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**RICHARD FLECKNOE AS AUTHOR-PUBLISHER**

A GENERALLY-ACCEPTED PICTURE, established in 1881 by Alexandre Beljame's *Le Public et les hommes de lettres en Angleterre au dix-huitième siècle 1660-1744*, holds that the notion of authorship as a financially self-sufficient occupation in England is very much an invention of the decades on either side of 1700.<sup>1</sup> Prior to that, it is maintained, the writer who was not one of a handful of professional playwrights had to look elsewhere than to his craft for a reliable source of income, usually to a patron who could either offer direct support or aid in obtaining a position in church or state that would allow leisure for literary work. From the 1690s, however, thanks to widening markets and the activities of entrepreneur booksellers in the mould of Jacob Tonson, payments to authors for the right to publish their writings rose to such an extent that it became possible to live an independent, and even well-rewarded, life as professional man of letters. This picture seems to me to be correct as far as it goes but to overlook some interesting transitional stages on the road to an assured, contractually-based professionalism. More specifically, it fails to acknowledge a method of turning literary work into income that depended not on payments from booksellers but on direct selling by author to reader, a practice well illustrated in the work of that remarkable professional amateur, Richard Flecknoe.

Little is known about Flecknoe's origins and early years; even whether he held priest's orders has never firmly been established.<sup>2</sup> Marvell's attack on him in 'Fleckno, an English Priest at Rome' and Dryden's in *Mac Flecknoe* indicate that contemporaries did not hold either his writings or his person in very high regard, an opinion that the modern reader will find little incentive to challenge.<sup>3</sup> Yet he was a prolific writer, Wing listing thirty-two entries under his name, representing twenty-five separate titles. He also had a very clear notion of the way in which his talents could best be exercised. His works, whether in prose or verse, are usually composed of relatively short items — epistles or epigrams — a high proportion of which are addressed to persons of wealth and distinction. The literary manner cultivated is very much that of the gentleman amateur writing for his own pleasure and the diversion of a circle of friends and protectors. In the epistle dedicatory to the 1670 edition of *Epigrams of All Sorts*, for instance, he declares that 'I write chiefly to avoid Idleness, and print to avoid the Imputation' and professes to have chosen epigram as his medium because of a desire 'not to take pains in any thing', opinions which harmonise very closely with those of his

principal patron, William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle.<sup>4</sup> However, his very assiduity as a writer would suggest that this was not the whole truth, and we will shortly find reason for believing that his amateurism was no more than a stratagem for extracting money from his patrons.

Certainly, whatever income Flecknoe acquired from his books cannot have come to any great extent from the booksellers. The possibilities for commercial gain arising from a small volume of epigrams or epistles published during the decades 1650-1680 can not have been very great, and, if Milton received only £5 for the first printing of *Paradise Lost*, it is hard to see how Flecknoe can have received more than a token payment (if, indeed, any at all) from works of far less interest and immeasurably less excellence. In any case, only eight of the thirty-two editions of Flecknoe's works listed in Wing are actually identified as having been published by a bookseller. Of the remainder, an astonishing fourteen were published 'For the Author' and two for the author in partnership with a bookseller, while one gives the name of a printer but no bookseller, and the remaining seven identify no agencies of production whatsoever. Assuming that this last category also includes volumes printed at Flecknoe's expense, it is possible that as many as two-thirds of the editions were self-published.

This does not mean, however, that they must have been what today would be called vanity publications, for in Flecknoe's time there still existed traditions by which an author might take responsibility for all or part of the financing of an edition and then act as his own distributor for the copies concerned, or by which the right to print a manuscript would be paid for by a bookseller not in cash but by assigning an agreed percentage of the copies of the edition to the author for private sale.

A case where the evidence for author-distribution is both detailed and specific is that of the North-country Nonconformist Oliver Heywood (1630-1702). Heywood did not at any stage become his own publisher but made a regular practice of distributing his books to members of his congregations, in some cases disposing of over 300 copies in this way. Some of these copies were obtained by purchase, but others were specifically designated as a payment for the right to print: six dozen copies of *Life in God's Favour*, 100 of his brother's book *Christ Displayed*, 100 of *Israel's Lamentation after the Lord*, 50 of *The General Assembly* and 62 of *Baptismal Bonds Renewed* are recorded as having been received gratis from their publishers.<sup>5</sup> There is every likelihood that this was a regular convention of religious publishing, and there is no reason why the author of a secular work might not also have found it more advantageous than accepting cash payment for his copy. (Indeed, something very close to this was to become institutionalised a little after Flecknoe's time in the practice of subscription publishing.) Most of Heywood's books probably went out as gifts, but effectively they were a return for support given to his ministry on other occasions.

