworth, but in fact is a medicine from the fruit of *brya* (Pliny 24. 69).

88 *Phyllandrian: phellandrium* in modern editions of Pliny (27. 126), *phyllandrium* in Ainsworth. *Cornelius Harrison* (1701-48) had been a Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Perpetual Curate of Darlington (the patron of which was Smart's benefactor, the Duke of Cleveland): St. *Cuthbert's* was one of the principal churches in his cure. He was a cousin of Samuel Johnson.

89 *Polygonoides*: Smart's description follows Ainsworth verbatim, but Pliny says the leaves are thin (24. 141).

91 *Isidos Plocamos*: 'a shrub in the sea like a coral' (Ainsworth): *Isidis crinem* in modern editions of Pliny (13. 42).

93 *Woodward*: see B279-80n.

94 *Struthiomela* . . . *Quinces*: Ainsworth (Pliny's *struthia mala*, 15. 38).

- Let Peacock, house of Peacock rejoice with Engalacton an herb good 95
to breed milk.
- Let Nason, house of Nason rejoice with Errhinum a medicine to clear 96
the nose.
- Let Bold, house of Bold rejoice with the Hop-Hornbeam. God send 97
me a neighbour this September.
- Let Spriggings, house of Spriggings rejoice with Eon the Tree of which 98
Argo was built.
- Let Bear, house of Bear rejoice with Gelotophyllis an herb which 99
drank in wine and myrrh causes excess of laughter.
- Let Sloper, house of Sloper rejoice with Gelotophye another laughing 100
plant.
- Let Tollfree, house of Tollfree rejoice with Fern of Trees—Lord 101
stave off evil this day.
- Let Clare, house of Clare rejoice with Galeotes a kind of Lizard at 102
enmity with serpents. Lord receive the soul of Dr Wilcox Master of
Clare Hall.
- Let Wilmot, house of Wilmot rejoice with Epipetros an herb coming 103
up spontaneous (of the seed of the earth) but never flowers.
- Let Anstey, house of Anstey rejoice with Eumeces a kind of balm. 104
Lord have mercy on Christopher Anstey and his kinswoman.

95 *Engalacton*: Pliny has several herbs of this description, but the name seems to be Smart's borrowing, from 'εγγάλακρον, 'lac habens' (Stephanus's *Thesaurus*, s.v. 'εγγαλον).

96 *Errhinum*: 'a medicine taken at the nose to clear the brain' (Ainsworth): source untraced, but Smart could have got it from Salmon.

100 *Gelotophye*: 'an herb causing much laughter' (Ainsworth): Ps.—Appuleius's *Herbarium*, 8.

102 *Galeotes*: Smart's description follows Ainsworth: Pliny calls them enemies of scorpions (29. 90). John *Wilcox*, Master of Clare, died on 16 September 1762, a few days before this entry.

103 *Epipetros*: 'an herb which never flowers, and comes spontaneously' (Ainsworth): Pliny only says that it never flowers (21. 89).

104 *Christopher Anstey* (1724-1805), the poet, was Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 1745-54. He published a Latin version of Gray's *Elegy* in February 1762.

- 105 Let Ruston, house of Ruston rejoice with Fulviana Herba, ab inventore, good to provoke urine. Lord have mercy upon Roger Pratt and his family.
- 106 Let Atwood, house of Atwood rejoice with Rhodora with leaves like a nettle and flower like a rose. God bless all benefactors of Pembroke Hall.
- 107 Let Shield, house of Shield rejoice with Reseda an herb dissolving swelling, and imposthumes.
- 108 Let Atkins, house of Atkins rejoice with Salicstrum Wild Wine upon willows and osiers.
- 109 Let Pearson, house of Pearson rejoice with the American Aloe. I pray for the soul of Frances Burton.
- 110 Let Hough, house of Hough rejoice with Pegasus The Flying Horse—there be millions of them in the air. God bless the memories of Bsp. Hough and of Peter.
- 111 Let Evelyn, house of Evelyn rejoice with Phu a Plinian shrub sweet-scented. I pray God for trees enough in the posterities.
- 112 Let Wing, house of Wing rejoice with Phlomos a sort of Rush. I give the glory to God, thro Christ, for taking the Havannah. Sepr 30th 1762.
- 113 Let Chace, house of Chace rejoice with Papyrus. God be gracious to Sr Richard and family.

105 inventore good MS 107 Reseda herb MS 110 Horse there MS

105 Ruston was the estate near Downham Market, Norfolk, of Roger Pratt, the father of Jermyn and Harriote (see Introduction, p. xvii) *ab inventore*, 'named after its discoverer' (Pliny 26. 89).

