belonged to a good Roman Catholic family, was born about 1555, became B.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1579, and falling, as a Roman Catholic, under suspicion of treasonable correspondence with France, left England in 1595. In 1601 or 1602 he ventured to return, was discovered, and committed to the Tower, whence he was not released till the close of 1604. He was dead in 1616.

81. **John Davies**—who did not become Sir John till after the death of Elizabeth—was born in 1570, third son of John Davies, a lawyer at Westbury, in Wiltshire. He was sent to Oxford at the age of fifteen, as commoner of Queen's College, and thence went to study law at the Middle Temple, but he returned to Oxford in 1590 and took his degree of B.A. He was called to the Bar in 1595, and in 1596 published a poem on the art of dancing, entitled *Orchestra*. In the Middle Temple John Davies had been sometimes under censure for irregularities, and in February, 1598, he was expelled the Society for beating one Mr. Martin in the Temple Hall. John Davies then went back to Oxford and wrote a poem of good thoughts, pithily expressed, in quatrains. The poem was called (Know Thyself) *Nosce Teipsum. This Oracle Expounded in Two Elegies.* 1. *Of Humane Knowledge.* 2. *Of the Soule of Man, and the Immortalite thereof;* dedicated to Elizabeth, and published in 1599. Its stanzas of elegiac verse were so well packed with thought, always neatly contained within the limit of each stanza, that we shall afterwards have to trace back to this poem the adoption of its measure as, for a time, our "heroic stanza." The manner of it may be shown in a few quatrains that point the connection between *Nosce Teipsum* (Know Thyself) and its author's recent disgrace at the Middle Temple:

"If aught can teach us aught, Affliction's looks
(Making us pry into ourselves so near),
Teach us to know ourselves, beyond all books,
Or all the learned schools that ever were.

"This mistress lately pluck'd me by the ear,
And many a golden lesson hath me taught;
Hath made my senses quick and reason clear;
Reform'd my will and rectify'd my thought.

"So do the winds and thunders cleanse the air:
So working seas settle and purge the wine;
So lopp'd and pruned trees do flourish fair:
So doth the fire the drossy gold refine.

"Neither Minerva, nor the learned Muse,
Nor rules of art, nor precepts of the wise,
Could in my brain those beams of skill infuse,
As but the glance of this dame's angry eyes.

"She within lists my ranging mind hath brought,
That now beyond myself I will not go;
Myself am centre of my circling thought,
Only myself I study, learn, and know."

Thenceforth there was a change in Davies's career. He was a member of the Parliament which met in October, 1601, showing liberal interest in the privileges of the House and the liberties of the people. In Trinity term of that year he was restored to his old rank in the Temple; and at the death of Elizabeth stood ready for a rapid rise in his profession.

82. **William Camden** (§ 16, 65), who was second master of Westminster School when he published, in 1586, the first edition of his *Britannia*—a work afterwards much expanded—succeeded Dr. Edward Grant as head master in 1593. In 1597 he published for the use of Westminster boys a *Greek Grammar*, which in course of time went through a hundred editions. In the same year he left the school on being appointed Clarencieux King-at-Arms. Camden was widely famed for learning, and his purity of life and modest kindliness surrounded him with friends.

John Stow (§ 16) still worked at history, and published in 1598, when more than seventy years old, the first edition of his *Survey of London*—a book of great value. But he had lost his best friends, and at the end of Elizabeth's reign he was distressed by poverty.

John Hayward—who became Sir John in the next reign—published, in 1599, the first of his historical biographies, as the *First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie IIII. Extending to the end of the first yeare of his raigne.* It was dedicated, with high admiration, to the Earl of Essex, at a time when the earl's dealing with the question of King James's succession was bringing his head into peril; and it contained a passage on hereditary right in matters of succession that caused Elizabeth to imprison the author and bid Francis Bacon search the book for any treasonous matter to be found in it. Narratives and stage presentations of the deposition of Richard II. were at this time supposed to have political significance. Bacon's report was a good-natured joke: he found no treason but much larceny from Tacitus.

83. **Francis Bacon** (§ 38, 48, 68), who had sat in Parliament for Melcombe Regis and Taunton, became member for Middlesex in the Parliament that met in February, 1593. One of the first questions before it was the granting of money to provide against danger from the Catholic Powers by which England was threatened. The Lords asked for a treble subsidy, payable within three years, in six instalments. Bacon assented to the subsidy, but raised a point of privilege in objection to the joining of the Commons with the Upper House in granting it. The point of privilege was overruled; the Lords and Commons did confer; the treble subsidy was granted; four years instead of three being allowed for the payment. Bacon had argued that the payment ought to extend over six years, for three reasons—the difficulty, the discontent, and the better means of supply than subsidy. His speeches on this occasion gave serious offence to the queen. He had no longer free access to her at Court, and this displeasure made her less ready to give him, over the heads of older lawyers, the office of Attorney-General, which presently fell vacant. The Earl of Essex, six years younger than Francis Bacon, was then looked to by both Anthony and Francis as their patron, and he did all that he could to influence the queen in Bacon's favour. The queen hesitated; dwelt on Bacon's youth and small experience—he was thirty-three—and in April, 1594, she gave the desired office to Sir Edward Coke, who was already Solicitor-General, who had large practice and high reputation as a lawyer. and was nine years older than Bacon. But Coke's appointment left vacant the office of Solicitor-General. For this suit was made with continued zeal, but in November, 1595, it was given to Serjeant Fleming. Essex, generous and impulsive, wished to make some amends to Bacon for his disappointment, and gave him a piece of land, which he afterwards sold for £1,800—say about £12,000, at the present value of money. Before July, 1596, Bacon was made Queen's Counsel. At the beginning of May in that year, Sir Thomas Egerton, who had been Master of the Rolls, became Lord Keeper. Bacon then sought in vain to succeed Egerton as Master of the Rolls. That was the year in which the Earl of Essex sailed for Cadiz.

84. **Sir Walter Raleigh** (§ 64) went with Essex on that expedition. He and Essex had been volunteers in the expedition of Drake and Norris (§ 69) to Portugal, which came home with much booty. Then the "Shepherd of the Ocean" went to Ireland, and came back with his friend Spenser to Court, after

planting about his own house at Youghal the first potatoes in Ireland, with roots brought from Virginia. In the spring of 1591 an expedition was sent out under Lord Thomas Howard and Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, to intercept the fleet which annually brought to Spain its treasure from the East. The English cruised about the Azores, where the Spanish fleets from the East and the West Indies came together. The Spanish fleet was found to be too strong, and Lord Thomas Howard ordered his ships to keep together and avoid attack; but Sir Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge*, believing that others would follow, boldly dashed into the enemy's armada, where he was left unaided, and fought desperately for fifteen hours with fifteen great ships out of a fleet of fifty-five, sinking two and doing great damage to others. When the *Revenge* must needs be lost, and Grenville himself was wounded in the brain, he ordered his surviving men to blow up the vessel. But the *Revenge* was surrendered, Grenville's wounds were dressed by the Spanish surgeons, the Spaniards who stood by marvelling at his stout heart. As death drew near he said to them, in Spanish, "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do that hath fought for his country, queen, religion, and honour; whereby my soul most joyful departeth out of this body, and shall always leave behind it an everlasting fame of a valiant and true soldier that hath done his duty, as he was bound to do." *A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Iles of Açores this last Sommer Betuuixt the* Reuenge, *one of her Maiesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spaine*, was published by Raleigh in November, 1591.

Raleigh then had Sherborne Castle given to him, but was soon afterwards in the Tower, under her Majesty's displeasure, for an amour with Elizabeth Throgmorton, a Maid of Honour, whom he married after his release. He was in the Parliament of 1593, when a bill was brought in for suppression of the Brownists—a sect opposed to prelacy, and claiming equality and independence of all congregations. "Root them out," said Raleigh, "by all means; but there are twenty thousand of them, and if the men are put to death or banished, who is to maintain the wives and children?" Raleigh next planned an expedition to Guiana, tempted by the fables about El Dorado (the Gilded One, priest or king smeared with oil and covered with gold dust, an ideal god of wealth, lord of a city

fabulously rich), and sailed with a little expedition in February, 1595, attacked the Spaniards in Trinidad, and destroyed the new city of San José. He then went up the Orinoco, picked up a legend of Amazons, which gave its European name to a great river, and, when the rains set in, came home, bringing a young cacique with him. Raleigh reached England about the end of July, 1595, lived in London in great state, and published, in 1596, *The Discoverie of the Empyre of Guiana, with a Relation of the Citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado), and of the Prouinces of Emeria, Arromaia, Amapaia, &c. Performed in the year* 1595.

In the spring of 1596 the Spanish forces, under Cardinal Albert, Archduke of Austria, Spanish Governor of the Netherlands, took Calais before English aid could be sent to Henry IV. of France. An English fleet, with a Dutch contingent, sailed from Plymouth on the 1st of June, under Essex as commander of land forces and Lord Howard of Effingham as commander at sea, with Sir Walter Raleigh as Rear-Admiral. It entered the harbour of Cadiz, scattered and partly destroyed the fleet—the Spaniards themselves firing the large vessels—and left the Duke of Medina Sidonia to burn the carracks laden with merchandise worth millions, while they were engaged in the capture and sack of the town. Essex counselled that they should proceed to catch the treasure fleet on its way home, but this counsel was overruled, and a few days afterwards the Spanish treasure fleet sailed unhurt up the Tagus. The popularity of Essex was greatly increased, and Bacon wrote him a long letter on the text of Martha troubled about many things when one only was needful, and that one was—win the queen. It was a letter of astute council as to the management of her Majesty.

85. **Francis Bacon** having fallen into debt, cherished, in 1597, a hope of marrying the rich young widow of Sir William Hatton, who died in March of that year. In that year, also, Bacon was returned to Parliament as member for Ipswich. Essex endeavoured to help him in his widow hunt. The lady, in November, 1598, married Sir Edward Coke. In 1597 Essex sailed with another expedition to the Azores, where he was joined by Raleigh as Rear-Admiral. Raleigh took the town of Fayal, and was accused of breach of discipline; but nothing more came of that expedition, except the chance capture of a few rich prizes When the fleet returned, in October, there had been alarm at home of Spanish invasion. A Spanish force had been

seen from the coast of Cornwall; some of its officers had landed on the Scilly Islands. But again our loyal English weather had confounded the Spaniards, and that danger, the last of its kind, had been averted.

It was in January of this year (1597) that **Francis Bacon**—then thirty-six years old—published, with a dedication to his brother, *Essayes, Religious Meditations, Places of Perswasion and Disswasion.* The essays in this first edition were only ten in number, and they dealt exclusively with the immediate relations of a man to life; his private use of his own mind; his use of it in relation to the minds of others, in relation to the interests of others, in relation to his own interests—personally, as in case of money, health, and reputation, and also as they were mixed up with the business of mankind. Thus the ten essays were—1. Of Study; 2. Of Discourse; 3. Of Ceremonies and Respects; 4. Of Followers and Friends; 5. Of Suitors; 6. Of Expense; 7. Of Regiment of Health; 8. Of Honour and Reputation; 9. Of Faction; 10. Of Negotiating. The relation of man to another world was left designedly beyond the range of this first little group of essays; but that element was supplied in the same book by twelve essays of another kind—the "Religious Meditations" which next followed. These "Meditationes Sacræ" were in Latin; their subjects—1. The Works of God and Man; 2. The Miracles of our Saviour; 3. The Innocency of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent; 4. The Exaltation of Charity; 5. The Moderation of Cares; 6. Earthly Hope; 7. Hypocrites; 8. Impostors; 9. Several kinds of Imposture; 10. Atheism; 11. Heresies; 12. The Church of the Scriptures. The third section was formed by a group of what may be called ten essays of another kind—"A Table of Coulers, or Apparances of Good and Euil, and their Degrees as Places of Perswasion and Disswasion; and their several Fallaxes, and the Elenches of them." Colours meant circumstances which are likely to produce popular impressions and to sway the judgment of a weak man, or of a strong man not fully considering and pondering a matter. They persuade to error, and they also quicken the persuasion to accept a truth. Therefore, said Bacon, "to make a true and safe judgment nothing can be of greater use and defence to the mind than the discovery and reprehension of these colours, showing in what cases they hold, and in what cases they deceive: which, as it cannot be done but out of a very universal knowledge of the nature of things, so

being performed, it so cleareth a man's judgment and election as it is the less apt to slide into error." Elenches are specious arguments. Bacon takes a colourable form, such as this—"Let us not wander into generalities, let us compare particular with particular," submits it to an intellectual analysis, and points out where its fallacies may lie; illustrating his argument with images that would themselves have force to persuade or dissuade. Thus the form, "Let us not wander into generalities, let us compare particulars with particulars," is met in three ways, which are illustrated by these three examples—"The blossom of May is generally better than the blossom of March; and yet the best blossom of March is better than the best blossom of May." "In many armies, if the matter should be tried by duel between two champions, the victory should go on one side, and yet if it be tried by the gross it would go of the other side." "Generally metal is more precious than stone, and yet a diamond is more precious than gold."

