

THE MANUSCRIPT of *The Vision of Judgement* is in the National Library of Scotland. It is on white wove paper, 24 x 37.5 cm, bound in red.

Sheet 1 side 1:
1st.)

R^a May – 7th 1821

The “Vision of Judgement” by
Quevedo redivivus – suggested by the composition
so entitled by the <Southey> Author of “Wat Tyler”.

“A Daniel come to Judgement yea a Daniel ..
“I thank thee, – Jew, for teaching me that word.” – –

1.

by	
Saint Peter sat<e> <at> the celestial gate	1
His keys were rusty – and the lock was dull –	2
So little trouble had been given of late,	3
Not that the place by any means was full	4
But since the Gallic era “Eighty Eight” –	5
The Devils had taen a longer stronger pull	6
And “a pull altogether” as they say	7
At Sea – which drew most Souls another way. –	8

2.

The Angels all were singing out of tune	9
And hoarse with having little else to do,	10
Excepting to wind up the Sun and Moon,	11
curb	
—	
Or break a runaway young Star or two,	12
—	
Or wild Colt of a Comet which too soon	13
Broke out of bounds oer the ethreal blue,	14
Splitting some planet with it’s playful tail	15
As <Grea?/Gree?> boats are sometimes by a wanton Whale. –	16

3.

<to heaven> on high	17
The Guardian <Ang> Seraphs had retired <from practice>	
charges	18
below.	
Finding their <patients> past all care <and cure->	
Terrestrial business filled naught in	
<But> <The only> <The only sole terrestrial business> in the Sky	19
Save <filled>	
<Was> the Recording Angel’s black bureau –	20
to	
Who found indeed the facts <so> multiply	21
<As to require> With such rapidity of vice and woe –	22

That he had <neer/never> stripped off both his wings in quills 23
And yet was in arrear of human ills. – 24

MANUSCRIPT: 12: *curb* and *break* are alternative readings.

4.
augmented of
His business so <increased in> late<r> years <of course> 25
That he was forced – against his will – <no doubt>
(Just like those Cherubs no doubt – 26
<As against that of> earthly ministers) 27
For some resource to turn himself about 28
<To turn him here and there for some resource> –
<And> <found no better counsel from his peers> –
the help
And <asked> <some caxxere> of his celestial peers 29
claim<ed>
ere
To aid him <else> he should be quite worn out – 30

Sheet 1 side 2:

By increased demand for
<And> <For> the <immense extent of> his remarks; 31
named
Six Angels – and twelve Saints – were <made> his Clerks. 32

5.
This was a handsome board – at least for heaven 33
And yet they had even then enough to do – 34
daily
So many Conqueror's Cars were <proudly> driven – 35
<cut>
<So many heads off – without the new>
<Being a whit better>
So many kingdoms fitted up anew – 36
Each <month> day too slew it's thousands six <and> or seven 37
Till at the <last great> crowning carnage – Waterloo – 38
pens down in divine
They threw their <pens down in disgust> disgust – 39
The page was so <splashed oer> with blood and dust. – 40
besmeared

6.
This by the way; – tis not mine to record 41
even the very devil 42
What Angels shrink from – <there are fools enow>
<to do that who deem the>
<Already>
<to applaud the strongest Sword>,
<And slaves enough to crouch> his own work abhorred 43
On this Occasion <though the Conqueror's Sword>
So surfeited with the infernal revel, 44
<Was his own gift weapon – was so>

Heralds, and relics of old Gothic manners – 72

10.

sepulchral

<Made> Formed a <funereal> melodrame, of all – 73

The fools who flocked to swell or see the show – 74

corpse?

Who cared about the <carcase?> the funeral 75

Made the attraction, and the black the woe – 76

<Old Windsor's towers were all which we can call>

There throbbed not there a thought which pierced the pall, 77

And when the gorgeous Coffin was laid low 78

fold

It seemed the mockery of hell to <mould> 79

The rottenness of eighty years in gold. – 80

11.

mix

dust!

So <rest> his body with the <elements> it might 81

Return to what it must, far sooner, were 82

alone

The natural compound left <to war> fight 83

It's way back into earth and fire and air – 84

But the <unnatural> unnatural balsams merely blight 85

What Nature made him at his birth as bare 86

Sheet 1 side 4:

As the mere Millions' <soon/sons? sent might/right/night?>

<bas> base unummied Clay, 87

<And/>Yet all his Spices but prolong decay. – 88

12.

<has done with him>

He's dead – and upper Earth with him has done; 89

He's buried; <and> save the Undertaker's bill – 90

Or Lapidary <Scribble> Scrawl <I know not one>

<As it went for him> – the world is gone – 91

For him, unless he left a German will — 92

But where's the proctor who will ask his Son? — 93

<Whose loving> <virtues> qualities are

In whom his <vices all are> reigning still – 94

Except th</ose/>at

<Without his> household virtue<s> <to adorn>

most uncommon 95

Of Constancy to a bad ugly woman. – – 96

13.

“God save the king!” it is a large economy 97

In God to save the like, but if he will 98

Be saving, all the better, for not one am I 99

Of those who think damnation better still, 100

hardly know too

I <know not> if not quite alone am I 101

future

In this small hope of bettering <mortal> ill – 102

By circumscribing with some slight restriction	103
hot	
The eternity of <Sat> Hell's <huge> jurisdiction.	104
14.	
I know this is unpopular – I know	105
<you>	
'Tis blasphemous – I know one may be damned –	106
For <thin> hoping no one else may eer be so –	107
I know my catechism – I know we're crammed	108
With the best doctrines till we quite oerflow –	109
I know that all save England's Church have shammed,	110
And that the other twice two hundred Churches	111
have made	
And Synagogues <& Mosques> a <u>damned</u> bad purchase. –	112

Sheet 2 side 1:

2^d.)