106 Rhodora . . . nettle (Pliny 24. 172): 'flower like a rose' is Ainsworth's addition. Richard Atwood was one of the benefactors of Pembroke (cf. B226n.).

109 Francis Burton, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, died 1757.

110 Pegasus: flying horses ('pennatos equos . . . quos Pegasos vocant', Pliny 8. 72) were said to breed in Ethiopia; *millions of them in the air* may allude to the fact that this was written on 28 September, the eve of St. Michael and all Angels; i.e. 'the air is full of angels' (Stead). John Hough, Bishop of Worcester, was famed for his defence of the Church of England under James II. Peter Hough was an entertainer at Sadler's Wells (Sherbo, 141).

111 I pray . . . posterities: Smart is evidently thinking of John Evelyn's *Sylva* (1664) which was concerned with the propagation of trees; 'posterities' is used in the sense 'later generations' in Ps. 72: 17 (BCP).

112 The capture of *Havannah* by Admiral Pocock was reported in the *London Gazette* on 30 September 1762. Cf. 'Ode to Admiral Sir George Pocock'.

113 Richard Chase was Smart's contemporary at Cambridge. He was knighted in 1744 and made High Sherriff of Hertfordshire; he died in 1788.

- Let Pulteney, house of Pulteney rejoice with Tragion a shrub like Juniper. 114
- Let Abdy, house of Abdy rejoice with Ecbolia a medicine to fetch a dead child out of the womb. God give me to bless for Gulstone and Halford. 115
- Let Hoadley, house of Hoadley rejoice with Dryos Hyphear which is the Oak-Mistletoe. 116
- Let Free, house of Free rejoice with Thya a kind of Wild Cypress. 117
- Let Pink, house of Pink rejoice with Trigonum a herb used in garlands—the Lord succeed my pink borders. 118
- Let Somner, house of Somner rejoice with the Blue Daisie—God be gracious to my neighbour and his family this day, 7th Octr 1762. 119
- Let Race, house of Race rejoice with Osiritis Dogshead. God be praised for the eighth of October 1762. 120
- Let Trowell, house of Trowell rejoice with Teuchites a kind of sweet rush. 121
- Let Tilson, house of Tilson rejoice with Teramnos a kind of weed. Lord have mercy on the soul of Tilson, Fellow of Pembroke Hall. 122
- Let Loom, house of Loom rejoice with Colocasia, an Egyptian Bean of whose leaves they made cups and pots. 123
- Let Knock, house of Knock rejoice with Condurdon which bears red flowers in July and worn about the neck is good for scrophulous cases. 124

116 Dryas Stead, Bond 118 Trigonum herb MS

121 Teuchites kind MS Teachites kind Stead, Bond 122 Tilson house MS

123 Calocasia Stead, Bond

115 Francis Gulston and Richard Halford were undergraduates at Pembroke while Smart was a Fellow, and Halford took part in Smart's play in 1747. Gulston subscribed to Smart's *Psalms* but Halford did not, which may account for the embittered allusion in D223.

118 Trigonum (*trigonum* in Ps.—Appuleius, *Herbarium*, 3. 65) seems to be Ainsworth's *Trigonon*, 'an herb used in garlands'. Lord . . . borders: Johnson observed that Smart was allowed to dig in the garden at the asylum (*Boswell's Life*, i, 397).

119 Blue Daisie: a Kentish name for the Michaelmas daisy.

120 Osiritis: the Egyptian name for *cynocephalia* ('dog's head'), a magical plant (Pliny 30. 18). *Eighth of October*: cf. C32.

122 Robert Tilson, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1731, was vicar of Ugley, Essex, from 1729 until his death in 1739.

- 125 Let Case, house of Case rejoice with Coctanum a Syrian Fig. The Lord cure my cough.
- 126 Let Tomlyn, house of Tomlyn rejoice with Tetralyx a kind of herb.
- 127 Let Bason, house of Bason rejoice with Thelypteris which is Sea-Fern.
- 128 Let Joslyn, house of Joslyn rejoice with Cotonea a Venetian herb.
- 129 Let Mace, house of Mace rejoice with Adipsos a kind of Green Palm with the smell of a quince.
- 130 Let Potts, house of Potts rejoice with Ulex an herb like rosemary with a quality of attracting gold.
- 131 Let Bedingfield, house of Bedingfield rejoice with Zygia, which is a kind of maple.
- 132 Let Tough, house of Tough rejoice with Accipitrina. N.B. The hawk beat the raven St Luke's day 1762.
- 133 Let Balsam, house of Balsam rejoice with Chenomycon an herb the sight of which terrifies a goose. Lord have mercy on William Hunter his family.
- 134 Let Graves, house of Graves rejoice with Cinnaris the Stag's antidote—the persecuted Christian is as the hunted stag.
- 135 Let Tombs, house of Tombs rejoice with Acesis Water Sage—God be gracious to Christopher Charles Tombs.
- 136 Let Addy, house of Addy rejoice with Crysippea a kind of herb so called from the discoverer.
- 137 Let Jump, house of Jump rejoice with Zoster a Sea-Shrub. Blessed be the name of Christ for the Anniversary of the Battle of Agincourt 1762.
- 138 Let Bracegirdle, house of Bracegirdle rejoice with Xiris a kind of herb with sharp leaves.