The little book, no bigger than the palm of a man's hand, in which Bacon made his first appearance as an essayist, is thus, throughout, an illustration of that genius for analysis applied to the life of man which he applied in his philosophy to Nature. He used the word "essay" in its exact sense. The Latin *exigere* meant to test very exactly, to apply to a standard weight or measure. The late Latin word *exagium* meant a weighing, or a standard weight; thence came Italian *saggio*, a proof, trial, sample; and *assaggiare*, to prove or try; whence the French *essay*, and the English double forms, "assay" and "essay." An assay of gold is an attempt to ascertain and measure its alloys and to determine accurately its character and value. An essay of anything in human nature submitted it to a like process within the mind: it was an "essay of" something, and not as we write, now that the true sense of the word is obscured, an "essay on." Strictly in that sense Bacon used the word, and the essays, at which we shall find his work running side by side with the development of his philosophy, have therefore a definite relation to it. The style of these brief essays, in which every sentence was compact with thought and polished in expression until it might run alone through the world as a maxim, had all the strength of euphuism and none of its weakness. The sentences were all such as it needed ingenuity to write; but this was the rare ingenuity of wisdom. Each essay, shrewdly discriminative, contained a succession of wise

thoughts exactly worded. Take, for example, the first form of the first words of the first essay in this first edition: "Studies serue for pastimes, for ornaments, and for abilities. Their chiefe use for pastime is in priuateness and retiring; for ornamente is in discourse, and for abilitie is in iudgement. For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure. To spend too much time in them is sloath, to vse them too much for ornament is affectation: to make iudgement wholly by their rules is the humour of a scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by experience. Craftie men contemne them, simple men admire them, wise men vse them: For they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisedome without them: and aboue them wonne by obseruation. Reade not to contradict, nor to belieue, but to waigh and consider." And so forth; words like these being themselves considered by their writer and made more weighty in subsequent editions. Small as the book was, the quality of Bacon's mind was proved by this first publication of his essays.

86. Elizabeth's faithful Minister, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, died in August, 1598; Philip II. of Spain died a month later. But Spain still threatened England. Hugh O'Neale, Earl of Tyrone, aided by Spain, was in arms in Ireland. Sir John Norris had died under the fatigues of conflict with him. The Earl of Essex—frank and generous, but hot-headed, obstinate, and indiscreet—was made Lord-Deputy of Ireland, with large power. He left London for Dublin, openly confident of his future achievements, at the end of March, 1599. In May he marched out of Dublin with 16,000 men. After showy movements in Munster that seemed purposeless, for his work lay in Ulster, he had, early in September, a force in Ulster facing that of the rebel army; but after a conference with Tyrone he assented to a six weeks' armistice, and agreed to make known to the English Government such conditions of peace from Tyrone as a conqueror might have dictated. Then he dispersed his army. The queen wrote her disapproval; Essex left his command to hurry to her, and on the 28th of September, "about ten o'clock in the morning, alighted at the court-gate in post, and made all haste up to the presence, and so to the privy chamber, and stayed not till he came to the queen's bed-chamber, where he found the queen newly up, with her hair about her face . . . . and he so full of dirt and mire that his very face was full of it." He was commanded in the evening

to keep his chamber. Next day he was examined before the Council, and was put under easy restraint—first with the Lord-Keeper, then in his own house. Tyrone rose in rebellion again; another lord-deputy was sent, whose action was efficient. Essex was then suspended from his offices of Privy Councillor, Lord-Marshal, and Master of the Ordnance. In August he was released from custody, but forbidden to come to Court. His monopoly of sweet wines expired, and Elizabeth would not renew the patent. Then his quick temper became rebellious. He had been in correspondence with James VI. of Scotland—by cypher in the hand of Francis Bacon's brother Anthony—to force from Elizabeth, now sixty-eight years old, a recognition of her successor. His impulsive dealing with this question perhaps introduced the considerations that had paralyzed his Irish policy. But Essex now passed into open rebellion. On the 8th of February, 1601, he and three hundred gentlemen, including Shakespeare's friend, the Earl of Southampton, were at Essex House. The queen sent the Lord-Keeper and other officers of State to ask the reason of the gathering. Essex contrived to lock them up in his library, and then, with his adherents, he rode out to raise the Londoners. His object was to surprise the Court, seize the queen's person, and compel her to dismiss her present advisers and then call a Parliament. But he overrated his own influence with the people, and after some lives had been lost, retreated by water to Essex House, burnt some papers, and was forced to surrender; that night the Earls of Essex and Southampton were prisoners in the Tower. Queen's counsel, Bacon one of them, were called upon to inquire into this act of treason, by examining the prisoners. They worked for seven days, in parties of not more than three, taking the several prisons in succession. When Essex was arraigned, the evidence against him was produced by Coke, and Coke's way of letting it run off into side issues was rather favourable to the accused. Then Bacon rose, not being called upon to rise, pointed more strongly the accusations against his friend and benefactor, and brought the evidence back into a course more perilous to his life. "As Cain," said Bacon, "that first murderer, took up an excuse for his fact, shaming to outface it with impudency, thus the earl made his colour the severing some men and councillors from her Majesty's favour, and the fear he stood in of his pretended enemies, lest they should murder him in his house." The evidence proceeded, and Coke's method again gave the earl

some advantage. Bacon then rose and said, "I have never yet seen in any case such favour shown to any prisoner; so many digressions, such delivering of evidence by fractions, and so silly a defence of such great and notorious treasons." And he proceeded again to urge the main accusation home against Essex. On the 25th of February, 1601, Essex was beheaded, by his own wish privately, within the Tower. Upon Lord Southampton sentence was not executed, but he remained a prisoner during the rest of Elizabeth's reign. Justification of the execution of the Earl of Essex was entrusted to the advocate who had pressed with most energy the case against him at his trial. Materials were supplied in "twenty-five papers concerning the Earl of Essex's treasons, &c., to be delivered to Mr. Francis Bacon, for Her Majesty's service;" and Bacon's hand, following particular instructions as to the manner of treatment, drew up for the public *A Declaration of the Practices and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earle of Essex and his Complices.* Before its publication (in 1601) this declaration was discussed by councillors and queen, and underwent the alterations incident to such discussion. Bacon had been living beyond his means, and was still seeking advancement. In September, 1598, he had been arrested for debt, but in the spring of 1601 his worldly means were somewhat improved by the death of his brother Anthony. He obtained a gift of £1,200, the fine of one of the accomplices of Essex, but he obtained no higher reward of his services before the death of Elizabeth, on the 24th of March, 1603.

87. Francis Bacon, our first essayist, was preceded in European literature only by Montaigne. Montaigne had a translator in **John Florio.** It has been suggested, without reason, that in the Holofernes of *Love's Labour's Lost*, Shakespeare was ridiculing Florio. "Resolute John Florio," as he wrote himself, was an active man of Italian descent, born in London in Henry VIII.'s reign, who taught Italian and French at Oxford, and was in high repute at Court. He published, in 1578, *Florio his First Fruites; which yeelde familiar speech, merie Prouerbes, wittie sentences, and golden sayings. Also, a perfect Introduction to the Italian and English Tongues.* In 1591 followed *Florio's Second Frvtes. To which is annexed his Garden of Recreation, yeelding six thousand Italian Prouerbs.* At the end of Elizabeth's reign, in 1603, appeared *The Essays of Michael, Lord of Montaigne, done into English by John Florio.*

Upon a copy of this book Shakespeare's autograph has been found, and Shakespeare's knowledge of Montaigne is shown in the *Tempest*, where the ideal commonwealth of the old Lord Gonzalo (Act ii. sc. 1) corresponds closely, in word as well as in thought, with Florio's Montaigne. Of course, also, the great poems of Ariosto and Tasso were translated.

Sir John Harington, born at Helston, near Bath, in 1561, and educated at Eton and Cambridge, published at the age of thirty, in 1591, *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse.* Harington was knighted on the field by the Earl of Essex.

Tasso had in Elizabeth's reign two translators. The first was **Richard Carew,** whose *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or the Recouerie of Hierusalem* appeared in 1594; the second was **Edward Fairfax,** whose translation appeared with the same titles in 1600. It is in the octave rhyme of the original, one of the most musical and poetical of all English translations into verse. Fairfax was the second son, perhaps illegitimate, of Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Denton, in Yorkshire. He lived as a retired scholar at Newhall, in Knaresborough Forest, and, later in life, educated with his own children those of his brother Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax. One of these nephews became famous as the Fairfax of the Civil Wars. Edward Fairfax himself lived into the reign of Charles I., and died in 1632.

88. The literature of the Church of England was represented in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign by **Richard Hooker,** who was born at Heavitree, near Exeter, about 1553. He was to have been apprenticed to a trade, but his aptness for study caused him to be kept at school by his teacher, who persuaded young Richard Hooker's well-to-do uncle, John, then Chamberlain of Exeter, to put him to college for a year. John Hooker, a friend of Bishop Jewel's (§ 14), introduced his nephew to that bishop, who, finding the boy able and his parents poor, sent him at the age of fifteen to Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, heard from Jewel the praises of young Richard Hooker, and though himself a Cambridge man, sent his son to Oxford that he might have Hooker, whose age then was nineteen, for tutor and friend. Other pupils came, and Hooker was on the most pleasant relations with them. In 1577 he became M.A. and Fellow of his college.

89. A friend of Hooker's at college, about four years older than himself, was **Sir Henry Savile,** who had graduated at

Brazenose and was elected to a Fellowship at Merton College. Savile afterwards travelled on the Continent. On his return he gave lessons to the queen in Greek and Mathematics, and became Warden of Merton College. In 1581 Savile published, at Oxford, a translation of *The Ende of Nero and Beginning of Galba, Fower Bookes of the Histories of Cornelius Tacitus; The Life of Agricola.* In 1596, Savile added to his office of Warden of Merton College that of Provost of Eton, and in the same year published *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui*—a folio containing the works of some of the old historians after Bede; namely, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger Hoveden, Ethelwerd, and Ingulphus of Croyland. The death of his son caused Savile to devote his property to the encouragement of learning, and, in the reign of James I., in 1619, he founded at Oxford the Savilian professorship of Astronomy and Geometry. Sir Henry Savile died at Eton in 1622.

90. **Richard Hooker,** whom we left to follow the career of his friend Savile, was appointed, in 1579, to read the Hebrew lecture in his university, and did so for the next three years. He took holy orders, quitted Oxford, and married a scolding wife. He was shy and shortsighted, and had allowed her to be chosen for him. Of himself it is said that he never was seen to be angry. In 1584 Hooker was presented to the parsonage of Drayton-Beauchamp, near Aylesbury; and there he was found by his old pupil, Edwin Sandys, with Horace in his hand, relieving guard over his few sheep out of doors, and indoors called from his guests to rock the cradle. Sandys reported Hooker's condition to his father, who had become Archbishop of York. In 1585 the office of Master of the Temple became vacant, and Hooker, then thirty-two years old, was, through the Archbishop's influence, called from his poor country parsonage to take it.

When, in 1583, good Archbishop Grindal (§ 33) was succeeded at Canterbury by John Whitgift, there was a return of bitterness against the Nonconformists, with extreme claim of all rights of the Church. This intensified the controversies of the time. The lecturer at the Temple for evening sermons, when Hooker became Master, was Walter Travers, a minister of blameless life, a correspondent of Beza's, and a warm supporter of opinions cherished by the Puritans. He was popular in the Temple, had hoped also himself to be chosen Master, and

obtain increase of influence for his opinions. In Hooker the Temple had a Master who was faithful to the ecclesiastical system of the English Church. In the Temple church on Sundays Hooker preached in the morning, Travers in the evening, and, as it was said, "the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, the afternoon Geneva." This continued until the Archbishop forbade Travers's preaching. Petition was in vain made to the Privy Council; and this led to discontent. The petition was printed privately, and published. Hooker then published an *Answer to the Petition of Mr. Travers*, and was drawn into a controversy, which led his pure and quiet mind to the resolve that he would argue out in detail his own sense of right and justice in the Established Church system of his country, in *Eight Books of the Law of Ecclesiastical Polity*. That he might do this he asked for removal to some office in which he might be at peace. He wrote to the Archbishop, "My Lord, when I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage: but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed, God and Nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My Lord, my particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man: and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions." Study had not only satisfied him, but he had "begun a treatise, in which I intend a justification of the laws of our ecclesiastical polity; in which design God and his holy angels shall at the last great Day bear me that witness which my conscience now does, that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences; and I shall never be able to do this but where I may study, and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessings spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without opposition; and, therefore, if your Grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun." Hooker accordingly was made, in 1591, rector of Boscombe, in Wiltshire, a parish with few people in it, four miles from Amesbury, and was instituted also, as a step to better preferment, to a minor prebend of small value in Salisbury. At Boscombe Hooker finished the *Four Books of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, published in 1594, with "A Preface to them that Seeke

(as they tearme it) the Reformation of Lawes and Orders Ecclesiasticall in the Church of England." These four books treated, 1. Of laws in general; 2. Of the use of Divine law contained in Scripture, whether that be the only law which ought to serve for our direction in all things without exception; 3. Of laws concerning Ecclesiastical Polity, whether the form thereof be in Scripture so set down that no addition or change is lawful; and, 4. Of general exceptions taken against the Lawes of the English Church Polity as being Popish, and banished out of certain reformed churches. What Hooker said of Travers, Travers had like reason to say of Hooker, for this was the work of a good man, in the eyes of thousands whom it may not have convinced on points of discipline; a work perfect in spirit, earnest, eloquent, closely reasoned, and in the best sense of the word religious. Hooker's opening argument upon the origin of laws among men has interest from its close relation to the later arguments of Hobbes and Locke upon the origin and nature of the rights of kings. After reasoning that we derive our knowledge from experience and reasoning, and that the two principal fountains of human action are knowledge and will, he says that we find out for ourselves laws, by reason, to guide the will to that which is good, and further to supply those defects and imperfections which are in us living singly and solely by ourselves, we are naturally induced to seek communion and fellowship with others. "Thus arose political societies among men naturally equal. Men reasoned that strifes and troubles would be endlesse, except they gave their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon, without which consent there were no reasons that one man should take upon him to be lord or iudge over another; because although there be, according to the opinion of some very great and iudicious men, a kinde of naturall right in the noble, wise, and vertuous, to governe them which are of servile disposition; neuerthelesse for manifestation of this their right, and men's more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed seemeth necessary."