15.	
God help us all! God help me too! I am	113
God knows as helpless as the Devil can wish –	114
And not a whit more difficult to damn	115
Than is to bring to land a late=hooked fish –	116
Or to the butcher to purvey the lamb –	117
Not that I'm fit for such a noble dish –	118
As one day will be that immortal Fry	119
Of almost every body born to die. –	120
16.	
Saint Peter sat by the celestial gate	121
And nodded oer his keys – when, lo! there came	122
<heard>	
A wondrous noise he had not heard of late –	123
A rushing sound of wind – & stream and flame –	124
extremely	
In short a roar of things <exceedin> great	125
Which would have made aught save a Saint exclaim –	126
<snort/>start wink	
But he with first a <start> and then a <Nod> –	127
Said another	
<Snored> – “There's <some new> I think	
<must be some> Star gone out <by G-d>!” –	128
17.	
But eer he could return to his repose –	129
A Cherub flapped his right wing oer his eyes –	130
rubbed his nose	
At which Saint Peter yawned, & <then arose> –	131
<And shook himself into>	
<Awake – exclaimed the Angel> prithee rise!	
“Saint Porter – said the Angel – <pray arise>! –”	132
Waving goodly	
<Shaking> a <heavenly> wing, which glowed as glows	133
An earthly Peacock's tail – with heavenly dyes –	134
To which the Saint replied – “Well – what's the matter? – <”>	135
“Is Lucifer come back with all this Clatter?”	136

<And (You have> foolish
 “And so this very <stupid> head heaven solders 165
 “Back on it’s trunk – it may be very well – 166
 “And seems the custom here to overthrow 167
 “Whatever has been wisely done below. 168

22.

The Angel answered – “Peter! do not pout – 169
 “The king who comes – has head and all entire 170
 “And never knew much what it was about – 171
 “He did as doth the Puppet – by it’s wire – 172
 And will
 “<The rest must> be judged like all the rest no doubt – 173
 “My business and your own is not to enquire – 174
 “Into such matters – but to mind our <own>
 cue – 175
 “Which is to act as we are bid to do. 176

23.

While thus they spake – the Angelic Caravan, 177
 a <w/>Wind</s> 178
 Arriving like <a> rush of mighty <waters>
 Cleaving the fields of Space as doth the Swan 179
 Some
 <The> silver <billow> stream (Say Ganges<’> – Nile<’s> or Inde<’s> – 180
 Or Thames<’> – or Tweed<’s>–) & midst them an old man 181
 With an old soul, and both extremely blind – 182
 Halted before the Gate, and in his shroud 183
 Seated their fellow traveller on a cloud. – 184

24.

But bringing up the rear of this bright host 185
 Spirit
 A<n Angel> of a different aspect waved 186
 some
 His wings like thunder=clouds above <the> coast 187
 <Of African> beach frequent is
 Whose barren <shore> with wrecks <is> <cruelly> paved – 188

Sheet 2 side 4:

His brow was like the Deep when tempest tost, – 189
 <but>
 Fierce <and> unfathomable thoughts engraved 190
 and
 Eternal wrath on his immortal face – 191
 gazed pervaded
 And where he <passed> a gloom <came over> <s/>Space. 192

25.

As he drew near – he gazed upon the Gate 193
 or Sin
 Ne’er to be entered more by him <or his> – 194
 With such a glance of supernatural hate – 195
 As made Saint Peter wish himself within – 196
 He potted with his keys – at a great rate 197

sweated	Apostolic	
And <shook> through<out> his <whole celestial> skin –		198
Of course his perspiration was but Ichor		199
Spiritual		
Or some such other <superhuman> liquor. –		200
26.		
The very Cherubs huddled altogether		201
Like birds when <Falcon> soars the Falcon – & they felt		202
tip		
A tingling to the <end> tip of every feather,		203
And formed a circle like Orion’s belt –		204
scarce		
Around their poor old Charge – who knew <not> whither		205
His Guards had led him – though they gently dealt		206
With <his most> royal Manes – (for by many stories		207
<We learn> And true we learn the Angels all are Tories).		208
27.		
As things were in this posture – the gate flew		209
Asunder and the flashing of it’s hinges		210
Flung over space an universal hue		211
many=coloured		
Of <overpowering> flame, until it’s tinges		212
	made a new	
our	<made>	
Reached even <this little> speck of earth – & <threw>		213
<A fine> Aurora borealis spread it’s fringes		214
Oer the North <p/>Pole – the <very> same seen, when ice=bound		215
By Captain Parry’s crews in “Melville’s Sound.”		216

MANUSCRIPT: After Stanza number 27, the ink changes from black to light brown. Byron may have left off writing here on May 7th 1821.