125 care [cure?] my *Stead* care for my *Bond*

134 antidote the *MS*

125 *my cough*: cf. C68-70.

132 *Accipitrina*: 'the herb hawkweed' (Ainsworth). Ps.—Appuleius's *Herbarium*, 30. *St. Luke's Day*: 18 October.

133 *William Hunter*, a surgeon, married Smart's sister Margaret and was the father of Christopher (B65).

135 *Christopher Charles Tombs*: perhaps related to John Tombes, of Trinity College, Cambridge, who subscribed to Smart's *Psalms*.

137 *Battle of Agincourt*: 25 October 1415.

- Let Girdlestone, house of Girdlestone rejoice with Crysocarpum a kind of Ivy. 139
- Let Homer, house of Homer rejoice with Cinnabar which makes a red colour. 140
- Let Lenox, house of Lenox rejoice with Achnas the Wild Pear Tree. God be gracious to the Duke of Richmond. 141
- Let Altham, house of Altham rejoice with the Everlasting Apple-Tree. 142
- Let Travell, house of Travell rejoice with Ciborium The Egyptian Bean. 143
- Let Tyers, house of Tyers rejoice with Ægilops a kind of bulbous root. God give good will to Jonathan Tyers and his family this day. All Saints. N.S. 1762. 144
- Let Clever, house of Clever rejoice with Calathiana a sort of Autumnal flower. 145
- Let Bones, house of Bones rejoice with The Red-Crested Black and Blue Bird of Surinam. 146
- Let Pownall, house of Pownall rejoice with the Murrion a creature of the Beaver kind. 147
- Let Fig, house of Fig rejoice with Fleawort. The Lord magnify the idea of Smart singing hymns on this day in the eyes of the whole University of Cambridge. Novr 5th 1762. N.S. 148
- Let Codrington, house of Codrington rejoice with Thelyphonon an herb whose root kills scorpions. 149
- Let Butler, house of Butler rejoice with Theombrotios a Persian herb. God be gracious to the immortal Soul of the Duke of Ormond. 150

141 *Achnas* (so spelt in Ainsworth) must be a mistake for *achras* (Columella 7. 9. 6). Charles *Lennox* (1735-1806), *Duke of Richmond*, distinguished himself at the battle of Minden in 1759.

144 *Jonathan Tyers*: see B455n. *All Saints' Day*: 1 November.

146 *The Red-Crested . . . Bird of Surinam* seems to be an imperfect recollection of the Red-breasted Humming-bird from Surinam described in George Edwards's *Gleanings of Natural History* (1758), just after the Creeper referred to in D54.

147 *Murrion*: a variant of *morion*, a helmet without a beaver (Stead).

148 *hymns*: see D84n. Smart might have been writing Hymn 29, 'The Fifth of November' (Brittain, 277).

150 James *Butler* (1610-88), *Duke of Ormond*, was Chancellor of Oxford University: his name is one of a series (*Codrington, Bodley, Peckwater, Sheldon*) associated with Oxford.

- 151 Let Bodley, house of Bodley rejoice with Tetragnathius a creature of the Spider kind.
- 152 Let Acton, house of Acton rejoice with Theangelis an herb used by the Ancients for magical purposes.
- 153 Let Peckwater, house of Peckwater rejoice with Tettigonia a small kind of Grashopper.
- 154 Let Sheldon, house of Sheldon rejoice with Teucrion an herb like Germander.
- 155 Let Brecknock, house of Brecknock rejoice with Thalassegle an herb. God be merciful to Timothy Brecknock.
- 156 Let Plank, house of Plank rejoice with the Sea Purslain—God be gracious to Thomas Rosoman and family.
- 157 Let Goosetree, house of Goosetree rejoice with Hippophaes a kind of teazle used in the dressing of cloth. God exalt the Soul of Captain Goosetree.
- 158 Let Baimbridge, house of Baimbridge rejoice with Hippophæstum of the same kind. Horses shou'd be dock'd in winter.—Bambridge praise the name of the Lord.
- 159 Let Metcalf, house of Metcalf rejoice with Holcus Wall-Barley—God give grace to my adversaries to ask council of Abel.