An example from closer to Flecknoe's sphere of activity is that of the violin virtuoso Nicola Matteis, who distributed his publications directly to his pupils and other music lovers at prices which were well above those they would have commanded in normal sale. Roger North has described his method:

And he found out a way of getting mony which was perfectly new. For seeing his lessons, (which were all *duos*), take with his scollars, and that most gentlemen

desired them, he was at some charge to have them graven in copper, and printed in oblong octavos, and this was the beginning of engraving music in England. And of these lessons he made books, and presented them, well bound, to most of the lovers, which brought him the 3, 4, and 5 ginnys; and the encouragement was so great, that he made 4 of them.<sup>6</sup>

What was 'perfectly new' in this case was that a practice of presentation in return for a gift which had long been used with musical manuscripts had now, dramatically, been enlarged to print. Flecknoe in a similar way, and over much the same years (Matteis arrived in England in 1672), had managed to naturalize the manuscript begging poem in the typographic medium. If Flecknoe's presentations did indeed secure sums of this order he will have had no trouble in financing frequent, small editions of his writings.

The possibility that Flecknoe, who was also a dramatist, used such methods is not weakened by the prevalence of a similar technique in the disposal of tickets for dramatic authors' benefits. Having mentioned the exceptionally large sums made by Thomas Southerne from his plays, Theophilus Cibber adds:

The secret is, Mr. Southern was not beneath the drudgery of sollicitation, and often sold his tickets at a very high price, by making applications to persons of distinction: a degree of servility which perhaps Mr. Dryden thought was much beneath the dignity of a poet; and too much in the character of an under-player.<sup>7</sup>

Possessing no direct knowledge of Flecknoe's agreements with his printers, booksellers and readers, we cannot be certain that he was involved in similar practices, but the circumstantial evidence is highly persuasive. For the pose of gentlemanly amateurism to have been a genuine one, and for the fourteen or more volumes printed 'For the Author' to have been intended for gratis distribution rather than private sale, Flecknoe would have had to be, for a start, a man of substantial means. Yet this assumption is strongly contradicted by what biographical information we do possess and by the general tenor of the personal references in the works.<sup>8</sup> More to the point, however, is a passage in an introductory poem to the 1671 edition of his *Epigrams of All Sorts* in which Flecknoe — no doubt for the benefit of those who might have been too well deceived by the gentlemanly facade — drops his mask and alludes directly to the fact that his books were produced with a financial return in mind:

To you, from whom I can't so much as look  
For charges of the *binding* of my *Book*;  
Much less the *Printing*, why should I present  
It now? but only out of Compliment?  
And I don't like such Compliments as those,  
When one gets nothing, and is sure to lose.<sup>9</sup>

Eleven years earlier he had written: 'As he is willingly enemy to none, so he will be friend to none against their will; nor cares to have those his enemies, who are never like to be his friends; nor those his friends, who are never like to do him good'.<sup>10</sup> We may safely assume that his books were also designed to do him good, through the proceeds of direct sale among his circle of patrons or through complimentary presentation under an understanding that a 'compliment' was to be given in return.

Once the commercial motive is acknowledged, it is not hard to find further suggestions of a hard-headed business sense underlying the pretence of amateurism. For a start, Flecknoe saw nothing objectionable about switching compliments from one recipient to another. Having assured the Duchess of Newcastle in a poem beginning 'When *Poets* would a *Heroinna* make' included in *A Collection of Epigrams* (1673) that she had been the inspiration for the character of Emilia in his play of that name, he proceeded to readdress the same poem in his *Additional Epigrams* of the following year to the Duchess of Monmouth.<sup>11</sup> That this change, which might otherwise have been explained away as an accident of the press, was deliberate becomes clear when it is realised that the Duchess of Newcastle had died in the interim and that the compliment to her could no longer be paid for. The insincerity of the assurance is further emphasised by the fact that, when the play was published in its original form in 1661 as *Erminia, or the Fair and Vertuous Lady*, Flecknoe had made exactly the same claim to its dedicatee, Lady Southcot.<sup>12</sup> Similar treatment was given to a poem addressed to Henry Howard which was later readdressed to his brother Edward, though here at least the compliment was kept within the family.<sup>13</sup>