Sheet 3 side 1:

3 ^d .)	28.	
	beaming	217
And from the Gate thrown open – issued <forth>		
A beautiful & mighty thing of light –		218
Radiant with glory – like a banner streaming		219
Victorious from some World=oerthrowing fight		220
My poor Comparisons must needs be teeming		221
With earthly like<k/>nesses – for here the Night		222
Of Clay obscures our best conceptions – saving		223
Johanna Southcote or Bob Southey raving. –		224
29.		
’Twas the Archangel Michael – all men know		225
The make of Angels & Archangels – since		226
	show	227
There’s scarce a scribbler has not one to <know>		
From the fiends’ leader – to the angels’ Prince,		228
There also are some Altar=pieces, though		229

I really can't say they much evince	230
One's inner notions of immortal Spirits; –	231
But let the Connoisseurs <de> explain <u>their</u> merits. –	232
30.	
Michael flew forth – in Glory and in Good	233
A Goodly work of him from whom all Glory	234
<the>	
And Good arise; <and when he past – he stood>	
– the portal past – he stood; –	235
Before him the young Cherubs – and Saint hoary –	236
(I say <u>young</u> – begging to be understood	237
By looks not years – and <doubtless> should be very sorry –	238
state	
To <swear that> they were not <Saint Peter's>	
older than Saint Peter –	239
But merely that they <looked> a little sweeter.)	240
seemed	
</>31.	
before	241
The Cherubs and the Saints bowed down – <but not>	
That Archangelic Hierarch the first	242
Of Essences Angelical – who wore	243
near	
The aspect of a God – but this <nor> nurst	244
Pride in his heavenly bosom, in whose core	245
<His Maker's Service> No thought save for his Maker's service durst	246

Sheet 3 side 2:

<Intrude, he was the loveliest Machine>	
<Int> <However fair and high>	
Intrude, however glorified and high –	247
He knew him but the Vice=roy of the Sky.	248
32.	
He and the Sombre silent Spirit met –	249
They knew each other both for good and ill –	250
Such was their power that neither could forget	251
His former friend, & future foe – but still	252
There was a high immortal proud regret	253
In either's eye – as if 'twere less their will	254
Than destiny to make the eternal years	255
Their date of war – and their “Champ Clos” the Spheres.	256
33. –	
But here they were in neutral space – we know	257
Sathan	
From Job – that <Sathan> hath the power to pay	258
A heavenly visit thrice a year or so –	259
And that “the Sons of God” like those of Clay –	260
Must <have> keep him company; – and we might show	261
From the same book in how polite a way –	262
The dialogue is held between the <p/>Powers	263
take	
Of Good and Evil – but twould up hours, –	264

34.

And this is not a theologic tract 265
 To prove with Hebrew and with Arabic – 266
 If Job be allegory or a fact. – 267
 But a true narrative, and thus I pick 268
 From out the whole but such and such an act 269
 As sets aside <all> the slightest thought of trick – 270
 suspicion
 'Tis every tittle true – beyond <derision> 271
 And accurate as any other vision. – 272

35.

The Spirits were in Neutral space; – before 273
 The gate of heaven – like Eastern thresholds is 274
 The place where <causes all are> argued oer 275
 Death's grand cause is

Sheet 3 side 3:

And Souls dispatched to that world or to this – 276
 And therefore Michael and the Other wore 277
 A civil aspect – though they did not kiss – 278
 Yet still between his Darkness and his Brightness 279
 passed
 There <was> a mutual glance of great politeness. 280

36.

The Archangel bowed – not like a modern beau 281
 But with a graceful Oriental bend – 282
 Pressing one radiant arm <but> just <below> where below 283
 <Crossing his radiant arms>
 good
 The heart <is placed> in <such> men is supposed to tend – 284
 He turned as to an Equal; not too low 285
 But kindly; – Sathan met his ancient friend – 286
 With more <of> hauteur, <but> <and slighter>
 as might an old Castilian 287
 <Noble but poor salute a>
 Poor Noble meet a mushroom rich civilian. – 288

37.

He merely bent his diabolic brow 289
 An instant, and then raising it – he stood 290
 In act to assert his right or wrong, – and show 291
 Cause why King George by no means could or should 292
 Make out a case to be exempt from woe 293
 Eternal, more than other kings endued 294
 <more>
 With <more sense and at least as>
 better sense and hearts whom History mentions, 295
 Who long have “paved Hell with their good intentions.” 296

38.

Michael began – “What would'st thou with this Man? 297
 “Now dead & brought before the Lord? – what ill 298

“Hath he wrought since his mortal race began	299
“That thou canst claim him? Speak – and do thy will	300
“If it be just – if in his earthly span	301
greatly	
“He hath been <greatly> failing to fulfill	302
“His as a king and mortal <pray> – Say;	
<The> duties <of a mortal and a king> –	303
“And he is	
<Say and he’s> thine; – if not – let him have way! –	304

Sheet 3 side 4:

39.	
“Michael! replied the Prince of Air – even here	305
“Before the gate of him thou servest – must	306
“I claim my Subject – and will make appear	307
“That as he was my worshipper in dust	308
“So shall he be in Spirit, although dear	309
“To thee and thine because nor wine nor lust	310
“Were of his weaknesses – yet on the throne	311
“He reigned oer Millions to serve me alone.	312
40.	
“Look to our earth – or rather mine, it was	313
“Once, more thy master’s – but I triumph not	314
“In this poor <province> planet’s conquest, nor Alas!	315
“Need he thou servest, envy me my lot	316
the	
“With all <his> myriads of bright worlds – which pass	317
“In worship round him he may have forgot	318
Yon paltry	
<The wayward> weak creation of such things,	319
“I think few worth damnation save their kings,	320

MANUSCRIPT: After the numerical heading to Stanza 39, the colour of Byron’s ink changes again, from light brown to black.