155 Let Brecknock *MS* 158 clock'd in winter *Stead, Bond*

155 *Timothy Brecknock*: a hack-writer, see Walpole's *Memoirs of George III* (ed. G. F. R. Barker (1894), i, 304). Brecknock's *Plan for Establishing a General Peace*, published in 1759, was described as a hare-brain scheme in the *Monthly Review*. Perhaps Smart thought him mad: *thalassegle* is said to give men strange visions (Pliny 24. 102).

156 *Thomas Rosoman*, proprietor of Sadler's Wells, was a witness to the contract for the *Universal Visiter* signed by Smart in 1755, and subscribed to Smart's *Psalms*.

157 *Captain Goosetree* (Goostrey), commander of the *Cambridge* on the expedition to Havana in 1762 (see D112), was killed during the bombardment of the Moro fort (a painting of this episode is in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich): Pocock's dispatch (*London Gazette*, 9 September 1762) paid tribute to his bravery.

157–8 *Hippophaes*: 'a kind of teazel which shearmen use in dressing cloth'; *Hippophæstum*, 'an herb which seemeth to be the same as hippophaes' (Ainsworth). Smart must be following the thesaurus here: both plants are in Pliny, but widely separated, and neither is said to be used for dressing cloth. The prefix *hippo-* would have suggested the reference to horses.

159 *my adversaries*: probably those who committed him to hospital; he tried to prosecute them after his release (Stead); see Gray, *Corresp.* iii, 802. *To ask council of Abel* was a proverbial saying for ending a matter (see 2 Sam. 20: 18).

- Let Graner, house of Graner rejoice with Hircules Bastard Nard. The Lord English Granier and his family. 160
- Let Cape, house of Cape rejoice with Orgament an herb. 161
- Let Oram, house of Oram rejoice with Halus an herb like unto Orgament. 162
- Let Sykes, house of Skyes rejoice with Hadrobolum a kind of sweet gum. 163
- Let Plumer, house of Plumer rejoice with Hastula Regia an herb resembling a spear. 164
- Let Digby, house of Digby rejoice with Glycryhiza Sweetroot. God be gracious to Sr Digby Legard his Son and family. 165
- Let Otway, house of Otway rejoice with Hippice an herb which being held in an horse's mouth keeps him from hunger. 166
- Let Cecil, house of Cecil rejoice with Gnaphalium an herb bleached by nature white and soft for the purpose of flax. God bless Lord Salisbury. 167
- Let Rogers, house of Rogers rejoice with Hypelates a kind of Laurel—God be gracious to Rogers and Spilsbury with their families. 168
- Let Cambden, house of Cambden rejoice with Glischromargos a kind of white marl. 169
- Let Conduit, house of Conduit rejoice with Græcula a kind of Rose. God be gracious to the immortal soul of Sr Isaac Newton. 170

162 Helus *Stead, Bond* 165 a Sweetroot *Bond*

160 Jack, Joseph, and Polly *Granier* were French dancers on the London stage from the 1740s to 1760s. Joseph Granier also composed settings for songs by Smart's friend Richard Rolt, for performance at Vauxhall Gardens. *English*: 'naturalize' (Stead). Not recorded in the 18th c. in *OED*, but an obvious extension of the standard sense, 'translate into English'.

161–2 *Orgament*: marjoram. *Halus*, 'Comfry, an herb like orgament' (Ainsworth).

165 *Sir Digby Legard* (1729–73) was at Trinity Hall, Cambridge (1746–9), and subscribed to Smart's *Poems* and *Psalms*. His son was born on 4 November 1762, two weeks before this entry.

167 *Cecil*: the family name of the Earl of Salisbury.

168 *Rogers* (known also as Roger or Rogier) was a performer in Garrick's company, 1747–66. *Spilsbury*, treasurer of the opera company at King's-Theatre, Haymarket (where Smart's *Hannah* was performed), subscribed to Smart's *Psalms*.

169–70 John *Conduitt* (1688–1737) married *Newton's* niece, and succeeded him as Master of the Mint. For the association of *Newton* with the *Rose*, cf. Cr24n.