In another case, revisions to a poem seem to have resulted from Flecknoe's having unintentionally disagreed with a patron's opinion. In 'On the play, of she wou'd, if she cou'd, to the Duke of N.' beginning 'To tell you what I think of *Etridg* Play', which appeared in *Epigrams of All Sorts*, 1669, pp.10-11, Flecknoe displayed a distinct lack of enthusiasm for Etheregean comedy. Newcastle, however, at this period had acquired a second devoted client in the person of Thomas Shadwell (the bracketing of the two in Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe* is very probably the result of their common connection with Newcastle<sup>14</sup>), who was a warm partisan of *She wou'd if she cou'd*, and by the time of the poem's reappearance at pp.71-2 of the edition of 1670 it had been reworked as 'Of the difference betwixt the ancient and modern playes', without any direct reference to either Etherege or Newcastle.

Motives of this kind undoubtedly underlie many of the changes made to collections and to individual poems from one edition to the next. Flecknoe was an indefatigable fidgeter with his text, not only rewriting, retitling and relocating poems extensively between the various editions of his epigrams but resorting to cancellation, errata lists, press corrections and even hand-written alterations to make what often appear to be quite inconsequential changes. No doubt a certain amount of this springs simply from his ineptness as a writer and reviser, but, in some instances at least, there are grounds for suspecting that the cause lay in the sensibilities of actual and potential patrons. Thus the inking out of two groups of four and two lines respectively from 'The pourtraict', a eulogy of Lady Bellasis, in the British Library copy of the 1671 edition of *Epigrams of All Sorts* can hardly be for literary reasons, since they merely add to the catalogue of the lady's charms in a manner indistinguishable from the rest of the poem.<sup>15</sup> It is not hard, however, to imagine that the praises might have been softened so as not to imply any kind of slight to the other titled ladies addressed in the volume, that the deletion might have been a protest against the failure or parsimony of some expected return for his compliment, or that an address to a Catholic patroness might have been toned down in copies intended for Protestant purchase. There may also have been more than caprice behind the fact that the only two currently recorded copies of

*A Farrago of Several Pieces* (1666), Bodley Mal 481 and Vet A 3f 922, have each been deprived of a poem, apparently by cancellation ('On a lady's embracing a religious life' in the first instance and 'To the Lady Rockingham' in the second). This may well have been to produce Catholic and Protestant versions of the book for patrons of each persuasion. A similar possibility is raised by changes made by resetting to the contents of pp.G2<sup>b</sup>-G5<sup>b</sup> of the 1670 edition of *Epigrams of All Sorts* between the impressions of the sheet preserved in the two British Library copies. Even a compulsive reviser would hardly go to such elaborate and expensive lengths to remould a printed text unless there was some significance in it for a section of his readers, though what it may have been is not evident in this instance.

While matters such as this are purely speculative there can be little doubt that Flecknoe was just as commercial in his attitude towards his writing as Dryden (who is himself the recipient of one of his more flattering effusions).<sup>16</sup> The basic difference between the two is that Dryden, being able to obtain substantial payments from booksellers, then left it to the booksellers to distribute his works to the public, whereas Flecknoe was to a significant extent his own distributor. Moreover, while to be a member of Dryden's public did not require any personal acquaintance with Dryden, to be a member of Flecknoe's public was likely to depend on being personally acquainted with Flecknoe. Indeed, it would follow from the very nature of his enterprise that his public would need to be carefully constructed, member by member, through a network of personal contacts, each new addition to which would be exploited in turn to generate new acquaintance.