In 1595 Richard Hooker left Boscombe for tne rectory of Bishopsbourne, three miles from Canterbury, where he spent the rest of his life. In 1597 appeared the fifth book of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, which was longer than all the other four together. He died in 1600, having, while his health failed, desired only to live till he had finished the remaining three

books of the work, for which his life seemed to have been given him. His health suffered the more for his labour at them, but he did complete the remaining three books, though without the revision given to the preceding five, and they were published, some years after his death, in 1618.

91. There were in Elizabeth's reign two brothers Fletcher, Richard and Giles, whose children are more interesting than themselves. Richard Fletcher became D.D., and bishop successively of Bristol, Worcester, and London. He attended at the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, angered the queen by his second marriage, smoked much tobacco, and was the father of John Fletcher, in the next reign, friend and fellow-writer, as a dramatist, with Francis Beaumont. Richard's brother, **Giles Fletcher,** became LL.D., was employed by Elizabeth as Commissioner in Scotland, Germany, and the Low Countries, was sent as ambassador to Russia, and published, in 1591, a book *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, with dedication to the queen. It was quickly suppressed, "lest it might give offence to a prince in amity with England." Dr. Giles Fletcher thought he had found in the Tartars the lost tribes of Israel. He became treasurer of St. Paul's, secretary to the City of London, and Master of the Court of Requests. He had two sons, Phineas and Giles Fletcher, afterwards known as poets. These, then, were first cousins of John Fletcher the dramatist.

92. Shakespeare was in his maturity of power, and a new generation of dramatists was growing towards manhood, when **Joseph Hall** published his satires. Joseph Hall was born in 1574, at Bristow Park by Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In 1597, at the age of twenty-three, he published *Virgidemiarum, Six Bookes; First Three Bookes of toothlesse Satyrs:* 1. *Poeticall;* 2. *Academicall;* 3. *Morall.* In the following year the work was completed by *Virgidemiarum: the Three Last Bookes of Byting Satyrs.* It means nothing particular to say that these satires were burnt by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Whitgift and Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, as censors of the press, distinguished themselves, in 1599, by ordering the burning of much literature, Marlowe's *Ovid* and his *Satires*, Marston's *Pygmalion*, Hall's *Satires*, the epigrams of Davies and others, the tracts of Nash and Harvey, and decreeing that no satires or epigrams should be printed for the future.

Censorship of the press by the Church came in with printing. The ecclesiastical superintendence introduced in 1479 and 1496, was more completely established by a Bull of Leo X. in 1515, which required bishops and inquisitors to examine all books before printing, and to suppress heretical opinions. At the Reformation this practice was continued, under authority, and assumed now by the Crown as part of its prerogative, and delegated to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. Printing was also restrained by patents and monopolies. In Elizabeth's time it was interdicted in all parts of England, except London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and the presses there were limited in number.

Joseph Hall's six books, *Virgidemiarum*, *i.e.*, of rod-harvests, stripes or blows, were the work of a clever young man who had read Juvenal and Persius and the satires of Ariosto, and who, because he was the first to write English satire in the manner of Juvenal, ignorantly believed himself to be the first English satirist. "I first adventure," he said in his prologue—

> "I first adventure, follow me who list,
> And be the second English satirist."

The mistake is of no consequence. Hall's satires are in rhyming couplets of ten-syllabled lines; he thought English rhyme inferior to Latin quantity, but saw that the Latin metres could not be applied to English verse, and laughed at Stanihurst (§ 53).

> "Whoever saw a colt, wanton and wild,
> Yok'd with a slow foot ox on fallow field,
> Can right areed how handsomely besets
> Dull spondees with the English dactylets.
> If Jove speak English in a thund'ring cloud,
> Thwick thwack, and riff raff, roars he out aloud.
> Fie on the forged mint that did create
> New coin of words never articulate!"

Hall laughed at the rising drama, crying—

> "Shame that the Muses should be bought and sold
> For every peasant's brass on each scaffold."

He laughed at what he called "pot fury of the dramatists."

> "One higher pitch'd doth set his soaring thought
> On crowned kings, that fortune hath low brought:
> Or some upreared high aspiring swaine,
> As it might be the Turkish Tamburlaine:
> Then weeneth he his base drink-drowned spright
> Rapt to the threefold loft of heaven hight.

When he conceives upon his feigned stage
The stalking steps of his great personage,
Graced with huff-cap terms and thund'ring threats
That his poor hearer's hair quite upright sets."

But while Hall attacked the "terms Italianate, big-sounding sentences and words of state" upon the stage, he paid homage to Spenser, then near the end of his career. He was burnt out of Kilcolman in October, 1598, left Cork with despatches dated December 9, and died in London, January 16, 1599. "Renowned Spenser: whom no earthly wight dares once to emulate, much less dares despight."

Only Hall paired in the next line Du Bartas with Ariosto: "Salust of France and Tuscan Ariost." The satirist in the golden time of Elizabethan vigour talked as usual of the good old times that were gone, when luxury was not, and our

"Grandsires' words savoured of thrifty leeks
Or manly garlicke.
* * * * *
But thou canst mask in garish gauderie,
To suit a foole's far-fetched liverie.
A French head joyn'd to necke Italian:
Thy thighs from Germanie, and brest from Spain.
An Englishman in none, a foole in all:
Many in one, and one in severall.
Then men were men; but now the greater part
Beasts are in life, and women are in heart."

If we go back to Occleve (ch. v. § 8), or farther back to Gower (ch. iv. § 32), we find that the note has always been the same; sound and true in the steady fixing of attention upon vices and follies to be conquered (since there is small hope for a people that will only praise itself), but with innocent delusion of a bygone golden age. Hall's golden age, however, is not bygone; it is to be found in Spain, if the test of it be a relish for garlic. Joseph Hall obtained the living of Hawstead, Suffolk, but resigned it for the living of Waltham Holy Cross, in Essex. This he held for two-and-twenty years, while obtaining, as we shall find, after Elizabeth's death, other promotions.

93. We part, in Elizabeth's reign, from "Salust of France," at the year 1598, when **Joshua Sylvester,** then thirty-five years old, translated his *Diuine Weekes and Works* (§ 75, 52). Sylvester had begun in 1590, by publishing a translation of the poem of Du Bartas upon the Battle of Ivry, *A Canticle of the Victorie obtained by the French King Henrie the Fourth at Yvry. Translated by Josua Siluester, Marchant-aduenturer.*

He had added another piece to that in 1592. There had been other translators from the French poet. In 1584, Thomas Hudson had published at Edinburgh a translation of his *History of Judith*, made by command of James VI. Another of these translators was William Lisle, of Wilbraham, who published a part of *The Second Week* of Du Bartas in 1596, dedicated to Lord Howard of Effingham, added the *Colonies* in 1598, and translated, in all, four books. Another of the translators, at the end of Elizabeth's reign and beginning of the reign of James in England, was Thomas Winter. In verses of praise prefixed to Sylvester's translation, Joseph Hall said—

> "Bartas was some French angel, girt with Bayes:
> And thou a Bartas art in English Layes.
> Whether is more? Mee seems (the sooth to say'n)
> One Bartas speaks, in Tongues, in Nations, twain."

And Ben Jonson wrote (Du Bartas died in 1590)—

> "Behold! the reverend shade of Bartas stands
> Before my thought and (in thy right) commands
> That to the world I publish for him, This:
> Bartas doth wish thy English now were His.
> So well in that are his inventions wrought,
> As his will now be the Translation thought,
> Thine the Original; and France shall boast
> No more those mayden glories shee hath lost."

But it is to be remembered that Du Bartas owed his repute with us not only to his skill as a writer according to the ephemeral taste of the time, but also as a French Huguenot for his accord with the religious feeling of the English people, and because his song was always upon sacred themes.

94. Ben Jonson has just been quoted. In 1598 he had begun to write. He was ten years younger than Shakespeare, and in the closing year of Elizabeth's reign, when Shakespeare had risen to the fulness of his power, Ben Jonson was beginning his career. We have now to end the sketch of our literature in Elizabeth's reign with some account of the latter years of the *ELIZABETHAN DRAMA*. To avoid confusion let us take that word to mean simply, the English drama during the reign of Elizabeth. It falls naturally into two sections, which we may call Earlier and Later Elizabethan. The *Earlier Elizabethan Drama* dates from the first plays at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to the date of Spenser's latest publications, the year of the second part of the *Faerie Queene*, 1596. It includes *Gorboduc* and the earliest plays, plays of Lodge, Peele, Lyly, Greene

Marlowe, and the early works of Shakespeare. The *Later Elizabethan Drama*, from 1596 to 1603, has in its centre Shakespeare, become master of his art; a few of the elder writers who add to the number of their works; with a few younger men, Ben Jonson, Marston, Dekker, and Heywood, who began to write plays under Elizabeth; and one older man, George Chapman, who started later in life as a playwright, and then took his place among Later Elizabethan dramatists. With Shakespeare, these younger men, and George Chapman, passed as active workers into the reign of James the First. But in that reign the number of the dramatists was soon increased by poets who had been young men or children under Elizabeth. These writers were educated more or less by the same influences that had produced the great Elizabethan poets. In their writing there was an Elizabethan character, but they wrote their plays in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. Such were Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster, Massinger, Ford, and Shirley.

95. **William Shakespeare** (§ 37, 47, 71), in 1596, buried at Stratford his only son Hamnet, twelve years old. A grant of arms to his father in that year (about which there was another note in 1599) indicates that the poet was then prospering. In 1597, three plays of his were published in quarto, *Richard II.*, *Richard III.*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. Those plays of Shakespeare which were printed in his lifetime were in quarto form, and known to students as the early quartos. They were not corrected by the author. Even Ariosto, as we have seen (ch. vi. § 40), after the minutest care in writing his *Orlando*, had no oversight of the business of publication. In Easter term of the same year, 1597, Shakespeare began to form the home in his native town to which he had looked forward. He bought for sixty pounds, New Place, the best house in the line of the main street of the town, with two barns and two gardens behind, in the direction of the Avon. It had been built by Sir Hugh Clopton in the time of Henry VII., and it was bought by Shakespeare of William Underhill, a man of good position, whose home was close by, at Idlicote, but who was himself buying land about Stratford, and seeking to establish a family. Underhill died a few months after he had sold the house to Shakespeare. New Place was in Chapel Street, at the corner of a lane, Chapel Lane, leading towards the river. At the opposite corner was, and is, a church called the Guild Chapel, or Chapel of the Holy Cross, from which the street and lane

were named, and founded also in the reign of Henry VII. by Sir Hugh Clopton. On the other side of the Guild Chapel was the grammar school. Thus the church stood between Shakespeare and the school. In 1597 also, while Shakespeare was establishing this home for himself in Stratford he was helping his father and mother, for there was a bill filed in Chancery by John Shakespeare and his wife to recover Ashbies (§ 37) from John, the son of Edward Lambert. There is also other evidence that by this time Shakespeare's prudent management, and his success in London, had enabled him—the first man in our literature who did so—to save money earned, not indirectly, by the free use of his genius. A record, dated October, 1598, shows him to have been assessed on property in the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. The plays of his printed in quarto, in 1598, were *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Part I. of King Henry IV.*, but there is other evidence to show what plays of his had by that date been acted.

John Bodenham published in 1598 a collection of sententious extracts from ancient moral philosophers, &c., called *Politeuphuia* (*Wits' Commonwealth*). It was designed chiefly for the benefit of young scholars, was popular, and often afterwards reprinted. In the same year, 1598, **Francis Meres**, M.A., published *Palladis Tamia* (*Wits' Treasury, being the Second Part of Wits' Commonwealth*), 12mo, of 174 leaves, euphuistic, as its title indicates, and also designed for instruction of the young. This book contained a brief comparison of English poets with Greeks, Latins, and Italians, and in the course of it Meres wrote: "As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweete wittie soule of Ovid lives in mellifluous and hony-tongued Shakespeare; witnes his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred *Sonnets* among his private friends, &c. As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy among the Latines, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for comedy, witnes his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Love's Labor's Lost*, his *Love's Labour's Wonne*" [probably a former name of *All's Well that Ends Well*], "his *Midsummers Night Dreame*, and his *Merchant of Venice;* for tragedy, his *Richard the* 2, *Richard the* 3, *Henry the* 4, *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and his *Romeo and Juliet*. As Epius Stolo said that the Muses would speake with Plautus' tongue, if they would speak Latin, so I say that the Muses would speak

with Shakespeare's fine filed phrase, if they would speake English."

In 1598 **Shakespeare** was thirty-four years old; he had been at work in London for about twelve years, of which the first six had been years of patient upward struggle, and the other six had been years of increasing power and prosperity. He had written chronicle plays, in which his muse did "like himself heroically sound;" had dealt playfully in *Love's Labour's Lost* with the euphuism of his time; had found out the marvellous wealth of his imagination "glancing from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven" in the *Midsummer Night's Dream;* had shown in *Romeo and Juliet* the innocent beauty of young love breathing its harmonies among the petty feuds and hatreds of mankind; and in the *Merchant of Venice* he had risen to a pure expression of that spirit of religion which, for many in his time was obscured by passions of the conflict between creed and creed. What the Capulets and Montagues meant in *Romeo and Juliet*, the Jew and Christian meant in the *Merchant of Venice;* but in that play the central thought to which every scene relates gave prominence to the relation between Shylock and Antonio.