41.	
“And these but as a kind of quit=rent to	321
“Assert my right as Lord; and even had	322
<it would be>	
“I such an inclination, <’twere superfluous> (as you	323
’twere	
“Well know) superfluous – they are grown so bad –	324
better	
“That Hell <itself> has nothing left to do	325
“Than leave them to <themselves> themselves so much more mad	326
<By> “And evil by their own internal curse, –	327
“Heaven cannot make them better – nor I worse.	328
42.	
“Look to the earth – I said – & say again –	329
worm	330
“When this old blind mad helpless weak poor <Soul>	
“Began in youth’s first bloom & flush to reign	331

“The world and he both wore a different form – 332
 “And Much of earth – and all the watery plain 333
 Of Ocean called him king, through many a storm 334

Sheet 4 side 1:

4th.)

“His Isles had floated on the Abyss of Time – 335
 “For the rough Virtues chose them for their clime. – 336

43.

“He came to his Sceptre – young, – he leaves it old – 337
 in which
 “Look to the state he found his realm 338
 “And left it – and his annals too behold – 339
 “How to a Minion first he gave the helm – 340
 for
 “How grew upon his heart a thirst <of> gold – 341
 “The beggar’s vice – which can but overwhelm 342
 “The meanest hearts – and for the rest – but Glance 343
 “Thine eye along America and France! – 344

44.

“’Tis true he was a tool from first to last – 345
 “(I have the workmen safe-) but as a tool – 346
 “So let him be consumed! – from out the past 347
 “Of ages – since Mankind have known the rule 348
 “Of Monarchs; from the bloody <lists> rolls amassed 349
 “Of Sin and Slaughter, — from the Caesar<’>s’ school – 350
 “Take the worst pupil – and produce a reign 351
 gore
 “More drenched with <war> – more cumbered with the slain! 352

45.

“He ever warred with freedom – and the free – 353
 “Nations as men – home Subjects – foreign foes – 354
 “So that they uttered the word “<l/>Liberty!” 355
 “Found George the third their first opponent, whose 356
 as
 “History was ever stained <like> his will be 357
 “With <blood and debt?>
 national and individual woes? – 358
 “I grant his household abstinence, I grant 359
 “His <net> neutral virtues – which most monarchs want. 360

46.

 own 361
 “I know he was a constant consort – <know>
 “He was a decent Sire – and middling lord, 362

Sheet 4 side 2:

“All this is much – & most upon a throne – 363
 As <would be at Lucullus>
 <Like> temperance, <at the most luxurious board>

if at Apicius' board,	364
Is more than at an <Anchorite's table shown>	
Anchorite's supper shown,	365
"I grant him all the kindest can accord –	366
<And> "And this was well for him – but not for those	367
"Millions who found him what <his> Oppression chose. –	368
47.	
"The new World shook him off – the old yet groans	369
"Beneath what he & his prepared – if not	370
"Completed – he leaves heirs on many thrones	371
"To all his vices – without what begot	372
"Compassion for him, his tame virtues; drones	373
"Who sleep – or <tyrants> despots who have now forgot	374
"A lesson which shall be re=taught them – wake	375
"Upon the throne of Earth; – but let them quake!	376
48.	
"Five Millions <of> of the <p/>Primitive – who hold	377
"The faith which makes ye great on earth – implored –	378
vast all they held	
"A part of that <which they held all> of old –	379
to	
"Freedom <of> worship – not alone – your Lord –	380
"Michael! but you – & you Saint Peter – cold	381
Souls	
"Must <be> be your <Spirits> – if you have not abhorred	382
"The Foe to Catholic participation	383
"In all the license of a Christian Nation. –	384
49.	
"True – he allowed them to pray God – but as	385
"A Consequence of Prayer – refused the <laws> law	386
"Which would have placed them upon the same base	387
"With those who did not hold the Saints in awe —	388
But here Saint Peter started from his place –	389
And cried "You may the prisoner withdraw	390

Sheet 4 side 3:

portals	
"Ere Heaven shall ope her <gate unto> to this Guelf –	391
"While I am Guard, may I be damned myself! –	392
50.	
"Sooner will I with Cerberus exchange	393
"My office – (and <u>his</u> is no Sinecure)	394
royal	
"Than see this <blind old> Bedlam bigot range	395
"The azure fields of heaven – of that be sure –	396
"Saint! replied Sathan – "you do well to avenge	397
"The wrongs he made your Satellites endure –	398
you	
"And if to this exchange <we/were> should be given	399
coax	
"I'll try and <lure> our Cerberus up to heaven.	400

51.
 Here Michael interposed – “Good Saint! – & Devil! – 401
 “Pray, not so fast – you both outrun discretion – 402
 “Saint Peter! – You were wont to be more civil – 403
 “Sathan! excuse this warmth of his expression – 404
 “And <interruption of your speech>
 condescension to the Vulgar’s level – 405
 “Even Saints sometimes forget themselves <at> in Session – 406
 “Have you got more to say? – No; — “If you please 407
 “I’ll trouble you to call your witnesses. 408

52.
 Then Sathan turned & waved his swarthy hand – 409
 Which stirred with it’s <f> electric<XX> qualities – 410
 <The> <c/>Clouds farther off than we can understand 411
 Although we find him sometimes in our skies; – 412
 Infernal thunder shook both <s/>Sea and Land – 413
 In all the planets – and Hell’s batteries 414
 Let off the Artillery which Milton mentions 415
 As one of Sathan’s most sublime inventions. – 416