- 171 Let Hands, house of Hands rejoice with Hadrosphærum a kind of Spikenard with broad leaves.
- 172 Let Snipe, house of Snipe rejoice with Hæmotimon a kind of red glass. Blessed be the name of Jesus for the 29th of Novr.
- 173 Let Aylesworth, house of Aylesworth rejoice with Glinon which is a kind of Maple.
- 174 Let Aisley, house of Aisley rejoice with Halic astrum which is a kind of bread corn.
- 175 Let Ready, house of Ready rejoice with Junco The Reed Sparrow. Blessed be the name of Christ Jesus Voice and Instrument.
- 176 Let Bland, house of Bland rejoice with Lacta a kind of Cassia. God be gracious to Bland of Durham and the Widow George.
- 177 Let Abington, house of Abington rejoice with Lea a kind of Colewort—praise him upon the sound of the trumpet.
- 178 Let Adcock, house of Adcock rejoice with Lada a shrub, which has gummy leaves.
- 179 Let Snow, house of Snow rejoice with Hysginum a plant dying Scarlet.
- 180 Let Wardell, house of Wardell rejoice with Leiostreum a smooth oyster. God give grace to the black trumpeter and have mercy on the soul of Scipio.
- 181 Let Herring, house of Herring rejoice with Iberica a kind of herb. Blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus for Miss Herring.
- 182 Let Dolben, house of Dolben rejoice with Irio Winter Cresses, Rock Gentle or Rock Gallant.
- 183 Let Oakley, house of Oakley rejoice with the Skink a little amphibious creature found upon Nile.

171 Hadrosphærum kind *MS* 175 blessed *MS* 177 Colewort praise *MS*

174 *Halic astrum* (alicastrum): 'a kind of bread corn' (Ainsworth): Columella, 2. 6.
 176 Henry Bland was Prebendary of Durham from 1737 to 1768.
 177 Praise . . . trumpet (Ps. 150. 3): perhaps suggested by *brassica*, the generic name for *Colewort* (cabbage).

179 *Hysginum*, described by Ainsworth as 'a plant that dyeth a colour like scarlet', is actually the dye itself, made from hyacinths (Pliny 21. 170).

180 *Leiostreum*: 'a smooth oyster' (Ainsworth): *Historia Augusta*, Heliog. 19. 6. *Black trumpeter* . . . *Scipio*: perhaps a recollection of the musical entertainment called *Scipio Africanus* performed at Sadler's Wells in 1747 (*BL*, Th. Cts. 49).

181 *Miss Herring*: probably related to Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom Smart dedicated 'On the Omniscience of the Supreme Being' (1752). His nephew, John Herring, subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752.

182 *Irio*: 'Wintercresses, rockgentle or rockgallant' (Ainsworth).

- Let Owen, house of Owen rejoice with the Shag-green a beast from which the skin so called is taken. 184
- Let Twist, house of Twist rejoice with Neottophora a little creature that carries its young upon its back. 185
- Let Constant, house of Constant rejoice with the Musk-Goat—I bless God for two visions of Anne Hope's being in charity with me. 186
- Let Amos, house of Amos rejoice with The Avosetta a bird found at Rome. 187
- Let Humphreys, house of Humphreys rejoice with The Beardmanica a curious bird. 188
- Let Busby, house of Busby rejoice with The Ganser a bird. God prosper Westminster-School. 189
- Let Alured, house of Alured rejoice with the Book-Spider—I refer the people of both Universitys to the Bible for their morality. 190
- Let Lidgate, house of Lidgate rejoice with The Flammant a curious large bird on the coast of Cuba. God make us amends for the restoration of the Havannah. 191
- Let Cunningham, house of Cunningham rejoice with The Bohemian Jay. I pray for Peace between the K. of Prussia and Empress Queen. 192
- Let Thornhill, house of Thornhill rejoice with The Albicore a Sea Bird. God be gracious to Hogarth his wife. Blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus at Adgecomb. 193

184 *Shag-green*: not an animal but the leather itself.

185 *Neottophora* appears to be Smart's coinage from νεοττο + φορα, 'young-bearing'.

186 *Anne Hope*: see B534n. and B666-7n.

187-208 All the birds in these verses are as described in Albin's *Natural History of Birds*, 1731-8 (Stead).

189 Richard Busby (1606-95) was the famous headmaster of Westminster School satirized by Pope (*Dunciad* iv, 139-48).

191 The restoration of the *Havannah* was one of the preliminary articles of peace signed by Britain, France, and Spain on 3 November 1762.

192 The *K. of Prussia* and *Empress Queen* (Maria Theresa of Austria) were involved in the current peace negotiations, but the *Bohemian Jay* is a reminder of their earlier conflict over Bohemia in 1744-5.

193 William Hogarth (1697-1764) married the daughter of Sir James Thornhill (1675-1734), sergeant-painter to George I, whose work adorned the interior of *Adgecomb*, later Addiscombe House, near Croydon (Brayley's *History of Surrey* (1879), iii, 237). George and Thomas Thornhill and Hogarth all subscribed to Smart's *Psalms*. The *Albicore* is a fish.