When he had done his 'prentice work, and become master of his craft, every play of Shakespeare's became a true poem, and had the spiritual unity that is in every great work of art. Each play had its own theme in some essential truth of life, which is its soul expressed in action, and with which every detail is in exquisite accord.

96. In the *Merchant of Venice*, for example, Shakespeare dealt in his own way with the problem of life. It opens with a vague foreshadowing of evil in a merchant with his wealth upon the waves. There is rapid advance of the story, the very first lines pointing towards the event on which the action of the play depends; but the narrative all springs up naturally in a dialogue that represents the cheerful intercourse of life. This genial air is, as it were, the atmosphere of the whole play, softens all its didactic outlines, and pervades especially its opening and close. The dialogue in the first scene, while firm, as it is throughout, to the story-telling, abounds chiefly in suggestion of the different ways in which men variously tempered take what comes to them in life, including those

> "Whose visages
> Do cream and mantle like a standing pond.

> And do a wilful stillness entertain,
> With purpose to be dress'd in an opinion
> Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit
> As who should say, 'I am Sir Oracle,
> And when I ope my lips let no dog bark.'"

The social geniality deepens at the end of the first scene into the close intercourse of friendship between Antonio and Bassanio. There is here a double purpose answered. It pertains to the essence of the play that a firm friendship between man and man should be at the root of it, but this friendship unites also the two men, who serve as centres to the two parts of the story: the old story of the caskets, used by Shakespeare for a solving of life's problem from its human side; and the old story of the pound of flesh, through which he added the diviner sense of duty.

Bassanio sought Portia, that lot in life which is the ideal of us all:

> "Nor is the wide world ignorant of her worth,
> For the four winds blow in from every coast
> Renowned suitors, and her sunny locks
> Hang on her temples like a golden fleece;
> Which makes her seat of Belmont Colchos' strand,
> And many Jasons come in quest of her."

When we pass in the next scene to Belmont the story-telling is continued rapidly, and there is the light genial air of playful intercourse still softening the firm expression of the main idea. Thus the dialogue between Portia and Nerissa plays over the conditions of life and temper that affect right search for a good life. They, it is lightly suggested, who have a right love for it will choose their way in the pursuit of it according to God's meaning, and then follow whimsical sketches of some national ideas of happiness proper to the Neapolitan, the Bavarian, Frenchman, Englishman. The scene ends with mention of Bassanio, "a scholar and a soldier," whole worker, mind and body, through whom we shall get the solution of this part of the problem.

Still never forgetting that he has a story to tell, and that this must not stand still, all thought being expressed in it and none merely scattered round about it, Shakespeare then takes up the second of the two threads from which the plot is woven, advancing rapidly the story of the bond, while he subtly prepares the mind of spectator or reader for the reverse of Antonio's fortune and for the antagonism to come. Then Jew and

Christian are brought face to face, and there is strong marking of the enmity of each to each. Wrongs suffered by Jews at the hands of Christians are, in Shylock's speech beginning, "Signor Antonio, many a time and oft," given as ground for Shylock's bitterness. Antonio replies with Christian disdain and intolerance. He has called Shylock dog, and says,—

> "I am as like to call thee so again,
> To spit on thee again, and spurn thee too."

The first act closes with Antonio's acceptance of the bond, suggested in the idleness of malice when there is little or no prospect of its enforcement. But the scene opens and closes with a pointing of attention to the ships that bear Antonio's wealth upon the waves.

In developing his plot Shakespeare produces a fine climax by so interweaving its two threads that the one which leads to the human lesson of the way to the true life comes to its end in the third act; the other is ready to add, in the fourth act, its diviner lesson, and the fifth act then rises to the height of heaven itself in expressing the full thought of the whole play.

At the opening of the second act we are in Belmont, and the vain-glorious Prince of Morocco is to make his choice. Why Prince of Morocco? Because he is to represent the man whose choice is of the golden casket, as determined by the outside pomp and glory of the world; and this view of life men associate with Eastern splendour. The scene changes to Venice, and Lancelot Gobbo, the clown—whose change of service is of great use to the story—stands also, in his relation to the inner thought of the play, for the raw material of humanity; good-natured, as Shakespeare always felt men and women, on the whole, to be, and with the rudiments of two helps to the higher life—conscience and natural affections. As Bassanio prepares to depart for Belmont, Gratiano will go too; the genial temper is the right companion of earnest effort, but it must be kept within due bounds. Among the many sketches of forms and ways of life that belong as accessories to the working out of the main thought in the *Merchant of Venice*, Bassanio's counsel to Gratiano, "Thou art too wild, too rude, and bold of voice," balances Gratiano's former censure of an affected precision. In the next scene, between Lancelot and Jessica, we have again Lancelot's natural sympathies, and a suggestion of those cheerless restraints of home which made it not unnatural for Jessica's

quick Eastern blood, nourished in Italy, to urge her beyond rule. After this scene, while only a masking is in question, there is preparation for the wrong that will stir Shylock's hatred of the Christian into fury, just at the time when Antonio's bond is forfeit. In the love between Lorenzo and Jessica there is Shakespeare's practical suggestion, as in the love between the Capulet and Montague, that we all are of one race, and should feel our kindred. So when, in *Cymbeline*, Arviragus says to Imogen, "Brother, stay here: are we not brothers?" She replies—

> "So man and man should be;
> But clay and clay differs in dignity,
> Whose dust is both alike."

It is the clay in us, and not the nobler part, that makes the separation.

In the scene between Shylock and his daughter, again, there are the ungenial home conditions which serve to make her conduct less unnatural, and the story is continued to the flight of Jessica during Bassanio's parting festivities, and to the rapid departure of Bassanio's ship. Then we return to Belmont, and see the Prince of Morocco trust his hope of happiness to that golden casket, which is inscribed, "Who chooseth me shall gain what many men desire." His choice is that of all who place the happiness of life in money-making, or in the luxurious enjoyment of what money buys. Within the golden casket is a carrion death, with the lesson:

> "Many a man his life hath sold
> But my outside to behold."

Shakespeare takes us back to Venice, shows us the Jew's fury at the abduction of his daughter—his own flesh has been torn from him, "I say, my daughter is my flesh and blood." His claiming of the bond while in the passion of this wrong brings within bounds of nature an extravagant fable that had been used only as a parable. Suggestion of peril to Antonio in Salanio's

> "Let good Antonio look he keep his day,
> Or he shall pay for this,

is immediately followed by the first indication of the fall of the merchant's fortunes, coupled with a fresh suggestion of his friendship for Bassanio.

We pass then to Belmont, and see the silver casket chosen by the Prince of Arragon. Why Prince of Arragon? Because

the Spaniard was the common type of self-asserting pride, and through the silver casket choice was made of a life happy by attainment of one's own deserts. He will not choose with those whom the gold tempts :

> "I will not choose what many men desire,
> Because I will not jump with common spirits,
> And rank me with the barbarous multitudes."

But he accepts the condition on the silver treasure-house : "Who chooseth me shall get as much as he deserves." We all know the man, not base of mind, who only wants his deserts, and loses precious time over lamenting that he has never got them. If the critics had been just to his books, or his pictures ; if this, and if that, and

> 'Oh, that estates, degrees, and offices
> Were not derived corruptly, and that clear honour
> Were purchased by the merit of the wearer."

But the true life is not so to be won. The silver casket reveals only a fool's head, with a legend that reminds the chooser of the shadow's bliss of him who was in love with his own shadow. The second act ends with the landing of Bassanio at Belmont, and again a glancing forward at the hope inspired by him.

The third act opens with the loss of all Antonio's wealth on the waves, whereby the passion of Shylock is suddenly supplied with power of revenge. Let Antonio look to his bond. What kindness can he ask?

> "He hath disgraced me, and hindered me half a million ; laughed at my losses mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated mine enemies ; and what's his reason? I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not be revenged? If we are like you in the rest we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be, by Christian example?"

Shylock is ready to stand upon the letter of the law, and the story is now ripe for a full expression of the innermost thought of the play, which, deepening as it goes, continues to the end.

Bassanio's choice of the leaden casket is preluded with a song, ringing the knell of trust in the delight of the eyes only. "Who chooseth me, must give and hazard all he hath." That is the legend on the casket of lead, threatening more than it

promises, by which alone the true life may be won. The human lesson of life summed up in it, is like that of the parable of the talents. A man must exert all his powers; be the best and do the best that it is in him to be or do; give all that he hath, and hazard all: not making conditions of reward according to desert; not asking whether he shall be rich, or praised, or happy, for the simple hearty doing of his duty; but doing it and taking what may come. So is Portia won, and plighted to Bassanio, as Nerissa to Gratiano, with a ring, never to be lost or given away. The severe outline of the higher lesson of life is here softened again by the pervading atmosphere of genial intercourse; but from the human truth so far expressed, Shakespeare passes on at once to the divine truth which is its crown.

Antonio's letter to Bassanio arrives at Belmont. In Antonio, man—subject to fortune, changeful as the waves—is about to stand between the two principles of justice and mercy, of the Old Testament and of the New, as Shakespeare read them. Out of the lips of Portia, who has represented, in some sense, the natural life, will come most fitly a recognition of the spirit which makes earthly power likest God's. In the fourth act Shylock holds by the law and by his bond. When asked, "How shalt thou hope for mercy, rendering none?" Shylock answers, still placing the letter above the spirit, "What judgment shall I dread, doing no wrong?" He stands for law; must he be merciful? "On what compulsion must I, tell me that?" Through Portia's famous answer, Shakespeare sets forth the divine side of his lesson, and

> "Therefore, Jew
> Though justice be thy plea, consider this,
> That, in the course of justice, none of us
> Should see salvation: we do pray for mercy
> And that same prayer doth teach us all to render
> The deeds of mercy."

But Shylock says,—

> "My deeds upon my head! I crave the law,"

Saint Paul had said, what Shakespeare is here teaching, "By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified;" and, "Now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of Spirit, and not in the oldness of the Letter." Shylock is made to feel that even by the strict letter of his bond he cannot stand: his pound of flesh must be an exact pound, not a hair's weight more or

less; and there must be no blood shed, because the letter of the bond does not give him one drop of blood. Shylock is foiled, and sentenced; not harshly, except in the requirement that he undergo the form of being made a Christian; and the genial atmosphere again softens the sharp didactic outline. The manner of this—the success of the disguised ladies in getting from their husbands, as gifts to the learned counsel and his clerk, the rings they had vowed never to part with—prepares the way for a genial close to the whole play. It will supply means for a pleasant, quick, and sure identification; while the incident of the giving of the rings is still, in its own lighter form, in unity with the grand scene on which it follows. For its meaning is, that in little things as in great—even in little promises—we owe allegiance rather to the spirit than to the letter. Bassanio and Gratiano, true as they were pledged to be, had yielded, in spite of the letter of their pledge, all that was due elsewhere to courtesy and friendship.

The great lesson of life is taught, and the last act of the play opens with the Jew and Gentile, representing any two forms of bitter antagonism, in embrace of love under the calm expanse of heaven. The act opens genially, with playful words of love, and rises soon to a sublime earnestness, as Lorenzo looks from earth up to God's universe, of which it is a part:

> "Look how the floor of heaven
> Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold:
> There's not the smallest orb that thou behold'st
> But in his motion like an angel sings,
> Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins;
> *Such harmony is in immortal souls;*
> But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
> Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it."

Then the musicians, who had been sent for, enter, and with soft strain represent to the ear, as Shakespeare often in his plays has made it represent, immortal harmony. Lorenzo's answer to Jessica's "I am never merry when I hear sweet music," "The reason is your spirits are attentive," &c., still uses music as type of that higher harmony which is within our souls. To want that is to be "the man that hath no music in himself, nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds." Because of that want, he

> "Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;
> The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
> And his affections dark as Erebus:
> Let no such man be trusted. Mark the music."

The music, thus associated with the harmony of human souls and of the great visible universe under which the lovers sit, still plays. Then enters Portia, with Nerissa, and the train of thought is continued in their first natural words by an image that brings the deeper sense of the play to its fit close. Its meaning is, that man's endeavour to establish the kingdom of heaven within him shines royally, till it has blended with, and is lost in, the supreme glories of eternal love.

> "*Portia.* That light we see is burning in my hall.
> How far that little candle throws his beams!
> So shines a good deed in a naughty world.
> "*Nerissa.* When the moon shone, we did not see the candle.
> "*Portia.* So doth the greater glory dim the less:
> A substitute shines brightly as a king
> Until a king be by, and then his state
> Empties itself, as doth an inland brook
> Into the main of waters. Music! Hark!"

And then we pass to the playful end, in unaffected chatting of good fellowship—again the kindly air of life encircling all.

John Fox, with controversial bitterness, had registered the pangs of martyrs, and believed all ill of the opponents of his form of faith. Spenser, with sweetness of voice, had expressed the fierceness of the conflict from which Shakespeare rose to a full sense of the divine harmonies and to a quiet, all-embracing charity. But there could have been no Shakespeare without the conflict that had stirred men to their depths, or in a country yielding no such combatants as those who, in Tudor times, had, through infirmities of human character, employed their highest energies, given and hazarded all they had, and, zealous to serve God, striven day after day to do their duty.

97. In 1599 appeared an improved edition of *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Passionate Pilgrim*—a small collection of love poems, all ascribed on the title page, by an adventurous publisher, to Shakespeare, who objected to this use of his name. The volume includes, with pieces by Shakespeare, others which it is known that he did not write.

In 1600 the plays of Shakespeare first printed in quarto were *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *Henry V.*

Shakespeare's father died early in September, 1601.