53.
 This was a Signal <to> unto such damned souls 417
 As have the privilege of their damnation 418

Sheet 4 side 4:

Extended far beyond the mere controuls 419
 Of worlds past present or to come; no station 420
 Is theirs particularly in the rolls 421
 assigned, but where their
 Of Hell – <but wheresoeer their> Inclination 422
 Or business carries them – in search of game – 423
 They may range freely – being damned the same. – 424

54.
 They are proud of this – as very well they may – 425
 guilt
 It being a sort of knighthood – or <a key><gold> key 426
 loins to
 Stuck in their <buttocks> – or like an “Entré” 427
 Up such
 <Up> the back Stairs, or <a> Free Masonry – 428
 <Or> I borrow my comparisons from Clay – 429
 Let not
 Being clay myself – <and if> those <s/>Spirits be – 430
 Offended with <the> such base low likenesses, 431
 <I deem their> We know their posts are nobler far than these – 432
 <For theirs are> <honours nobler far than these these>
 <Although their honour’s nobler far than these.> –

55.
 When the great Signal ran from Heaven to Hell – 433
 million
 About ten <thousand> times the distance reckoned 434

From our sun to it's earth; – as we can tell	435
How much time it takes up even to a second	436
ray	
For every <ray> that travels to dispel –	437
<Sky/xx>	
The fogs of London – <through> which dimly beacons –	438
through	
The Weathercocks are gilt some thrice a yeare –	439
If that the <u>Summer</u> is not too severe, –	440

56.

half	
I say that I can tell – 'twas <just> a minute –	441
I know the Solar beams take up more time	442
<In working out their signal>	
<Before they make their journey ere? or? begin it>	
Ere packed up for their journey they begin it –	443
But then their Telegraph is less sublime –	444
And if they ran a race they would not win it	445
<Against> Gainst Sathan's Couriers bound for their own clime	446
The Sun takes up some years for every ray	447
half	
To reach it's Goal – the Devil not a day. –	448

MANUSCRIPT: After stanza number 55 the ink changes again, from black back to light brown.

Sheet 5 side 1:

5th.)

57.

Upon the verge of Space about the size	449
Of Half a crown a little speck appeared –	450
(I've seen a something like it in the Skies	451
In the Ægean – Ere a Squall;) – it neared	452
And growing bigger took another guise –	453
Like an aerial Ship it tacked, and steered	454
<> Or was steered (I am doubtful of the grammar	455
Of the last phrase – which makes th<is/>e Stanza stammer – <>	456

58.

But take your choice) and then it grew a Cloud –	457
And so it was – a Cloud of Witnesses –	458
ere saw a Crowd	
But such a Cloud! — No land <was ever oerflowed>	459
Of numerous as the Heavens saw	
<By> locusts <as the heavens appeared by> these –	460
They shadowed with their myriads Space; their loud	461
varied cries were like those of	
And <many=langued cries were like> Wild Geese –	462
(If Nations may be likened to a Goose –)	463
<So that> And realised the phrase of “Hell broke loose.” –	464

59.

crashed	
Here <rose> a sturdy oath of stout John Bull –	465

Who damned away his eyes as heretofore – 466
 brogued
 There <Jonathan> Paddy <swore> by “Jasus!” “What’s your Wull?” 467
 The temperate Scot exclaimed; – the French Ghost swore 468
 In certain terms I shan’t translate in full – 469
 As
 <Though> the first <Hackney> Coachman will; and midst the roar 470
 The voice of Jonathan was heard to express – 471
 “Our president is going to war, I guess.” – 472

60.

the
 Beside <these> these were Spaniard – Dutch – and Dane – 473
 Shoal
 In short an universal <Spawn> of Shades – 474
 From
 <Even> Otaheite’s Isle to Salisbury plain – 475
 Of all climes – and professions – years – and trades – 476
 against the Good king’s reign
 <For> Ready to swear <the cause of all their pain> 477
 Bittere as Clubs in Cards are against Spades, 478

Sheet 5 side 2:

All summoned by this grand “Sub poena” to 479
 Try if kings mayn’t be damned like me or you. 480

61.

grew
 first <turned>
 When Michael saw this Host – he <turned as> pale, 481
 Angels next like
 As <Spirits> can; – <like an> Italian twilight 482
 He
 <Then> turned all
 <H/The vary> <changed his> colours, – as a peacock’s tail, – 483
 Or Sunset streaming through a Gothic Skylight 484
 In some old Abbey; – or a trout not stale, 485
 Or distant lightning on the horizon by night, 486
 Or a fresh rainbow – or a Grand review 487
 Of thirty regiments in red, green, and blue. – 488

62.

Then he addressed himself to Sathan – “Why? – 489
 “My Good old friend – for such I deem you though – 490
 “Our different parties make<s> us fight so shy – 491
 “I neer mistake you for a personal foe – 492
 “Our difference is political, and I 493
 “Trust that whatever may occur below, 494
 “You know my great respect for you; – and this 495
 “Makes me regret whateer you do amiss. 496

63.