That this was indeed Flecknoe's method is evident from the pattern of his verse addresses to the noble families of Cavendish and Howard. In 1645, in Rome, he had made the acquaintance of a fellow Catholic, Henry Howard, later Earl of Norwich and eventually Duke of Norfolk, to whom he was subsequently to address three poems. It was most likely through Howard that Flecknoe established a connection with Howard's cousin, Newcastle, which had already by 1660 led to dedications and exchanges of commendatory verse.<sup>17</sup> After the Restoration, Flecknoe set out to capitalize on his acquaintanceship with the two men and to use them as a means to new connections.

The list at the end of this paper indicates the poems which Flecknoe addressed to the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, to members of their immediate families, and to other noble families included by the Duchess in her account of her husband's pedigree, to which the reader is referred for the precise nature of the more distant cousinships or connections by marriage.<sup>18</sup> The link with the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury, was established through the remarriage of Newcastle's paternal grandmother, the legendary Bess of Hardwick, to George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, which was accompanied by two matches between children by their earlier marriages. In addition, Newcastle's mother was a sister of Jane, Countess of Shrewsbury. An autograph collection of writings by Newcastle's eldest daughter, also Jane, in the Bodleian includes poems 'On Gilbert Earle of Shrewsbury', 'On my hon:<sup>ble</sup> Aunt Mary Countes of Shrewsbury' and 'On my good Aunt Jane Countes of Shrewsbury'.<sup>19</sup> The connection with the Howards, Earls of Arundel and Dukes of Norfolk, came about through the marriage of Newcastle's first cousin Aletheia (or Alatheia) Talbot, to Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel and grandfather of Thomas fifth Duke of Norfolk. The more tenuous link with the Stuarts,

Dukes of Richmond and Lennox, came initially from a marriage between Newcastle's aunt Elizabeth and Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox (the parents of the sadly-fated Arabella Stuart) and was strengthened by the marriages of Aletheia Howard's son Henry to a daughter of Esme Stuart, third Duke of Lennox, and of Charles Stuart, sixth Duke of Lennox and third of Richmond, to Elizabeth, widow of Newcastle's son Charles. (Flecknoe also addressed three poems to the Duke's more celebrated third wife, Frances, who figures so prominently in the *Mémoires de la vie du Comte de Grammont*.)

While some of the family links cited are fairly remote, they were supported in a number of cases by ties of friendship, locality, and economic and political interest. Whatever the nature of the link, Flecknoe must have perceived it as yet another pathway along which he could continue his search for patronage. It should be noted that the Duchess's account of the Duke's family is exclusively concerned with descendants of Newcastle's grandfather, Sir William Cavendish. The list of poems could possibly, therefore, be enlarged by a search through the relatives of Newcastle's mother, a daughter of Cuthbert Lord Ogle, through whom, in the words of the Duchess, he was 'related to the chief of the most ancient Families of *Northumberland*, and other the Northern parts',<sup>20</sup> or of his first wife Elizabeth Basset, widow of Henry Howard, younger son to Thomas Earl of Suffolk.

The list is not simply a guide to one particular group among the intended purchasers of the various editions of the *Epigrams* but also a graphic representation of the way in which Flecknoe, having established a relationship of clientage with one of the wealthy and powerful, used it to develop subsidiary relationships with their relations and dependents. The reappearance or otherwise of a poem in subsequent collections is, one can only assume, a fairly accurate indication of the financial return received in each case. While Flecknoe's talents as a lutenist, viol player and organiser of social games (a matter treated with some expertise in his *A Treatise of the Sports of Wit* of 1675) may also have helped make him welcome in the houses of his aristocratic patrons, and while cash may not have been the only kind of 'compliment' he was angling for, there is every indication that he derived significant income from his activities as publisher and distributor of his own works and that he can be accurately described as a professional writer. There is also no reason to believe that other writers of his time who were not above the 'drudgery of solicitation' may not have adopted the same course.