The Merry Wives of Windsor was the only play of Shakespeare's printed in 1602. There was a tradition current at the beginning of the eighteenth century that this was written at the

request of Queen Elizabeth, who was so much pleased with Falstaff, in the two parts of *King Henry IV.*, that she commanded a play upon Falstaff in love, being, moreover, in such haste for it that it was to be written in fourteen days. This may or may not be true. "The Diary of John Manningham," a member of the Middle Temple, makes known to us that Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* was acted in the Middle Temple on the 2nd of February, 1602. In that year *Venus and Adonis* reached a fifth edition.

In May, 1602, Shakespeare continued the investment of his earnings in his native place, by buying of William and John Combe 107 acres of arable land, in the parish of Old Stratford, for £327; and later in the year he made two more purchases, one of a cottage and its ground near New Place, the other, for sixty pounds, of a messuage with two barns, two gardens, and two orchards. He was extending his grounds behind New Place towards the river.

It seems to have been in the earlier part of this year, 1602, that Shakespeare's *Hamlet* was first acted. It was entered by a bookseller on the Stationers' Register on the 26th of July, 1602, to be published "as it was latelie acted." Thus, by the date of the death of Elizabeth, March 24, 1603, Shakespeare had risen to the full height of his genius.

98. Of the new dramatists rising around him one, **George Chapman**, was as old as Elizabeth's reign; and he was not a dramatist only. He was born in 1557 or 1559, at Hitchin, in Hertfordshire. He was called afterwards by William Browne, "The Shepherd of fair Hitching Hill." About 1574 he was sent to Trinity College, Oxford, where he fastened with especial delight on the Greek and Roman classics. After two years at Oxford, he left without a degree. Nothing is known of him as a writer before 1594, when he published Σκιανυκτος, *The Shadow of Night: containing two poetical hymnes devised by G. C., Gent.* In the next year, 1595, this was followed by *Ouid's Banquet of Sence, a Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophie, and his amorous Zodiacke.* In 1598 appeared the first section of the main work of George Chapman's life, his translation of Homer in *Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homere, Prince of Poetes, translated according to the Greeke, in Judgment of his best Commentaries, by George Chapman, Gent.* The seven books were the first and second, and the seventh to the eleventh. They are in the fourteen-syllabled measure, to which he adhered throughout the

Iliad and Odyssey; but there was a separate issue by him of a version of *The Shield of Achilles*, in 1598, in ten-syllabled verse.

Chapman had now also begun his career as a dramatist, and in 1598 appeared his first printed comedy, the *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, which had been acted sundry times by the Earl of Nottingham's servants. The same company acted his second comedy, printed in 1599, *An humerous Days Myrth*. At the end of Elizabeth's reign, Chapman was at work still on his Homer, but had not yet issued another section of it.

99. **Thomas Heywood** was a native of Lincolnshire and a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. He joined the players, and was a young man when writing for them in 1596. In 1598 he produced *War without Blows and Love without Suit*, and immediately afterwards *Joan as good as my Lady*. Heywood passed into the next reign as one of the most prolific playwrights of the time. Of about the same age as Heywood was

Thomas Middleton, a gentleman's son, born in London in 1570. He was admitted of Gray's Inn in 1593, and published in 1597 the *Wisdom of Solomon Paraphrased;* probably he was also the author of *Microcynicon, six snarling Satires*, published in 1599. In the same year he joined **William Rowley** in writing his first play, the *Old Law*. In 1602, **Middleton** wrote the tragedy of *Randall Earl of Chester*, without help, and the *Two Harpies* in partnership with others; in 1602, also, his *Blurt, Master Constable, or the Spaniard's Night Walk* was printed.

Thomas Dekker, who was also born about 1570, began to write in the days of the later Elizabethan drama. His *Phaëton* was acted in 1597; other plays rapidly followed. His comedies of *Old Fortunatus* and the *Shoemaker's Holiday* were printed in 1600, and his *Satiromastix*, presently to be spoken of, in 1602.

John Marston, who was educated at Oxford, began in 1598 as a satirist with the *Scourge of Villanie, three Books of Satires*, and the *Metamorphoses of Pigmalion's Image, and certaine Satyres*, one of the books burnt by Whitgift and Bancroft (§ 92) when they forbade the writing of more satire. Marston wrote a tragedy, *Antonio and Mellida*, which had a sequel, *Antonio's Revenge*, and these plays were both printed in 1602.

100. But foremost among these writers of the later Elizabethan

drama, was **Ben Jonson.** He was of a north country family, son of a gentleman who was ruined by religious persecution in the reign of Mary, who became a preacher in Elizabeth's reign, and who died a month before the poet's birth, in 1573. Ben Jonson's mother took a bricklayer for second husband, and at some time during Ben's childhood she was living in Hartshorn Lane, near Charing Cross. The boy was first taught in the parish school of St. Martin's, and then owed to the kindness of William Camden (§ 82) an admission to Westminster School. He is said to have tried his stepfather's business for a little while, before he went to fight against Spain as a volunteer in the Low Countries. When he came home he joined the players and married. In 1597, when he was twenty-four years old, he was a sharer in the company of the Rose at Bankside. In these early days Ben Jonson acted the old Marshal Jeronimo in **Thomas Kyd's** *Spanish Tragedy*, and enriched the play with an effective scene between mad old Jeronimo and a painter, in the manner of the earlier Elizabethan drama. In 1596 Ben Jonson's comedy, *Every Man in his Humour* was produced, with Italian characters and a scene laid at Florence. He then revised it, made the characters all English, and laid the scene in and between Coleman Street and Hoxton. In this, its present shape, it was performed in 1598 by the company to which Shakespeare belonged, the name of Shakespeare himself standing at the head of the list of actors. *Every Man in His Humour* is a true comedy carefully constructed. Its action, contained within a single day, opens at six in the morning and ends with a supper. The course of time is unobtrusively but exactly marked as the story proceeds, and the plot is not only contrived to show varieties of character, each marked by a special humour or predominance of one peculiar quality, but the incidents are run ingeniously into a dramatic knot which the fifth act unties. But Ben Jonson's next three plays were of another character; they were not so much true comedies as bright dramatic satires, based on a noble sense of life and of the poet's place in it. *Every Man out of his Humour*, produced in 1599, *Cynthia's Revels*, in 1600, and the *Poetaster*, in 1601, were annual satires, the first touching especially the citizens, the second the courtiers, and the third the poets, in as far as any of these lived for aims below the dignity of manhood. Ben Jonson was at that time of his life tall, meagre, large-boned, with a pock-marked face and eager eyes; a poet and keen satirist,

with a true reverence for all that was noble, a lofty sense of the aims of literature, and a young zeal to set the world to rights, with a bold temper and an over-readiness for self-assertion. In *Cynthia's Revels* he jested scornfully at the euphuisms and shallow graces of the Court, at lives spent in the mere study of airs and grimaces. "Would any reasonable creature," he asked through one of his characters, "make these his serious studies and perfections, much less only live to these ends, to be the false pleasure of a few, the true love of none, and the just laughter of all?" He urged for the Court idlers, in words characteristic of the mind that made him, next to Shakespeare, foremost among English dramatists,—

> 'That these vain joys in which their wills consume
> Such powers of wit and soul as are of force
> To raise their beings to eternity,
> May be converted on works fitting men;
> And for the practice of a forced look,
> An antic gesture, or a fustian phrase,
> Study the native frame of a true heart,
> An inward comeliness of bounty, knowledge,
> And spirit that may conform them actually
> To God's high figures, which they have in power.

When Dekker and Marston considered themselves to have been pointed at in the *Poetaster*, they resolved to give a taste of his own whip to the too ardent satirist, whose vivid impersonations of the follies of society were looked upon as personal attacks by all the men in whom such follies were conspicuous. Dekker wrote his *Satiromastix* (whip for the satirist), and it was acted as a retort on Jonson's *Poetaster*. But although Ben Jonson's own admirable bully, Captain Tucca, was reproduced and let loose upon him to abuse him roughly, yet through the characters of Demetrius and Crispinus, by whom Dekker and Marston held themselves to have been attacked, and who were also reproduced, the retort was made in a tone that showed the quarrel to be, as a Latin motto to the printed book expressed, among friends only. The motto said, "I speak only to friends, and that upon compulsion." One passage will serve as sufficient evidence of this. Ben Jonson, as Horace Junior, is made to plead for his satires of citizens and others :—

> "*Horace.* What could I do, out of a just revenge,
> But bring them to the stage? They envy me,
> Because I hold more worthy company.
> "*Demetrius.* Good Horace, no. My cheeks do blush for thine
> As often as thou speak'st so. Where one true

> And nobly virtuous spirit for thy best part
> Loves thee, I wish one ten with all my heart.
> I make account I put up as deep share
> In any good man's love which thy worth earns
> As thou thyself. We envy not to see
> Thy friends with bays to crown thy poesie.
> No, here the gall lies, we that know what stuff
> Thy very heart is made of, know the stalk
> On which thy learning grows, and can give life
> To thy (once dying) baseness, yet must we
> Dance antics on your paper——
> "*Horace.* Fannius——
> "*Crispinus.* This makes us angry, but not envious.
> No, were thy warpt soul put in a new mould,
> I'd wear thee as a jewel set in gold."

In that spirit Dekker resolved to let his eager, positive friend Ben feel in his own person how he liked being held up to the town as the butt of satire. Jonson replied with an Epilogue to his *Poetaster*, and urged, as he had always urged, that his books were taught "to spare the persons and to speak the vices." But, in fact, he generously yielded, and said,

> "Since the comic Muse
> Hath proved so ominous to me, I will try
> If tragedy have a more kind aspect.
> Her favours in my next I will pursue,
> When, if I prove the pleasure of but one,
> So he judicious be, he shall be alone
> A theatre unto me."

Thus it happened that Ben Jonson's last work in Elizabeth's reign was upon his first tragedy *Sejanus*.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM ELIZABETH TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

A.—REIGN OF JAMES I.

1. WHEN Elizabeth died, on the 24th of March, 1603, and James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, Shakespeare was thirty-nine years old and Bacon forty-two. Spenser had been dead about four years, Richard Hooker three. Robert Greene had been dead about eleven years and Christopher Marlowe ten. George Peele was dead, and Thomas Nash had been dead a year or two. Thomas Sackville, the author of our first tragedy (ch. vii. § 8), now Lord Buckhurst, and aged 67,

was one of those who, after the queen's death, administered the affairs of the kingdom and proclaimed King James. A year later Sackville was created Earl of Dorset, and he died in 1608. John Lyly, author of *Euphues* (ch. vii. § 20), was living at the accession of James I., fifty years old, and had three years to live. Gabriel Harvey (ch. vii. § 24), also aged fifty, lived throughout James's reign, a Doctor of Civil Law, practising as advocate in the Prerogative Court. Thomas Lodge (ch. vii. § 42), aged forty-eight, lived on, as a physician in good practice. John Stow (ch. vii. § 82) was seventy-eight years old, and "as a recompense for his labours and travel of forty-five years, in setting forth the chronicles of England and eight years taken up in the survey of the cities of London and Westminster, towards his relief now in his old age," he asked for, and obtained, the king's letters patent empowering him "to gather the benevolence of well-disposed people within this realm of England; to ask, gather, and take the alms of all our loving subjects." He lived only till 1605 on this boundless reward of his enthusiasm.

Among men who had written in the past reign there also were still alive: Richard Stanihurst (ch. vii. § 53), aged about fifty-eight, he died in 1618; William Camden (ch. vii. § 82), fifty-two; Sir Walter Raleigh (ch. vii. § 84), fifty-one; Anthony Munday (ch. vii. § 54), forty-nine, he lived on until 1633; George Chapman (ch. vii. § 98), forty-six; William Warner (ch. vii. § 65), forty-five, he died in 1609; Samuel Daniel (ch. vii. § 79), forty-one; Michael Drayton (ch. vii. § 80), forty; Joseph Hall (ch. vii. § 92), twenty-nine; Ben Jonson (ch. vii. § 100), twenty-nine; and Marston, Middleton, Heywood, Dekker (ch. vii. § 100), of about Ben Jonson's age.

Among the dramatists born in the reign of Elizabeth who began to write under the Stuarts there were, at the accession of James I., John Fletcher, twenty-seven years old; Francis Beaumont, seventeen; John Webster, perhaps twenty-three; Cyril Tourneur, perhaps twenty; Philip Massinger, nineteen; John Ford, seventeen; James Shirley, nine. These were Stuart dramatists, and not Elizabethan. But they were born in Elizabeth's reign, and their plays retain much of the Elizabethan character.

2. We have given the name of *ELIZABETHAN DRAMATISTS* only to those who wrote in the reign of Elizabeth; and we have seen these divided into two sections, the *Earlier and Later Elizabethan* (ch. vii. § 94). That part of the work of any of

them which was done under the Stuarts we may now place in a third section and call it *Stuart-Elizabethan.* Thus Marlowe's plays are Earlier Elizabethan; Shakespeare's, except his 'prentice work in the Earlier Elizabethan time, rank with the Later Elizabethan if written before March, 1603; after that date they are Stuart-Elizabethan.