“Why? – my dear Lucifer – would you abuse 497
 “My call for Witnesses? I did not mean 498
 “That you should half of Earth & Hell produce – 499

<If all> <tis for an Election>
 “If those are freeholders I see in shrouds – 533
 “And ’tis for an Election – that they bawl – 534
 “Behold a Candidate with unturned=Coat! 535
 <It shall be me they’ll find the trustyest patriot>
 “Saint Peter – may I count upon your vote? – 536

68.

“Sir – replied Michael – you mistake – these things 537
 “Are of a former life – & what we <now> do 538

Sheet 5 side 4:

“<Mortals is> Above is more
 <Are doing is more> August; – to judge of kings 539
 <and all before>
 “Is the tribunal met; – <“Well – with a bow>
 – so now you know 540
 <Said Wilkes, I’ve done as much before>
 <Are surrounded/summoned?>
 “Then I presume those Gentlemen with wings 541
 Said Wilkes – are Cherubs – and that Soul below 542
 <Has very much the look of George the third> –
 “Looks much like George the third, but to my mind 543
 A good deal older – bless me! is he blind?” 544

69.

“He is what you behold him – and his doom 545
 upon his deeds
 “Depends <on what he hath done> the Angel said – 546
 “If you have aught to arraign in him – the tomb 547
 “Gives license to the humblest beggar’s head 548
 “To lift itself against the loftiest; – “Some 549
 “Said Wilkes – don’t wait <so long>
 to see them laid in lead, 550
 “For such a liberty <of speech> – and I, for one – 551
 “Have told them what I thought beneath the Sun. – 552
 <For one>

70.

“Above the Sun repeat then, what thou hast 553
 “To urge against him – said the Archangel – “Why 554
 “Replied the Spirit – “since old scores are past – 555
 “Must I turn evidence? – in faith not I – 556
 “Besides I beat him hollow at the last 557
 “With all his lords & commons; – in the Sky 558
 “I don’t like ripping <out> up old stories, since 559
 “His conduct was but natural in a prince; – 560

71.

“Foolish no doubt – and wicked – to oppress 561
 “A poor unlucky devil without a shilling 562
 “But then I blame the man himself much less 563
 “Than Bute or Grafton and shall be unwilling 564

Sheet 6 side 1:

6th.)

“To see</m> him punished here for their excess – 565
were
“Since they <are> both damned long ago and still in 566
“Their place below, – <and though> for me – I have forgiven 567
“And vote his “habeas corpus” into heaven. 568

72.

“Wilkes – said the Devil – I understand all this (BLOT) 569
“You turned to half a Courtier ere you died – 570
“And seem to think it would not be amiss 571
“To grow a whole one, on the other side 572
“Of Charon’s <ferry> – ferry, you forget that his 573
“Reign is <ended> concluded, whatsoever betide – 574
“He won’t be Sovereign more; you’ve lost your labour – 575
“For at the best he will but be your neighbour. 576

73.

“However – I knew what to think of it – 587
in your jesting way,
“When I beheld you <but the other day> 588
“Flitting and whispering round about the spit – 589
Belial upon
“Where <Beelzebub on> duty for the day 580
“With Fox’s lard was basting William Pitt – 581
“His pupil; I knew
<I knew at once well> what to think – I say – 582
“That <fellow’s> fellow even in Hell breeds farther ills – 583
'twas
“I’ll have him gagged, – <'tis> one of his own Bills. 584

74.

“Call Junius! – – From the crowd a Shadow stalked 585
<“>And at the name there was a general Squeeze 586
<“>So that the very Ghosts no longer walked 587
<“>In comfort at their own aerial ease 588
<“>But were all rammed – and jammed – (but to be balked 589
<“>As we shall see) and jostled heads and knees – 590
within
<“>Like wind compress<ed> <into> and pent <into> a bladder – 591
like a
Or <in> <the> human cholic, which is sadder. 592

Sheet 6 side 2:

75.

The Shadow came – a tall thin grey-haired figure 593
as it had been Shade
That looked <as 'twere a Phantom> on earth – 594
Quick in it’s motions with an air of vigour – 595
But nought <distinct> to mark it’s breeding or it’s birth – 596
waxed then again grew
Now it <seemed> little – <now a little> bigger – 597
With now an air of gloom – or savage mirth – 598
But as you gazed upon it’s features they 599

Changed every instant – to what none could say. 600

76.

the
The more intently the Ghosts gazed <on him> less 601
the

Could they distinguish whose <his> features were – 602

The devil himself seemed puzzled even to guess – 603

They varied like a dream now here now there – 604

And several people swore from out the press 605

could

They knew him perfectly, and one <would> swear – 606

He was his father – upon which another 607

Was sure he was his mother's <uncl> cousin's brother 608

(BLOT)

77.

Another that he was a duke – or Knight – 609

An orator – a lawyer – or a priest – 610

Nabob

A <Doctor> – a Man Midwife; – – but the Wight 611

Mysterious changed his countenance at least 612

in

As oft as they their <thei> minds, though <to> full sight 613

He stood – the puzzle only was increased – 614

The Man was a phantasmagoria in 615

Himself – he was so volatile and thin! 616

78.

The moment that you had pronounced him one, 617

Presto! his face changed & he was another – 618

Sheet 6 side 3:

And when that change was hardly well put on – 619

It varied till I don't think his own mother – 620

her son

(If that he had a mother) would <have known> 621

known

H</er/>ave <son> he shifted so from one to t'other, 622

guessing from a pleasure grew a task –

Till <Curiosity became a task> 623

At this epistolary "Iron Mask!". 624

79.