- 194 Let Dawn, house of Dawn rejoice with The Frigate Bird which is found upon the coasts of India.
- 195 Let Horton, house of Horton rejoice with Birdlime—Blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus against the destruction of Small Birds.
- 196 Let Arne, house of Arne rejoice with The Jay of Bengal. God be gracious to Arne his wife, to Michael and Charles Burney.
- 197 Let Westbrooke, house of Westbrooke rejoice with the Quail of Bengal. God be gracious to the people of Maidstone.
- 198 Let Allcock, house of Allcock rejoice with The King of the Wavows a strange fowl. I pray for the whole University of Cambridge especially Jesus College this blessed day.
- 199 Let Audley, house of Audley rejoice with The Green Crown Bird. The Lord help on with the hymns.
- 200 Let Bloom, house of Bloom rejoice with Hecatompus a fish with an hundred feet.
- 201 Let Beacon, house of Beacon rejoice with Amadavad a fine bird in the East Indies.
- 202 Let Blomer, house of Blomer rejoice with Halimus a Shrub to hedge with. Lord have mercy upon poor labourers this bitter frost Decr 29 n.s. 1762.
- 203 Let Merrick, house of Merrick rejoice with Lageus a kind of Grape. God all-sufficient bless and forward the Psalmist in the Lord Jesus.
- 204 Let Appleby, house of Appleby rejoice with Laburnum a shrub whose blossom is disliked by bees.
- 196 wife to MS 198 whose University MS

196 Smart's association with the composers Thomas Arne and Charles Burney dated from the 1740s (see Introduction, p. xvii). Both of them subscribed to his *Psalms*. Arne's wife was a well-known singer, and his son Michael (1741 ?–86), a musical prodigy, composed settings for several of Smart's songs while he was still a boy.

197 The Westbrooke family were owners of Keycole Farm, Sittingbourne, near Maidstone. Smart's father had an estate in the parish of Maidstone, where Smart went to school in his early years (Sherbo, 6–9).

198 *this blessed day*: Christmas Day, 1762.

199 *the hymns*: see D84n.

200 *Hecatompus*: 'a fish with an hundred, or however a great many feet' (Ainsworth): said to be from Pliny, but not traced.

202 *Halimus* (Pliny's *halimon*, 22. 73): 'a shrub fit to hedge with' (Ainsworth). *This bitter frost*: reports of the great frost in December–January appeared in *Gent. Mag.* (January 1763).

203 Evidently Smart knew that James Merrick was preparing a rival version of the psalms: it was published by Newbery in 1765, just before Smart's own version.

- Let Waite, house of Waite rejoice with the Shittah-Tree—blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus for the musicians and dancers this holiday-time. 205
- Let Stedman, house of Stedman rejoice with Jacobæa St James's Wort. God be merciful to the house of Stuart. 206
- Let Poet, house of Poet rejoice with Hedychrum a kind of ointment of a sweet smelling savour. God speed the New Year thro' Christ 1763. 207
- Let Jesse, house of Jesse rejoice with the Lawrey a kind of bird. God forward my version of the psalms thro' Jesus Christ our Lord. 208
- Let Clemison, house of Clemison rejoice with Helix a kind of Ivy. God be praised for the vision of the Redcap and packet. 209
- Let Crockatt, house of Crockatt rejoice with Emboline an Asiatic Shrub with small leaves, an antidote. I pray for the soul of Crockatt the bookseller the first to put me upon a version of the Psalms. 210
- Let Oakley, house of Oakley rejoice with Haliphæus a tree with such bitter fruit that nothing but swine will touch it. 211
- Let Preacher, house of Preacher rejoice with Helvella a small sort of cabbage. God be merciful to the immortal soul of Stephen [the] Preacher. 212
- Let Heron, house of Heron rejoice with the Tunal-Tree on which the Cochineal feeds. 213
- Let Kitcat, house of Kitcat rejoice with Copec the Pitch-Stone. Janry 8th 1763 Hallelujah. 214
- Let Gisbourne, house of Gisbourne rejoice with Isocinnamon an herb of a sweet smelling savour. 215

207 Hedrychum MS 209 Helia Stead, Bond 210 leaves an MS

212 Stephen Preacher MS 213 Junal-Tree Stead, Bond

205 *Shittah-Tree*: mentioned in Isa. 41: 19.

206 *St. James's Wort* (ragwort) reminds Smart of James Edward Stuart, the Old Pretender. Cf. B71.

207 *Hedychrum*: 'a kind of sweet ointment' (Ainsworth): Cicero, *Tusc. Dis.* 3. 19. 46.

208 *psalms*: see D203n. Smart associates them with Jesse, the father of David.

210 *Crockatt*: probably James Crockatt, who was active as a bookseller from 1726 to 1752 (Stead). He was 'the greatest literary projector of the age' (Plomer's *Dictionary*).