Next to these will come the dramatists who wrote all their works under the Stuarts. The oldest of them, those who were born under Elizabeth, form a distinct class of *ELIZABETHAN-STUART DRAMATISTS.* Those who were also born and bred under the Stuarts are the *STUART DRAMATISTS;* the Commonwealth dividing *Earlier* from *Later Stuart.* Thus the division becomes:—

I. *ELIZABETHAN, a.* Earlier; *b.* Later; *c.* Stuart-Elizabethan.

II. *ELIZABETHAN-STUART.*

III. *STUART, a.* Earlier; *b.* Later.

3. Among writers with their work before them who were men or children at the accession of James I., were Lancelot Andrewes, forty-eight years old; John Donne, aged thirty; Robert Burton, twenty-seven; George Sandys, twenty-six; Edward Herbert of Cherbury, twenty-two; James Usher, twenty-three; Richard Corbet, twenty-one; John Selden, nineteen; Phineas and Giles Fletcher, twenty-one and perhaps nineteen; William Drummond of Hawthornden, eighteen; George Wither, fifteen; Thomas Hobbes, fifteen; Thomas Carew, about fourteen; William Browne, thirteen; Robert Herrick, twelve; Francis Quarles, eleven; George Herbert, ten; and Izaak Walton, ten. For so many years had each received his training while Elizabeth was queen.

4. Shakespeare was the great living writer at the accession of James I., when his company became that of the King's Players instead of the Lord Chamberlain's. The children of the chapel, who had acted Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* and the *Poetaster* at the Blackfriars' Theatre, became at the same time Children of his Majesty's Revels, and usually acted at Blackfriars when the King's Servants were at the Globe. The plays produced by Shakespeare in the reign of James I., and their probable dates, were *Othello*, perhaps;—it was played at Court November 1, 1604;—and *Measure for Measure*, possibly in December, 1604; *Macbeth*, early in 1606; *King Lear*, acted before James, December 26, 1606 (first printed. 1608); *Pericles*

(on work by another hand), 1607 or 1608 (first printed, 1609); *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1608 [in this year Milton was born]; *Troilus and Cressida*, early in 1609 (two editions were printed in that year, one of them before the play had been acted). There were no more of Shakespeare's plays printed in quarto during his life. *Cymbeline* was probably first acted about 1609; *Coriolanus* and *Timon of Athens*, 1610. The earliest notice of a performance of the *Tempest* is of 1611. It is one of Shakespeare's latest plays, perhaps his last, and there may be a reference to this in Prospero's breaking of his wand, burning of his books, and departure from the magic island. The notion of the play is, indeed, that man, supreme in intellect, master of the powers of earth and air, yet yearns for and needs the natural life with its affections. Bad as the world might be, and ill as it had used him, Prospero brought it to his island, with all its incidental treacheries and all its incidental grossness, bound himself with it again, and went home to it. Shakespeare felt only more keenly than his neighbours all the ties of home and kindred. He had been using the profits from his art to make himself a home at Stratford, and while he had still power to enjoy the home life that he had denied himself in part while he was earning, he broke his magic rod, and went home finally to his wife and children when his age was about forty-eight. *King Henry VIII.* was the play being acted when the Globe Theatre was burnt down, June 29, 1613, by the discharge of "chambers" in Act i. sc. 4. Because Sir Henry Wotton speaks of the play then acted as "a new play, called *All is True*," some think that Shakespeare's career closed with the production of *Henry VIII.*, in 1613. It has been said also that Shakespeare's versification falls into three periods: an early period, in which he seldom took liberties with the metre of his ten-syllabled line; a second period, in which eleven-syllabled lines are more frequent; and a late period, in which he used much greater freedom. In *Henry VIII.* extra syllables are more frequent than in any other play, and so distinctly marked, that they are not seldom monosyllables. This peculiarity was introduced deliberately. It is strongly marked in the most characteristic passages, as in the speech of Buckingham before his execution, and in Wolsey's farewell to his greatness. The pomp of the heroic line is broken at its close, and falls succeed each other making a sad music, in harmony with the feeling of the scene and of the play. For the whole play is a lesson on the changing

fortunes of men and their one trust in God. Henry VIII. stands in the centre as the earthly Fortune, by whose smile or frown earthly prosperity is gained or lost; scene after scene shows rise and fall of human fortunes as of waves of the great sea, and each fall—Buckingham's, Katherine's, Wolsey's—leads to the same thought—

"Farewell
The hopes of Court! My hopes in heaven do dwell."

The play is as true as any sermon could be to such a text on the world and its pomps as this from the 39th Psalm, "Man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain: he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. And now, Lord, what is my hope: truly my hope is even in thee."

Shakespeare had prepared for retirement by an investment which would cause him to draw even a main part of his income from his native place. This was the purchase, in 1605, of a moiety of a lease granted in 1544 for 92 years—therefore, with 31 years yet to run—of the tithes, great and small, of Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe. The price paid for this was £440, and the tithes would produce him £60 a year, an income with the buying power of, say £300 or £400 a year at the present value of money. In 1607, on the 5th of June, Shakespeare married his elder daughter, Susanna, to John Hall, a prosperous medical practitioner at Stratford. In February, 1608, the birth of Mrs. Hall's only child, Elizabeth, made Shakespeare a grandfather; and in September of that year his mother died. In 1612, at which time probably Shakespeare had retired to New Place, he was engaged in a lawsuit arising out of his share of the tithes. His brother Richard died in February, 1613. A month afterwards he bought a house near the Blackfriars Theatre for £140, paying £80 and mortgaging for the rest, then paying the mortgage off, and leasing the house to John Robinson. In June of the same year, 1613, the Globe Theatre was burnt down while *Henry VIII.* was being acted, but he seems then to have had no share in the property. In 1614 Shakespeare was active, with others of his neighbourhood, in protecting the rights to common lands near Stratford against an enclosure scheme. In 1615 he was still interested in the enclosure question. In 1616, he married his other daughter, Judith, to Thomas Quiney, a vintner and wine merchant at Stratford, who was four years younger than herself. Shakespeare had given directions for his will in the preceding

January, but it was executed on the 25th of March. He died on the 23rd of the following April, 1616, aged fifty-two. An afterthought of a bequest to his wife of "the second best bed" has been weakly taken as evidence of want of affection. It would be at least as reasonable to say that, as the best bed in most houses is that of the guest chamber, the second best becomes that of the husband and wife, and the special bequest was, therefore, dictated by a feeling of domestic tenderness.

Shakespeare's wife survived until 1623. That was the year in which his plays were first collected in a folio, as *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies.* The other three folios appeared in 1632, 1663 (with *Pericles* and six spurious plays added, namely, *The London Prodigal*, *The History of Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham*, *The Puritan Widow*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, and the *Tragedy of Locrine*), and 1685 (also including the spurious plays).

Shakespeare's Sonnets, mentioned by Meres in 1598 (ch. vii. § 95), were first published in 1609. They are 154 in number, and their chief theme is friendship. Various attempts have been made to build sentimental theories upon the sonnets of Shakespeare, as upon those of Surrey (ch. vi. § 46) and of Sidney (ch. vii. § 61). From what has been said in former chapters of the character of sonnet writing, from its origin to the Elizabethan time, it will be understood that I have here nothing to do but endorse (dropping its "well-nigh") the opinion arrived at by one of the most thorough Shakespeare students of our time, Mr. Dyce, who says, "For my own part, repeated perusals of the *Sonnets* have well-nigh convinced me, that most of them were composed in an assumed character on different subjects, and at different times, for the amusement, if not at the suggestion, of the author's intimate associates (hence described by Meres as 'his sugred sonnets among his private friends'); and though I would not deny that one or two of them reflect his genuine feelings, I contend that allusions scattered through the whole series are not to be hastily referred to the personal circumstances of Shakespeare." They are exquisite little pieces, not in the true sonnet measure (ch. vi. § 46), but with a form of their own; for each of them consists merely of three four-lined stanzas of alternate rhyme with a couplet added. Spenser's sonnets keep to the five rhymes, and although they have their own method of interlacement, it is one in full accord with the

nature of this kind of poem. In a sonnet of Shakespeare's there are seven rhymes. It is in fact simply a little poem in three four-lined stanzas and a couplet.

5. The "Mermaid" was a tavern by Cheapside, between Bread Street and Friday Street, accessible from either; and here Sir Walter Raleigh is said to have established a club, at which Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, and other wits of the time met. The club founded by Raleigh is mythical, but the "Mermaid" was a famous tavern, and that the wits of the time frequented it we have witness in Beaumont's lines to Jonson, which recall—

> "What things we have seen
> Done at the 'Mermaid!' Heard words that have been
> So nimble and so full of subtile flame,
> As if that every one from whom they came
> Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
> And had resolved to live a fool the rest
> Of his dull life."

Ben Jonson, under James I., gradually became the convivial centre of a group of men of genius, and owed his predominance to a real intellectual power. The playhouse audience was losing its old national character. Secession of those men who might have said "Amen" at the close of the *Looking-glass for London and England* (ch. vii. § 70), meant the gradual loss of a main element in the audience—that part of it on which a dramatist who is intensely earnest can rely for sympathy. The shallowness of the king's character made his patronage of the stage no remedy for this. Fewer men came to the playhouse with their souls ready to answer to the touch of genius. The range of Shakespeare's plots was wide as humanity, and in the true Elizabethan drama there is throughout variety of motive for the action of the dramas. But we have not gone far into the reign of James I. before we find this range becoming narrowed. The lower standard of the audiences for whom the playwright worked limited the expression of his highest power. In the Elizabethan-Stuart drama the plots nearly all turn upon animal love. Ben Jonson did not stoop to this. His plays had variety of theme, and through their wit and humour a vigorous mind was often uttering its wisdom to the deaf. He and his hearers were out of accord. He spoke of them and to them with an arrogant disdain, which they in part deserved; and at last, after years of impatient service, while their degradation had been steadily proceeding, he turned from them with bitter words of

loathing. Ben Jonson's self-assertion went too far; but that which provoked it was a real change in the character of the dramatist's public. The growth of Puritanism outside the theatre withdrew, as has been said, an important element from the playhouse audience. Plays were then written to please the class of men who were left as patrons of the stage, and the change thus made in the plays would quicken the defection of the better sort of playgoers. But while Ben Jonson disdained the judgment of these later audiences, there was no disdainful spirit in his dealing with true men. He looked up to Shakespeare, and the fittest eulogy of Shakespeare's genius that any Englishman had written came from Ben Jonson. In his later life young men of genius gathered about him and looked up to him; he called them heartily his sons, and had frank pride in their achievements. Of Shakespeare it was Ben Jonson who sang,

"How far thou didst our Lyly outshine,
Or sporting Kyd, or Marlowe's mighty line.
And though thou hadst small Latin and less Greek,
From thence to honour thee I will not seek
For names: but call forth thundering Æschylus,
Euripides, and Sophocles to us,
Pacuvius, Accius, him of Cordova, dead
To live again, to hear thy buskin tread
And shake a stage; or, when thy socks were on,
Leave thee alone for the comparison
Of all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.
Triumph, my Britain! thou hast one to show,
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe.
He was not of an age, but for all time!
And all the Muses still were in their prime
When, like Apollo, he came forth to warm
Our ears, or like a Mercury to charm.
Nature herself was proud of his designs,
And joyed to wear the dressing of his lines."

Ben Jonson's tragedy of *Sejanus*, produced in 1603, with work in it from another hand, was not very successful, but it succeeded better after he had recast it in part and made it all his own. It was printed in 1605, and the small criticisms of a pedantic age Ben Jonson forestalled with footnotes citing the authority for all that he had worked into a harmonious and very noble play. Because the footnotes were there, and looked erudite, the superficial thing to do was to pronounce the play pedantic. But it is not pedantic. Jonson was no pedant; he had carried on for himself the education received at Westminster School, was a good scholar, delighted in his studies, and accu-

mulated a good library, which, in the latter part of his life was burnt. But he was true poet and true artist. His lyrics rank with the best of a time when nobody wrote dramas who was not poet enough to produce musical songs. No man can be a dramatist, in any real sense of the word, who cannot produce good lyrics. The greater includes the less. As dramatist Jonson had not Shakespeare's wealth of fancy, his sense of kindred with all forms of life—one source of that more than insight into character, of that power of being in imagination all that man can be, which caused his character painting to stand quite alone in the world's literature. Nobody but Shakespeare ever made men speak as from within, and one might say, betray themselves, as men and women do in real life, so that in his mimic world the persons are as variously judged and tried by as many tests as if one were discussing words and deeds of living people. All other dramatists have painted men and women as they saw them and we see them, from without; not reproducing life, but drawing pictures of it.

Ben Jonson judged himself aright, and wrote only two tragedies. But each of them has a clear artistic structure, with dignity in its main thought, and vigorous dramatic scenes from which, though it be tragedy, the humour of the satirist is not entirely absent. Sejanus rises by base arts; he spurns the gods, but has within his house a shrine to Fortune. He scorns the spiritual aims of life, works grossly for material success, and from his pinnacle of state falls to be dashed in pieces.

> "Let this example move the insolent man
> Not to grow proud and careless of the gods."

There is a scene at the opening of the second act in which Eudemus, the physician, is painting the cheeks of Livia. The dialogue blends meanest frivolity with a light planning of the most atrocious crime, and shows how Ben Jonson, following his own bent, could join a stern sense of the tragic in life with the humour of the comic poet. There is a very light touch of the spirit of comedy, suggesting the relation of small men to great events, in the fidgetty movements of Consul Regulus, who has been called out of his bed, in the third scene of the fifth act. In some character of a rough, honest censor, Ben Jonson himself often walked abroad through his own plays. Thus, in *Sejanus*, he may be said to have embodied himself in the part of Arruntius.