For sometimes he like Cerberus would seem 625

"Three gentlemen at once" – (as sagely says 626

Good Mrs. Malaprop) – then you might deem 627

That he was not even one; – now many rays 628

Were flashing round him – & now a thick steam 629

Hid him from sight – like fogs on London days, 630

he grew to people's

Now Burke – now Tooke – <according to some> fancies – 631

And certes often like Sir Philip Francis. 632

80.

I've an hypothesis – 'tis quite my own – 633
 out
 I never let it till now, for fear 634
 Of doing people harm about the throne – 635
 And injuring some minister or peer – 636
 On whom the <blame in this case might be>
 stigma might perhaps be blown; – 637
 It is – My gentle Public – lend thine ear! – 638
 'Tis that
 <It is that he> wh</om/>at Junius we are wont to call – 639
 Was really – truly – Nobody at all. 640

81.

I don't see wherefore <lett> letters should not be 641
 Written without hands – since we daily view 642
 and we
 Them written without heads; – <as> books, <we> see 643
 Are filled as well without the latter too – 644

Sheet 6 side 4:

And <certainly till Somebody>
 really
 <certes> till we fix on Somebody – 645
 For certain sure to claim them as his due – 646
 Their Author
 <The>
 <They> like the Niger's <m/>Mouth will bother 647
 The World to see if there be <m/>Mouth or Author. 648

82.

“And who and what art thou?” – the Archangel said – 649
 “For that you may consult my title=page – ” 650
 Replied this mighty Shadow of a Shade – 651
 “If I have kept my secret half an age 652
 now thou
 “I scarce shall tell it <here>.” – “<c/>Can'st <you> upbraid 653
 (Continued Michael) – <with thy further rage> 654
 <Thy Monarch -> “George Rex – or allege
 “Aught <more against him>
 further?” <said> – Junius answered “You had better 655
 “First ask him for his answer to my letter 656

83.

<are on> upon record will outlast 657
 “My charges <is> <upon record and will live>
 “The Brass <both> of <epitaphs> both his epitaph and tomb, 658
 <Longer than all his laureat odes; but dost>
 “Repentst thou not
 <Thou not repent> said Michael – of some past 659
 doom –
 “Exaggeration? – something which may <cost> 660
 Thyself
 “<Th<<y>>ee dear> if false, – as him if true? – thou wast 661
 in thy gloom
 “Too bitter – is it not so? – <and/with engrosst?> 662

“Of Passion? – Passion! <qu> cried the Phantom dim – 663
“I loved my country – and I hated him. 664

84.

“What I have written I have written – let 665
“The rest be on his head or mine! – so spoke 666
Old “Nominis Umbra” – and while speaking yet – 667
Away he melted in celestial smoke – 668
said to Michael
Then Sathan <rose again and> – “don’t forget 669
“To call George Washington – & John Horne Tooke – 670
“And Franklin;” but at this time there was heard 671
<But at this very moment> <there> <arose>
A cry for room – <but> not a phantom stirred. 672
though

Sheet 7 side 1:

7th.)

85.

At length with jostling – elbowing – and the aid 673
Of Cherubim appointed to that post; – 674
The devil Asmodeus to the circle <his way> made – 675
His way, and looked as if his journey cost 676
when
Some trouble; – <as> his burthen down he laid – 677
Why
“What’s this? cried Michael – <This> tis</is> not a Ghost? 678
“I know it – quoth the <Sprite> Incubus – but he 679
“Shall be one – if you leave the affair to me. 680

86.

sprained
“Confound the <renegado> renegadoe! – I have <strained> 681
one would think –
My left wing, he’s so heavy – <I am sure> 682
about his neck were chained, 683
Some of his works <behind> <have not behind remained>
hovering
But to the point – while <standing> <on/>o’er the brink 684
Of Skiddaw – <and a good deal entertained>
(where as usual <half the sea>
it still rained) 685
I saw a taper far below me wink – 686
And <drawing nigh – I caught him in a libel>
stooping – caught this fellow <in> at a libel 687
No less <of> on History – than the Holy Bible. 688

87.

is
“The former <are> the Devil’s Scripture – and 689
“The latter yours – Good Michael! – so the affair 690
“<Is> Belongs to all of us – you understand; – 691
“I snatched him up just as you see him there – 692
<here>
“And brought him <up> for sentence out of hand – 693
off

“I’ve scarcely been ten minutes in the air – 694
“At least a quarter it can hardly be; – 695
“I dare say that his wife is still at tea. – 696

88.

Here Sathan said – “I know this man of old – 697
“And have expected him for some time <past> here, 698
“A sillier fellow you will scarce behold 699
“Or more conceited in his petty sphere – 700

Sheet 7 side 2:

“But surely it was not worth while to fold 701
“Such trash below your wing – Asmodeus dear! 702
“We had the poor wretch safe (without being bored 703
“With carriage) coming of his own accord. – 704

89.

“But since he’s here – let’s see what he has done. – 705
“Done! cried Asmodeus – he anticipates 706
“The very business you are now upon – 707
scribbles as if head Clerk
“And <scrawls as though he were Clerk> to “the Fates.” 708
his
“Who knows to what <such> ribaldry may run 709
<And this I think is quite enough for One>
When
“<If> such an Ass as this, like Balaam’s, prates? 710
“Let’s hear – quoth Michael – what he has to say – 711
“You know – we’re bound to that in every way. 712

90.