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The list includes a full record of reprintings, as this can be an important index to the history of Flecknoe's relationship with particular patrons. No attempt has been made to record the many revisions to the texts of poems or to their titles except when these are particularly important to the topic in hand. The collections, and copies, cited are as follows: *Miscellania or Poems* (London, 1653) British Library, two copies [*Miscellania*]; *A Relation of Ten Years Travells* (London, [1655]) British Library, two copies [*A Relation*]; *Heroick Portraits with Other Miscellary Pieces* (London, 1660) British Library [*Heroick Portraits*]; *A Farrago of Several Pieces. Newly written by Richard*

*Flecknoe* (London, 1666) Bodleian Library, two copies [*A Farrago*]; *Epigrams of All Sorts* (London, 1669) British Library [*EAS*, 1669]; *Epigrams of All Sorts* (London, 1670) British Library, two copies [*EAS*, 1670]; *Epigrams of All Sorts* (London, 1671) British Library [*EAS*, 1671]; *A Collection of the Choicest Epigrams and Characters of Richard Flecknoe* ([London], 1673) British Library, two copies [*A Collection*]; *Epigrams Made at Several Times upon Several Occasions: and Continued to the Year 1673* (London, [1673?]) Folger Library [*EMST*]; *Additional Epigrams of the Year 1674 published with A Treatise of the Sports of Wit* ([London?], 1675) Huntington Library [*AE*]; *Euterpe Revived. Or, Epigrams Made at Several Times, in the Years 1672, 1673 & 1674* (London, 1675) British Library [*Euterpe*].

1. Consolation to the Lord of Newcastle, in these calamitous times ('You, who before so nobly could doe')  
*Miscellania*, 1653, pp.71-2.
2. Epithalamium, or a nuptial song for the marriage of the Lord Brackley [Newcastle's grandson] with the Lady Elizabeth Cranfield ('The fairest flower of *Cranfield's* race,')  
*EAS*, 1669, pp.19-20; 1670, pp.51-2; 1671, pp.84-5.
3. Of a worthy noble man: or, William Duke of Newcastle ('But now behold a Nobleman indeed,')  
*EAS*, 1670, p.34; 1671, pp.40-41; *A Collection*, 1673, p.19; *EMST*, 1673, p.24; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.24. Originally the concluding section of 'On Welbeck'.
4. On a noble-man whose motto is, Cavendo tutus [Newcastle's cousin, William, third earl of Devonshire]. ('Who as the *Flint* bears *Fire*, so bears his worth,')  
*EMST*, 1673, p.36; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.36. Devonshire was also the dedicatee of the third book of *EAS*, 1671.
5. On Mary, Duchess of Richmond ('Whether a cheerful air does rise')  
*EAS*, 1669, pp.41-2; 1670, p.23; 1671, pp.82-3; *A Collection*, 1673, p.26; *EMST*, 1673, p.49; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.49.
6. On Mistress Stuarts marriage with the Duke of Richmond. ('The brightest Nymph of all *Diana's* Train,')  
*EAS*, 1669, p.27; 1670, pp.29-30; 1671, p.26; *A Collection*, 1673, p.29; *EMST*, 1673, p.56; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.56.
7. On the death of the Lady Jean Cheynée [Newcastle's eldest daughter, Jane Cheiney] ('The softest Temper, and the mildest Breast')  
*EAS*, 1670, p.6; 1671, p.22; *A Collection*, 1673, p.13; *EMST*, 1673, p.48; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.48.
8. On the death of the Lord Duke of Richmond and Lennox ('As when some mighty blow is given,')  
*A Relation*, [1655], pp.173-4.
9. On the Dutchess of Newcastles closet ('What place is this! looks like some sacred Cell,')

*A Farrago*, 1666, pp.13-14; *EAS*, 1669, pp.22-3; 1670, pp.26-7; 1671, pp.46-7; *A Collection*, 1673, pp.37-8; *EMST*, 1673, p.39; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.39. Also in *Letters and Poems in Honour Of the Incomparable Princess, Margaret Dutchess of Newcastle* (London, 1676), pp.158-9.

10. On the play, of she wou'd, if she cou'd, to the Duke of N. ('To tell you what I think of *Etridg* Play')

*EAS*, 1669, pp.10-11. Reworked as 'Of the difference betwixt the ancient and modern playes', 1670, pp.71-2; 'Former playes and poets vindicated', 1671, pp.51-2.

11. On Welbeck ('*Welbeck*, a place of much Renown, betwixt')

*A Farrago*, 1666, pp.10-12; *EAS*, 1670, p.12; 1671, p.41; *A Collection*, 1673, p.32; *EMST*, 1673, p.46; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.46.

12. The fair mourner. To the Lady Howard [Newcastle's cousin?] ('In sable weeds now all the Graces mourn,')

*A Relation*, 1655, pp.158-9.