212 *Stephen [the] Preacher*: i.e. St. Stephen, whose sermon declaring Jesus to be the Messiah led to his martyrdom (Acts 7). This verse was written on 26 December, os, St. Stephen's Day. *Helvella*: 'a small sort of cabbage' (Ainsworth): Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.* 7. 26. 2.

213–14 The *Tunal-Tree* and *Copec the Pitch-Stone* are both described in Daniel Coxe's *Description of Carolina* (1722), 85–8. *Janry 8th*: cf. C32.

- 216 Let Poor, house of Poor rejoice with Jasiona a kind of Withwind—
Lord have mercy on the poor this hard weather. Jan: 10th 1763.
- 217 Let Eccles, house of Eccles rejoice with Heptapleuros a kind of
Plantain. I pray for a musician or musicians to set the new psalms.
- 218 Let Moseley, house of Moseley rejoice with Spruce—I bless God for
Old Foundation Day at Pemb. Hall.
- 219 Let Pass, house of Pass rejoice with Salt—The Lord pass the last year's
accounts in my conscience thro' the merits of Jesus Christ. New Year
by Old Stile 1763.
- 220 Let Forward, house of Forward rejoice with Immussulus a kind of
bird—the Lord forward my translation of the psalms this year.
- 221 Let Quarne, house of Quarne rejoice with Thyosiris yellow Succory
—I pray God bless all my Subscribers.
- 222 Let Larkin, house of Larkin rejoice with Long-wort or Torch-herb—
God give me good riddance of my present grievances.
- 223 Let Halford, house of Halford rejoice with Siren a musical bird. God
consider thou me for the baseness of those I have served very highly.
- 224 Let Ayerst, house of Ayerst rejoice with the Wild Beet—God be
gracious to Smith, Cousins, Austin, Cam and Kingsley and Kinleside.
- 225 Let Decker, house of Decker rejoice with Sirpe a Cyrenian plant
yielding an odoriferous juice.
- 226 Let Cust, house of Cust rejoice with Margaris a date like unto a
pearl.
- 227 Let Usher, house of Usher rejoice with Condurdon an herb with a red
flower worn about the neck for the scurvy.

220 bird the *MS*

223 considered *MS*

225 yeilding *MS*

216 *hard weather*: see D202n.

217 Smart's prayer was answered by the *Collection of Melodies* for his psalms by
leading composers of the day, published in 1765 (Brittain, 49–50).

218 *Old Foundation Day*: the Founder's Feast was held on New Year's Day.

219 *New . . . Stile*: 12 January, Ns.

221 Robert Quarne subscribed to Smart's *Poems*, 1752, but not to the *Psalms*.

223 *Halford*: see D115n. The *Sirens* were singing birds with the faces of maidens
(Ovid, *Met.* v, 555).

224 The names may represent people Smart was canvassing for subscriptions to
the *Psalms* (see D221). General *Kingsley*, Capt. Nathaniel *Austen*, and several *Smiths*
appear in the list.

225 *Sirpe*: 'a plant growing in Cyrene, yielding out of the stem an odoriferous
liquor' (Ainsworth): Plautus, *Rudens*, 3. 2. 16.

227 *Condurdon*: see D124n.

- Let Slingsby, house of Slingsby rejoice with Midas a little worm 228
breeding in beans.
- Let Farmer, house of Farmer rejoice with Merois an herb growing at 229
Meroe, leaf like lettuce and good for dropsy.
- Let Affleck, house of Affleck rejoice with The Box-thorn. Blessed be 230
the name of the Lord Jesus Emanuel.
- Let Arnold, house of Arnold rejoice with Leucographis a simple good 231
against spitting of blood.
- Let Morris, house of Morris rejoice with Lepidium a Simple of the 232
Cress kind.
- Let Crane, house of Crane rejoice with Libanotis an herb that smells 233
like Frankinsense.
- Let Arden, house of Arden rejoice with Mew an herb with the stalk 234
and leaves like Anise.
- Let Joram, house of Joram rejoice with Meliphylla Balm Gentle. God 235
be gracious to John Sherratt.
- Let Odwell, house of Odwell rejoice with Lappago Maiden Lips. 236
Blessed be the name of Jesus in singularities and singular mercies.
- Let Odney, house of Odney rejoice with Canaria a simple called 237
Hound's-grass.

229 Meroe leaf *MS*

235 Gentle God *MS*.

230 William Affleck (d. 1806), a Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge,
subscribed to Smart's *Psalms*. The *Box-thorn* grows in Palestine: Smart may have
identified it with Christ's thorn, another Palestinian shrub.