Now
<Here> the Bard glad to get an audience, which 713
<the>
By no means often was <his> case below, 714
his
Began to cough – & hawk – and hem, and pitch 715
His voice into that awful note of woe 716
To all unhappy hearers within reach 717
Of poets, when the tide of rhyme’s in flow – 718
with
But stuck fast <in> his first Hexameter, 719
Not one of all whose gouty feet would stir. 720

91.

<spavin>
But eer the <choaking> Dactyls could be spurred 721
spavined
<To recitation> Into recitative; in great dismay 722
Both Cherubim & Seraphim were heard – 723
To murmur loudly through their long array – 724
And Michael rose ere he could get a word 725
under way
Of all his foundered verses <to obey> 726
And cried – “For Godsake! <My good friend! no more!>

Stop my friend! 'twere best, 727
"Non Di, <n/> Non homines" – you know the rest. – 728

Sheet 7 side 3:

92.
A general bustle spread throughout the throng 729
<th> <all>
all verse in detestation – 730
W<ho>hich seemed to h</ave/>old <a horror of verse or classic>
The Angels had of course enough of song 731
When upon service – and the Generation 732
Of Ghosts had heard too much in life not long 733
Before, to profit by a new occasion; – 734
<Except The> The Monarch mute till then, exclaimed "What? – "What?
"Pye come again! – no more – no more of that"! 735
736

93.
The tumult grew – <the skies> an universal cough 737
Convulsed the skies, as during a debate 738
When Castlereagh has been up long enough 739
first
(Before he was <a> minister of state 740
I mean – <they hear him> now) some cried <"Off Off"> "Off – Off –" 741
the slaves hear
till
As at a farce, <some> grown quite desperate 742
The <Bxx> Bard Saint Peter prayed to interpose, – 743
his
(Himself an Author) – only for <his> <some> prose. – 744

94.
ill=favoured
The Varlet was not an <ill=looking> knave, 745
A good deal like a Vulture in the face – 746
With a hook nose and a hawk's eye which gave 747
A smart & sharper=looking sort of grace 748
To his whole aspect – which though rather grave 749
Was by no means so ugly as his case – 750
But that indeed was hopeless as can be – 751
Quite a poetic felony "de Se." – 752

95.
the
Then Michael blew his trump & stilled <one> noise 753
yet
With one still greater – as is <still> the mode 754

Sheet 7 side 4:

<Except> <for earth> <Or be>
besides
On earth <besides>; – except some grumbling voice 755
Which now & then will make a slight inroad 756
Upon decorous silence, few will twice 757
Lift up their lungs when fairly overcrowded, 758
own

816: X: “melodious twang”: Byron’s own note, written vertically in the left-hand margin next to stanzas 103 and 104, reads: **See Aubrey’s account of the Apparition which “disappeared with a <pleasant odour> curious perfume – & “a melodious twang” or see “the Antiquary” volume first.**

103.	
Those grand Heroics acted as a Spell –	817
The Angels stopped their ears & plied their pinions –	818
The devils ran howling deafened down to Hell –	819
gibbering for their	
The Ghosts fled <for their> own dominions –	820
(For ’tis not yet decided where they dwell	821
every man to his	
And I leave <all men to their own> opinions)	822
<Saint Mich Peter>	
Michael took refuge in his Trump – but lo!	823
set	
His teeth were <so> on edge, – he could not blow!	824
104.	
Saint Peter – who has hitherto been known	825
For an impetuous Saint – upraised his keys	826
And at the fifth line knocked the poet down –	827
Who fell like Phaeton – but more at ease –	828
<but>	
Into <his own> his lake – for there he did not drown,	829
A different web being by the <d/>Destinies	830
Woven for the Laureate’s final wreath, – whenever	831
Reform shall happen either here or there. –	832

Sheet 8 side 3:

8 th .)	105.	
	first sunk	
	He <sunk down> to the bottom – like his works –	833
	soon rose	
	But <rose up> to the surface like himself –	834
	are buoyed	
	For all Corrupted things <float up> like Corks – X	835
	By their own rottenness <as> – light as an Elf,	836
	that flits oer a Morass: – – – –	
	<In> Or Wisp <oer a Morass: – the Guelf> he lurks	837
	It may be still like dull books on	
	<(For aught I know) – like dull books on> a shelf	838
	den	
	In his own <little> <nook> to scrawl some “Life” or “Vision”	839
	As Wellborn says – “the Devil turned Precisian.” –	840

MANUSCRIPT: 835: *like Corks*: Byron’s own note, written vertically in the right-hand margin next to stanza 105, says, **A drowned body lies at the bottom till rotten – it then floats; as most people know. – – – –**

As for the rest – to come to the Conclusion	841
telescope is gone	
Of this true dream – the <light is now withdrawn>	842
optics	
Which kept my <opinions> free from all delusion –	843
I in my turn have shown	
And showed me what <I sang as plain as one>	844
All I saw farther in the last confusion	845
slipped	
Was that King George <squeezed> into heaven for one –	846
when	
And <as> the tumult dwindled to a calm –	847
I left him practising the hundredth Psalm.	848

The MANUSCRIPT concludes with the following note, inked round with a broken line:

R^a <Sept^r/ > Oct^r 4th 1821.

/
/NB/
/

Mem. – on 7th 1821

This poem was begun <xx> May but left off the same day: — resumed about
<in>
the 20th of Sept^r. of the same year – & concluded as dated. – – – –

Sheet 8 side 4 is blank.