13. The portrait of William Marquis of New-castle. To his Lady, the Lady Marchioness ('Let Painters with dull lines, and colours faint')

*Heroick Portraits*, 1660, pp.E4<sup>a</sup>-E6<sup>b</sup>. Also a separate pamphlet, 1660.

14. To Elizabeth, Countess of Arundel and Surrey ('*MADAM*, / You alwayes have so virtuously been bred,')

*EMST*, 1673, p.8; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.8.

15. To Janus. Recommending Welbeck to him, etc. On newyears-day, An. 1666 ('Thou that art alwaies old and new,')

*A Farrago*, 1666, pp.8-9.

16. To Melchbourn [seat of Newcastle's son-in-law, Oliver, Earl of Bolingbroke] ('*Melchbourn* a happy place, that well does show,')

*EAS*, 1671, p.7; *A Collection*, 1673, pp.59-60; *EMST*, 1673, p.40; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.40.

17. To Mr. Bernard Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk ('I grant you Sir, I have a mind unfit')

*Miscellania*, 1653, pp.30-31 as 'To his noble freind N.N.'; *EAS*, 1670, p.38; 1671, pp.31-2; *A Collection*, 1673, p.41; *EMST*, 1673, p.59; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.59.

18. To Mr. Edward Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk. See 'To the Right Honourable the Lord Henry Howard of Norfolk'.

19. To the Countess of Shrewsbury, a pious reflection on Gods goodness ('How good is God! whose love of us transcends')

*AE*, 1674, p.4.

20. To the Duke of Newcastle; on my Lady-Dutchess writing of his life ('*MY LORD*, / Whilst with your Noble Actions you *Indite*;')

*EMST*, 1673, p.13; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.13.



21. To the Lady Mary Candish ('MADAME, In this our Age, when th'ar so Critick grown,')  
*EMST*, 1673, p.4; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.4.
22. To the Lord Henry Howard of Norfolk, on his African voyage ('Commanded by your Prince you did not say')  
*EAS*, 1671, p.3; *A Collection*, 1673, p.20; *EMST*, 1673, p.44; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.44.
23. To the Lord Henry Howard of Norfolk on his return from Constantinople ('My Lord, / As Merchants trade for other Riches, so')  
*EAS*, 1671, pp.28-9; *A Collection*, 1673, p.21; *EMST*, 1673, p.45; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.45.
24. To the Lord N. Requesting some of his verses to shew to the Queen of Bohemia ('Tis true my Lord, I, in those Joviall dayes')  
*Miscellania*, 1653, pp.47-9.
25. To the Right Honourable the Lord Henry Howard of Norfolk ('It is not travell makes the man, tis true,')  
*Miscellania*, 1653, pp.33-4 as 'To his noble freind N. N. on his travels'; *EAS*, 1669, pp.35-6; *EAS* 1670, pp.25-6 as 'To Mr Edward Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk' and subsequently; 1671, p.30; *A Collection*, 1673, p.11; *EMST*, 1673, p.23; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.23.
26. To the same [the Duchess of Newcastle] with his Emilia ('When Poets would a Heroinna make,')  
*A Collection*, 1673, p.38; *AE*, 1674, p.23 (second pagination) as 'To the Duchess of Monmouth. With his play of the noble, fair and vertuous Emilia'.
27. To the truly honorable Mr. Thomas Howard, brother to the Earl of Carlisle ('Although there's many of opinion are,')  
*A Collection*, 1673, p.30; *EMST*, 1673, p.60; *Euterpe*, 1675, p.60.

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## NOTES

1. Available in a translation by E.O. Lorimer with an introduction and notes by Bonamy Dobrée as *Men of Letters and the English Public in the Eighteenth Century 1660-1744*, Dryden, Addison, Pope (London, 1948).
2. Anton Lohr, *Richard Flecknoe. Eine literarhistorische Untersuchung*, Münchener Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie, xxxiii Heft (Leipzig, 1905), pp.7-8 considered it unlikely that Flecknoe had actually been a priest, but H.M. Margoliouth found one definite reference to him as 'Sacerdos' in the 'Pilgrims' Book' of the English College at Rome ('Marvell in Rome', *TLS*, 5 June 1924, p.356). The tenor of the early writings, especially the travel letters and the *Diarium* (see n.3), is more in accord with Lohr's opinion.
3. An exception might be made for *The Diarium or Journal: Divided into 12 Journadas in Burlesque Rhime* (London, 1656), an amusing piece of proto-Hudibrastic ribaldry.