234 *Mew* (meu): 'an herb with a stalk and leaves like anise' (Ainsworth): Pliny
20. 253.

235 *Meliphylla*: Ainsworth gives this as a variant of *melisphylla* (Virgil, *Georg.* iv.
63). *John Sherratt*, a London merchant, one-time manager of Marylebone Gardens,
was instrumental in securing Smart's release from the asylum: see 'Epistle to John
Sherratt'.

APPENDIX

Smart and the Hutchinsonians

Smart's outright rejection of Newtonian science in *Jubilate Agno* was a new feature of his poetry. In earlier poems, especially the Tripos verses 'Materies gaudet vi inertiae' (1742) and 'On the Omniscience of the Supreme Being' (1752), he had taken up an attitude similar to Pope's, combining admiration for the genius of Newton with scepticism about the capacity of human reason to comprehend the mysteries of Nature; but he had never totally repudiated scientific explanation as such. The change in his opinions between 1752 and 1759 was probably due to the influence of the Hutchinsonians.

The Hutchinsonians took their name from John Hutchinson (1674-1737), the author of *Moses Principia* (1724-7) and other works.¹ *Moses Principia* was an attempt to refute Newton's *Principia* by showing that the entire system of nature was contained in the first chapter of Genesis, if rightly interpreted. Later works amplified this thesis by adducing the 'evidence' of Hebrew etymology and typology. Absurd though his methods of argument appeared to rationalists, Hutchinson's theory attracted some able followers, including George Horne, Bishop of Norwich, and William Jones of Nayland: it clearly answered the need for a philosophy which reconciled science and revelation, and restored belief in the divine origin and nature of creation. Hutchinsonianism took hold at first in Oxford, after the publication of Hutchinson's collected *Philosophical and Theological Works*, edited by Robert Spearman and Julius Bate (1748-9). Horace Walpole gave a witty and irreverent account of the new 'sect' in 1753, while it was still confined to Oxford,² but Hutchinsonianism soon attracted wider interest. It was discussed in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* several times between 1752 and 1755; George Horne published *A Fair, Candid, and Impartial Statement of the Case between Sir Isaac Newton and Mr. Hutchinson* in 1753; and Robert Spearman wrote *An Enquiry after Philosophy and Theology*, based on Hutchinson's system, in 1755.

The Hutchinsonians were by no means the only writers who opposed Newtonian scientific principles in the eighteenth century. The most powerful critic was of course Berkeley, but Berkeley's influence on general currents of thought in his own time was negligible, and there is no evidence that Smart read or knew his works.³ There are, on the other hand, reasons for supposing

¹ See A. J. Kuhn, 'Glory or Gravity: Hutchinson vs. Newton', *JHI* xxii (1961), 303-22.

² *Corresp.* xxxv, 156.

³ See, however, D. J. Greene, 'Smart, Berkeley, the Scientists and the Poets', *JHI* xiv (1953), 327-52; and K. Williamson, 'Smart's *Principia*: Science and Anti-Science in *Jubilate Agno*', *RES* xxx (1979), 409-22.

that Smart was acquainted with Hutchinson's theory, at least at second-hand. He must have known something about it as early as 1751, when a parody of Hutchinsonian reasoning was published in the *Student* (ii, 377-80). But more significant than this is the fact that two of Hutchinson's leading disciples, George Horne and Robert Spearman, were subscribers to Smart's *Poems on Several Occasions* (1752). Robert Spearman (1703-61) was the son of a Durham attorney, and a lifelong resident of Smart's home county, so Smart's connection with him was probably of long standing. An indirect link with Hutchinson is through John Woodward, the geologist, whose writings Smart evidently knew and admired (B280 n.): Hutchinson assisted Woodward in his collection of fossils, and *Moses Principia* began as a development of Woodward's own theory of the earth.

Smart's philosophy, like Hutchinson's, is a rejection of the materialist principles of Newtonian science, but the affinities are not merely of this general kind. There is, in particular, a striking coincidence of ideas between certain passages in *Jubilate Agno* and the Hutchinsonian system as expounded in Spearman's *Enquiry*. Like Spearman, who professes to follow 'the scripture-philosophy' (p. 88), Smart sets out to 'defend the philosophy of the scripture' (B130). Both Spearman (p. 21) and Smart see Newton's fundamental error as a denial of the doctrine of the Trinity (see B195 n.), and both reject his principles of a *vis inertiae* and a vacuum. These and other similarities are discussed in the notes on B183-6 and B674. They do not prove that Smart was a committed Hutchinsonian, any more than his use of occult ideas proves him to have been a disciple of the occult philosophers, but they do suggest a debt to Hutchinsonian doctrine which might repay further study.

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