In these first years, also, of James's reign there was so little of the ill-will of small minds following the stage controversy raised by Marston and Dekker in *Satiromastix* (ch. vii. § 100), that Jonson and Dekker were working together, in 1603, at a masque for the City of London on his Majesty's accession; and one of Marston's best plays—the *Malcontent*, written probably in 1603, and certainly published in two editions in 1604—was dedicated to Ben Jonson as his liberal and cordial friend. In 1605, when *Sejanus* was printed, Marston's friendship for Ben Jonson appeared in the front of it; and in that year also (1605) Ben Jonson was fellow-worker with Marston and Chapman in the play of *Eastward Hoe*. The play contained a sentence—afterwards expunged—that offended the king and brought the writers into trouble; but its whole character of Sir Petronel Flash was a satire upon his Majesty's great cheapening of the honours of knighthood. The play itself, with some freedom of detail, was supremely moral in its design, being a contrast between the careers of the Idle and Industrious Apprentice.

Ben Jonson, who had many friends among the abler men of rank at Court, began at the outset of James's reign to find employment as a writer of Court Masques. In this form of writing—which had been untouched by Shakespeare—he was in his own day easily the first. But his true strength was in a form of comedy exclusively his own, broad and deep, generous in its aim, with scorn for all that is base, lively in its painting of a great variety of characters, each with some one predominating feature which he called its humour, and strong throughout with a manly vigour of thought that gives a bracing sense of intellectual energy to every scene. The reader's mind, after a ramble through *Volpone* or the *Alchemist*, feels as his body might after a wholesome walk in the sea breeze. Ben Jonson, about thirty years old at the accession of James I., was about thirty-two when, after *Sejanus*, he produced *Volpone; or, the Fox*, in 1605; then followed two more of his masterpieces, *Epicene; or, the Silent Woman*, in 1609, and the *Alchemist*, in 1610. His other tragedy came next, the *Catiline*, in 1611. For twelve years, during this earlier part of his life, Ben Jonson had been a Roman Catholic; but he had by this time rejoined the Church of England. In 1613 he was in France as companion and tutor to Sir Walter Raleigh's son. When he came home he poured scorn upon the outside show of Puritanism in his *Bartholomew Fair*, and produced, in 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death, a comedy called *The Devil*

is an Ass, in which the imp Pug, having obtained a holiday on earth, went back a lost fiend as to his character, for said Satan to him:

> "Whom hast thou dealt with,
> Woman or man, this day, but have outgone thee
> Some way, and most have proved the better fiends."

Each party in the rising controversy of the day had its mean rout of camp-followers, serving the times for their own advantage. If Zeal-in-the-Land Busy in *Bartholomew Fair* represented one of the untruths of the time, the truth he parodied was in the good men of all parties. It was in Ben Jonson among the rest, and he uttered it in his own way as a comedian, very distinctly in this play, which followed next after "Bartholomew Fair." In the same year, 1616, Ben Jonson published a folio as the first volume of his *Works*, including not plays only, but epigrams and miscellaneous poems gathered under the title of *The Forest*. In this year of Shakespeare's death, Jonson ceased to write for the playhouse. He continued to produce Court Masques, but wrote no more plays for the public stage until after the death of James I. The degree of M.A. was conferred on him in 1619, by the University of Oxford; and, at the cost of some trouble, Ben Jonson escaped being knighted by King James.

6. **Francis Beaumont** and **John Fletcher,** whose plays belong entirely to the reign of James I., first appeared together as friends of Ben Jonson, each of them furnishing verses prefixed to the first publication of *Volpone*, in 1607. John Fletcher, the elder of the two friends, was born at Rye, in 1576, when his father—ten years afterwards a bishop (ch. vii. § 91)—was vicar there. He was educated at home and at Benet College, Cambridge; afterwards came to London, and began his career as a dramatist, at the age of about twenty-seven, with *The Woman Hater* and *Thierry and Theodoret*, both perhaps written before he entered into literary partnership with Beaumont.

Francis Beaumont was ten years younger than Fletcher. He was the third son of Sir Francis Beaumont, Justice of the Common Pleas, was born in 1586, admitted in his thirteenth year a gentleman commoner of Broadgate Hall (now Pembroke College), Oxford, left the University without a degree, and at the age of about seventeen was entered of the Inner Temple. Before he was nineteen he published a paraphrase of Ovid's tale of *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus;* and in 1607, when he was twenty-one and Fletcher thirty-one, he wrote his lines in praise of Ben Jonson's

Volpone. Thenceforth, until the year of Shakespeare's death, Beaumont and Fletcher, close friends, worked together for the players. Beaumont had private means, and married. Fletcher depended on his earnings. Beaumont died a few weeks before Shakespeare, in March, 1616; all plays, therefore, that are the joint work of Beaumont and Fletcher, were produced during the ten years between 1606 and 1616. John Fletcher was not only ten years older than Beaumont, but he survived him nine years, and was sole author of many of the plays known as Beaumont and Fletcher's. Beaumont, as dramatist, wrote probably no work that was all his own, except in 1613 a masque on the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth. Fletcher wrote a play or two of his own before the partnership began; probably four plays wholly his own were produced during the partnership; and he continued to write during the nine or ten years between Beaumont's death, in March, 1616, and his own death by the plague, in August, 1625. Omitting a few doubtful works, about forty plays were written entirely by John Fletcher, and thirteen were the joint work of the partners. These were *Philaster*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *A King and no King*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *Cupid's Revenge*, *The Coxcomb*, *Four Plays in One*, *The Scornful Lady*, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, *The Little French Lawyer*, *Wit at Several Weapons*, *A Right Woman*, and *The Laws of Candy*. In verses "On Mr. Beaumont, written presently after his death," by his friend John Earle, then a young man, credit is given to Beaumont for the first three plays named in this list. Francis Beaumont and Ben Jonson were hearty friends. The elder poet wrote of the younger,

> "How I do love thee, Beaumont, and thy Muse,
> That unto me dost such religion use!
> How I do fear myself, that am not worth
> The least indulgent thought thy pen drops forth!"

Tradition, dating from their own time, gave pre-eminence to Fletcher for luxuriance of fancy and invention, and to Beaumont for critical judgment, to which it was said that even Ben Jonson submitted his writings. The wit and poetry of these plays were spent chiefly on themes of love. Their authors, capable of higher flights, so far accommodated their good work to the lower tone of the playhouse as to earn praise for having "understood and imitated much better than Shakespeare the conversation of gentlemen whose wild debaucheries and quickness of wit in

repartees no poet can ever paint as they have done. Humour, which Ben Jonson derived from particular persons, they made it not their business to describe ; they represented all the passions very lively." So Beaumont and Fletcher were praised by Dryden in the time of Charles II., when their plays were "the most pleasant and frequent entertainments of the stage, two of theirs being acted through the year for one of Shakespeare's or Jonson's." We shall see how in that later Stuart time *The Maid's Tragedy* was dealt with. As first produced, in 1609, it ended tragically for a king of Rhodes, and its last words were:

> "On lustful kings
> Unlook'd for sudden deaths from Heav'n are sent
> But curst is he that is their instrument."

Here was the good Elizabethan sense of common right and duty, guarded by a line in recognition of the sacredness of royal persons. *The Faithful Shepherdess*, by Fletcher alone, produced early in 1610, was above the playhouse standard of taste and morality, being a pastoral play in praise of maiden innocence, daintily versified and most pure in its design, although its moral is sometimes enforced by scenes which, as men now judge, depict too freely the evil they condemn. That is a question only of change in conventional opinion ; the true mind of the play is absolutely pure.

7. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, was a lively burlesque on the taste for high-flown romances, which Cervantes had attacked only six years before in his "Don Quixote." A citizen, speaking from among the audience, stops the actors at their prologue, says there shall be a grocer in the play, and he shall do admirable things. The citizen's wife says he shall kill a lion with a pestle ; and their man, Ralph, is the man to do it. Ralph, being thus forced on the players, burlesques the taste for Palmerin of England, appears, with squire and dwarf, as a knight, who swears by his ancestor Amadis of Gaul, has an inn described to him by his squire as an ancient castle held by the old knight of the most holy order of "The Bell," who has three squires—Chamberlino, Tapstero, and Ostlero —and when the tapster answers a lance-knock at the door, addresses him in this fashion :

> "Fair Squire Tapstero, I, a wandering knight,
> Hight of the Burning Pestle, in the quest
> Of this fair lady's casket and wrought purse,
> Losing myself in this vast wilderness,

Am to this castle well by fortune brought,
Where hearing of the goodly entertain
Your knight of holy order of 'The Bell'
Gives to all damsels and all errant knights,
I thought to knock, and now am bold to enter."

This earliest burlesque in our dramatic literature was evidently following the lead of "Don Quixote." It was in 1605, at a time corresponding to the second year of the reign of James I. in England, that *CERVANTES* published the first part of his *Don Quixote;* the second part, still better than the first, was published in 1615. Beaumont and Fletcher's burlesque on the affected forms into which tales of chivalry had degenerated, appeared in 1611.

In the conflict that brought Spain and England into opposition and that touched all Europe to the quick, the two great centres of activity were London and Madrid. The quickened energies developed in each city a vigorous intellectual life, and the Spanish drama rose at the same time with ours to its full height. The great developer of Spanish drama, *Lope de Vega*, was but seventeen months older than Shakespeare. He sailed in the great Spanish Armada, he exulted in a poem of ten cantos—the "Dragontea"—upon the death of Drake, and he called Queen Elizabeth the "Scarlet Lady of Babylon." Lope de Vega lived till 1635, and was writing throughout the reign of James I., while *Calderon*, the next great Spanish dramatist, born at the end of Elizabeth's reign, was growing up to manhood.

8. During the best years of Shakespeare's life as a dramatist, **William Alexander,** of Menstrie, afterwards Sir William Alexander and first Earl of Stirling, wrote four weak plays—*Darius*, first printed in 1603; *Crœsus*, in 1604; *the Alexandrian*, in 1605, and *Julius Cæsar*, in 1607, when the series was published together as *The Monarchic Tragedies*. William Alexander was then a Gentleman of the Chamber to Prince Henry, and a Scotchman in much favour with King James.

Cyril Tourneur, a dramatic poet with real tragic power, of whose life little is known, and whose remaining plays are *The Revenger's Tragedy*, *The Atheist's Tragedy*, and *The Nobleman*, wrote only in the reign of James I.

William Rowley, who during the last three years of Shakespeare's life was at the head of the Prince of Wales's company of comedians, wrote, or took part in writing, many plays, chiefly comedies, during the reign of James I. He published also, in 1609, a lively picture of London life, called *A Search*

for Money; or, the Lamentable Complaint for the Losse of the Wandering Knight, Monsieur l'Argent.

Thomas Middleton (ch. vii. § 99) was a dramatist throughout the reign of James I., whom he did not long survive. He died in July, 1627.

Thomas Dekker (ch. vii. § 99) remained throughout the reign of James I. an active dramatist and pamphleteer. He lived on into the next reign, and died an old man, not earlier than 1637.

Nathaniel Field was one of the Children of the Revels who, in 1601, played in Ben Jonson's "Poetaster." He became known as a very good actor in the Blackfriars company, also as a dramatist. Before 1611 he wrote two plays of his own, *Woman is a Weathercock*, and a second part, called *Amends for Ladies*. He lived, and so did that busiest of playwrights, **Thomas Heywood** (ch. vii. § 99), until about 1641.

9. John Webster and Philip Massinger, true poets both, and dramatists of higher mark than those just named, were nearly of like age. **Philip Massinger** was born at Salisbury, in 1584. His father was in the household of Henry Earl of Pembroke. In the last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Massinger became a commoner of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford; but the death of his father, in 1606, obliged him to leave the University and support himself as he could. Many of his plays are lost, and there is no record of work of his earlier than 1622, when *The Virgin Martyr* was printed. *The Duke of Milan* was printed in 1623. In December, 1623, Massinger's name first appeared in the office book of the Master of the Revels, when his *Boudman* was acted. That play was first printed in 1624. Twelve of Massinger's plays were printed in his lifetime, but only these three in the reign of James I. Massinger remained an active dramatist during fifteen years of the reign of Charles I.

John Webster, a master poet in the suggestion of tragic horror, produced in the reign of James I. two of his finest plays, *The White Devil; or, Vittoria Corombona*, printed in 1612; and *The Duchess of Malfi*, first acted about the time of Shakespeare's death, but printed in 1619. Webster also wrote in the reign of Charles I. He lived on into the time of the Commonwealth, and died about 1654.

10. **George Chapman**, during the reign of James I., was an active dramatist. In 1606, besides *Eastward Hoe* (§ 5), in which he had a hand, his comedy of *All Fools* was printed; in 1606 *Monsieur d'Olive* and *The Gentleman Usher;* in 1607 his

tragedy of *Bussy d'Ambois*, which kept the stage for some time after his death. Other tragedies and comedies followed. But his chief work was still at the translation of Homer (ch. vii. § 98), on which he was engaged throughout the reign of James I. Twelve books of Homer's Iliad, translated by George Chapman, appeared about 1610 ; and in the following year, the whole twenty-four books of *The Iliads of Homer*, dedicated to Prince Henry, who died in November, 1612. This was followed by the twelve first books of the Odyssey, about 1614, and in 1615, the whole twenty-four books of *Homer's Odysses, translated according to the Greek.* About the year of Shakespeare's death (Chapman's folios are not dated), Chapman's "Iliad" and "Odyssey" appeared together as *The Whole Works of Homer, Prince of Poets.* Chapman proceeded then to translate the Homeric Hymns, and "Battle of the Frogs and Mice," ascribed to Homer. This translation appeared at the end of the reign of James I., as *The Crown of all Homer's Workes, Batrachomyomachia, his Hymns and Epigrams, translated by George Chapman.* Because of the vigour of the Elizabethan time, and the fact that Chapman was a poet, this translation is the crown of the works of Chapman.