4. For Newcastle's advocacy of similar views see *The Phanseys of William Cavendish Marquis of Newcastle addressed to Margaret Lucas and her Letters in reply*, ed. Douglas Grant (London, 1956), pp.xxi-xxii.
5. For an account of Heywood's dealings with his publishers, see my 'Preacher and Publisher: Oliver Heywood and Thomas Parkhurst', *Studies in Bibliography*, 31(1978), 227-35.
6. *Roger North on Music*, ed. John Wilson (London, 1959), p.356.
7. *The Lives of the Poets of Great-Britain and Ireland* (London, 1753), v, 328-9. In 1719, Matthew Prior paid Southerne a guinea on behalf of the Earl of Oxford for a ticket for *The Spartan Dame* although Harley was out of town and would not be able to attend. Southerne promised to 'make his compliment' for the favour after Harley's return (*HMC* [Bath], iii, 476).
8. Marvell in 'Flecknoe, an English Priest at Rome', written about 1645-6, presents him as living in extreme poverty and notes 'His only impossible is to be rich' (1.88). 'The Remembrance' in Flecknoe's *Additional Epigrams of the Year 1674*, p.8 (second pagination) portrays him as still in straitened circumstances and requests the king for a 'viaticum'.
9. p.A4<sup>a</sup>. Also cited by Lohr, who comments on p.104: 'Seinen Unterhalt musste seine Dichtkunst und sein Lautenspiel verdienen. Für die Leute, die bezahlten, machte er Gelegenheitsgedichte aller Art, Hochzeits-, Geburts-, Sterbegedichte, pries die Schönheit und Tugend der Damen und die Tapferkeit und den Edelsinn der Männer. Widmungen und die Drucklegung der Bücher mussten natürlich noch eigens bezahlt werden. Wer das nicht tun wollte, für den hatte auch die Muse Flecknoes nichts übrig.'
10. *Heroick Portraits with other Miscellany Pieces, Made, and Dedicat to His Majesty* (London, 1660), p.12<sup>b</sup>.
11. *A Collection*, p.38; *Additional Epigrams*, p.23 (second pagination).
12. *Erminia*, p.A2<sup>b</sup>.
13. 'To the Right Honourable the Lord Henry Howard of Norfolk', *Miscellania* (London, 1653), pp.33-4, which reappeared as 'To Mr Edward Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk' in *Epigrams of All Sorts* (London, 1670), pp.25-6 and subsequently.
14. For more concerning the connection, see my 'Shadwell, Flecknoe and the Duke of Newcastle: an Impetus for Mac Flecknoe', *Papers in Literature and Language* 21(1985), 19-27.
15. 'Mouth and pretty dimpled Chin, / Which when to smile she does begin, / You'd think the Graces all the while / Were present there in every smile . . . / Whom if I had nam'd before, / Wonder had let me say no more.' (p.67)
16. 'To Mr. John Dreyden', *Epigrams of All Sorts* (London, 1670), p.70; also in editions of 1671, p.53 and 1673, p.47; *Epigrams Made at Several Times* (1673), p.77, and *Euterpe Revived. Or, Epigrams Made at Several Times* (1675), p.77.
17. See below 'Consolation to the Lord of Newcastle, in these calamitous times' and 'To the Lord N. Requesting some of his Verses to show to the Queen of Bohemia' (Newcastle being the requester). Flecknoe's *A Relation of Ten Years Travells* (London, 1655) was dedicated to Newcastle and contained a commendatory poem by him. Newcastle also provided two commendatory poems to Flecknoe's *Enigmaticall Characters* (London, 1658). One of the characters, 'Of a certain nobleman', was probably intended for Newcastle.
18. *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince William Cavendishe, Duke, Marquess, and Earl of Newcastle* (London, 1667), pp.154-61.
19. MS Rawl. poet. 16, pp.33-4.
20. *Life*, p.161.

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