"He leapt upon the sounding earth, and shook his lengthful dart,
And everywhere he breathed exhorts, and stirr'd up every heart.
A dreadful fight he set on foot. His soldiers straight turned head.
The Greeks stood firm. In both the hosts the field was perfected.
But Agamemnon foremost still did all his side exceed,
And would not be the first in name unless the first in deed."

Thus sang George Chapman, who was himself the Agamemnon of the host of the translators of Homer.

11. Another good translator of this time was **George Sandys**, second son of the Sandys, Archbishop of York, whom Aylmer succeeded in the Bishopric of London. George Sandys was born at Bishopsthorpe, in 1577, and educated at Oxford. In 1610 he set out upon the travels of which he published an account in 1615, as *A Relation of a Journey begun A.D.* 1610. *Four Books containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Egypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote Parts of Italy, and Islands adjoining.* He then worked at his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses; The first Five Books* appearing in the reign of James I. Sandys' travels are told gracefully, in a style less laboured than that of **Richard Knolles'** *General History of the Turks*, which first appeared in the year of King James's accession.

12. Apart from their direct value as record, there is the charm also of an unaffected method in **William Camden's** Latin annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth —*Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha*—of which the first part, ending at 1589, was first published in 1615, and the second part early in the reign of Charles I., in 1627. An English translation, as *The Historie of the Life and Reigne of the most renowned and victorious Princesse Elizabeth, late Queen of England. . . . Composed by way of Annales by the most learned Mr. William Camden*, was published 1630. The work had been suggested to Camden, the most fit man living, by Lord Burghley, who, says the annalist, "set open unto me first his own and then the Queen's rolls, memorials, records, and thereout willed me to compile in a historical style the first beginnings of the reign of Queen Elizabeth." He studied carefully to carry out this design, procured access to charters, letters patent, letters, notes of consultations in the council chamber, instructions to ambassadors; looked through Parliamentary diaries, acts, and statutes, and read over every edict or proclamation; for the greatest part of all which he was beholden, he said, to Sir Robert Cotton, "who hath with great cost and successful industry furnished himself with most choice store of matter of history and antiquity; for from his light he hath willingly given great light unto me." Camden chose to take, for clearness and simplicity, the form of Annals for his work; but endeavoured so to tell his facts that their relation to each other might be understood, for he liked, he said, that saying of Polybius, "Take from history, why, how, and to what end, and what hath been done, and whether the thing done hath succeeded according to reason, and whatsoever is else will rather be an idle sport than a profitable instruction: and for the present it may delight, but for the future it cannot profit." **Samuel Daniel** (ch. vii. § 79) wrote also as Annals, but in English, his *Collection of the History of England*, first published in 1613 and 1618. It begins with Roman Britain, and ends with the reign of Richard III.

13. **Robert Bruce Cotton,** born at Denton, Huntingdonshire, in 1570, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, was knighted by James I. In 1611, when his Majesty had invented the rank of baronet, and began to trade in the new article, Sir Robert Cotton became one of his first customers. King James was aided in his controversies by Sir Robert Cotton's learning, and the treasures of literature rescued by him

from the scattered waste of the monasteries, were at the service of all who could make good use of them. It was in the reign of James I, that an older man, **Sir Thomas Bodley**, founded the Bodleian Library at Oxford. He was born at Exeter, in 1544, the son of that John Bodley who, in exile at Geneva, had been a chief promoter of the translation known as the Geneva Bible (ch. vii. § 15). Thomas Bodley had come to England at Elizabeth's accession, entered at Magdalene College, Oxford, became Fellow of Merton, had been employed by the queen on embassies, was for nine years ambassador at the Hague, but in 1597 he retired from public life, and made it the work of his last years to give to the University of Oxford a library in place of that which it had lost. In 1602 he refitted the dismantled room which had been used for the library founded by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and furnished it with ten thousand pounds' worth of books. In July, 1610, he laid the foundation-stone of a new library building; and died in 1612, about a year before the building was completed.

14. The development of England at a time when men felt they were living history, and the lively controversy upon questions in which authority of the past was being constantly appealed to, gave great impulse to historical research. John Stow was followed by another patriotic tailor chronicler, **John Speed**, born in 1555, at Farington, in Cheshire, who, with little education, became enthusiastic in the study of the antiquities of his own country. In 1608 and 1610 he published fifty-four maps of England and Wales. In 1611 he published, in royal folio, his Chronicle, as *The History of Great Britaine under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans.* In 1611 appeared, in folio, his *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine;* and in 1616 the religious side of his English character was shown by the publication of *A Cloud of Witnesses; and they the Holy Genealogies of the Sacred Scriptures, confirming unto us the truth of the histories of God's most holie Word.* Speed married when young, had eighteen children, and passed his golden wedding-day, his wife dying in 1628, and he in 1629.

There were two brothers, William and Robert Burton, of Lindley, in Leicestershire, who both went to school at Sutton Coldfield, and to college at Brazenose, Oxford. **William Burton** became a lawyer, gave his mind to antiquities, and published, in 1622, in folio, a *Description of Leicestershire: containing Matters of Antiquitye, Historye, Armorye, and*

Genealogy. **Robert Burton** became a clergyman, and had the livings of St. Thomas, Oxford, and Segrave, in Leicestershire; but he still lived a quiet scholar's life at his college, and in 1621, published the *Anatomy of Melancholy, by Democritus Junior.* This discussion of all forms of melancholy, and their remedies, is very quaint and ingenious in thought and expression, and so crammed with pleasant erudite quotations that the book has been to many later writers, who desired to affect knowledge of books they had never seen, the storehouse of their second-hand learning. Although an original book, its manner was in the fashion of the time, and it is said to have made the fortune of its Oxford publisher. It went through five editions before its author's death, in 1639.

History moralised in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, remained popular after the accession of James I. The last edition of that work appeared in 1610, edited by **Richard Niccols,** *newly enlarged with a last Part, called a Winter Night's Vision, being an addition of such Tragedies, especially famous, as are exempted in the former Historie, with a Poem annexed, called England's Eliza.* This final edition contained ninety-one legends.

15. There was a poet's mind in **Sir Walter Raleigh,** though he shone most as a man of action. Spenser had taken pleasure in his verse. A poet's sense of the grand energies of life was in Raleigh's conception of a History of the World, to keep his busy mind astir during imprisonment. Raleigh's good fortune was at an end when James I. became king. In November, 1603, he was tried at Winchester—there being the plague then in London—and unjustly found guilty of participation in an attempt to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, and of a secret correspondence with the King of Spain. Raleigh was sentenced to death, but reprieved. His personal property, forfeited by the attainder, was also restored, and he was detained a prisoner in the Tower, where his wife obtained permission to live with him, and where his youngest son was born. It was during these twelve years in the Tower that Sir Walter Raleigh wrote his fragment of a *History of the World*, which fills a substantial folio. It contains five books of the first part of the History, beginning at the Creation and ending with the Second Macedonian War. The theme of its opening chapter is "Of the Creation and Preservation of the World," and the argument of its first section, "that the Invisible God is seen in His creatures." Raleigh even discusses fate, foreknowledge, and

free-will, before he begins the story of man's life on earth, and proceeds with historical detail that includes reasonings upon the origin of law and government. This folio was published in 1614, and in 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death, Raleigh, by bribing the king's favourite, and exciting other hopes of gain, obtained liberty without any formal pardon, and a patent under the Great Seal for establishing a settlement in Guiana. The expedition failed, and Raleigh was too faithful to the old traditions of his life. He returned in July, 1618, having lost his eldest son in an attack on the new Spanish settlement of St. Thomas; and to oblige Spain, James I. then caused him, at the age of sixty-six, to be executed, without trial, by carrying out of the fifteen-year-old sentence, on the 29th of October, 1618. English regard for the Elizabethan voyagers was maintained in this reign by the Rev. **Samuel Purchas**, vicar of Eastwood, in Essex. The Rev. Richard Hakluyt's manuscripts came into his hands, and he resigned his vicarage to his brother, to devote himself to a continuation of the work of Hakluyt. His first volume appeared in folio in 1613, *Purchas his Pilgrimage.* It was followed, in 1625–6, by *Hakluytus Posthumus; or, Purchas his Pilgrimes,* in five folio volumes.

Descriptions of strange lands suggested to **Joseph Hall** (ch. vii. § 92) his Latin satire, first published at Hanover in 1607, *Mundus Alter et Idem.* Another world and the same, which places in the Southern region hitherto unknown, the imagined continent about the south pole, a satirical image of the hitherto known world which occupies the other half of the author's map. In that mirrored southern world there is a Holy Land said to be still unknown, a Crapulia divided into Pamphagonia, the land of gluttons; with whimsical subdivision into provinces, an account of its laws, religion, and manner of electing a chief; and Yvronia, the land of drunkards, described in like manner. The land of women is described as Viraginia. Moronia, the land of fools, with its subdivisions, covers a large space. The other region is Lavernia, the land of thieves. The piece has the fault of all satire that dwells exclusively upon the baser side of human life.

16. History and antiquities were much studied by the controversial writers in the reign of James. At the beginning of the reign there was some revival of the old controversy as to the relation of the pope to kings; and this was quickened by the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. in November, 1605. In 1608.

Cardinal Bellarmin, under the name of his secretary, Matthew Tortus, answered King James's *Triplici nodo, triplex Cunæus; or, an Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance against the two Breues of Pope Paulus Quintus, and the late Letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to C. Blackwel, the Arch Priest* (1607). Robert Bellarmin, an Italian Jesuit, born in Tuscany, in 1542, was the great controversialist on the side of Rome. He had taught divinity at Louvain, and read lectures at Rome on points of controversy, had been sent also as legate to France, when, in 1599, he was made cardinal, and, in 1602, Archbishop of Capua. In 1605 he resigned the archbishopric that he might be near the pope, and do battle for the papacy on the great questions of the day. He was learned, acute, and so honest in avoiding misrepresentation of the arguments he sought to answer, that his works, in three folio volumes, put very fairly upon record the positions of his opponents as well as his own. In these controversies the men of the Reformed Church had hitherto allowed citations of authority to weigh against them. They had not matched their antagonists in knowledge of Church history and of the writings of the fathers; but a great demand for knowledge of this kind was now producing the supply of it. **Lancelot Andrewes,** on whom the king called for an answer to Bellarmin, and who produced as answer his *Tortura Torti* (1609), was in this way the most learned Churchman of the days of James I. He was born in London, in 1555, educated at Merchant Taylor's School, sent for his ability to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge (Spenser's College), obtained a fellowship, studied and taught divinity with great success, and was consulted as a profound casuist. Henry Earl of Huntingdon took him to the North of England, and there he persuaded some Roman Catholics to change their faith. Sir Francis Walsingham gave him the Parsonage of Alton, in Hampshire, and he was then successively vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, Prebendary of St. Paul's—where he read divinity lectures three times a week in term time—Master of Pembroke Hall, Chaplain in Ordinary to Elizabeth, and Dean of Westminster. The queen would not raise him higher, because his ecclesiastical view of the rights of bishops forbade him to alienate episcopal revenues. James I. delighted in his preaching, which was that of a religious man strongly tinged with the pedantry of the time, and made him, in 1605, Bishop of Chichester. He was promoted afterwards through the bishopric of Ely to that of Winchester, in 1618, and he died

in 1626, aged seventy-one. *Ninety-six Sermons* of his were published by command of Charles I., in 1631.

17. **James Usher,** twenty-five years younger than Bishop Andrewes, succeeded to his repute as a theologian, and excelled him in learning. Usher was born at Dublin, in 1580, son to one of the six clerks in chancery. He was taught to read by two aunts, who had been blind from their cradle, but who knew much of the Bible by heart. Trinity College, Dublin, owes its existence to a grant made by Queen Elizabeth, in 1591, of the Augustine monastery of All Saints. The first stone was laid on New Year's-day, 1593. It began work in the same year, and James Usher was one of the first three students admitted. He had delight in history, made chronological tables as a boy, and, as a youth, when the Church controversies became interesting to him, he resolved to read for himself the whole works of the fathers whose authority was so continually cited. He began at the age of twenty, and, reading a portion daily, finished at the age of thirty-eight. Usher's father died when he was about to be sent to London to study law. He then abandoned to his brothers and sisters his paternal inheritance, reserving only enough for his own support at college in a life of study, obtained a fellowship, at the age of twenty-one took holy orders, argued and preached against the Catholics, and opposed toleration of them. At the accession of James I. James Usher was twenty-three years old. He came to London to buy books for the library of the new college at Dublin, and found Sir Thomas Bodley (§ 13) buying books for Oxford. While he was in London Usher's mother became Roman Catholic, and all his controversial skill failed afterwards to reconvert her. In 1606, and afterwards at regular intervals of three years, Usher was again book-buying in England. In 1607, he was made—aged twenty-seven—Professor of Divinity at Dublin, and Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral. In 1612 he became Doctor of Divinity. In 1613, he published in London, and dedicated to King James his first book, in Latin, continuing from the sixth century the argument of Jewel's Apology (ch vii. § 14), to prove that the tenets of the Protestants were those of the primitive Christians. In the same year Usher married the well-dowered daughter of his old friend and associate in book-buying, Luke Chaloner. In 1615, a convocation of the Irish clergy drew up by Usher's hand a set of 104 articles for the Irish Church. Their theology was Calvin's, and they included an injunction to keep holy the

Sabbath-day: for this and his strong opposition to the Roman Catholics, it was represented to King James that Usher was a Puritan. A correspondent of Usher's at this time observed how easily the king could be set against a clergyman by styling him a Puritan, "whence it were good," he said, "to petition His Majesty to define a Puritan, whereby the mouths of those scoffing enemies would be stopt; and if His Majesty be not at leisure, that he would appoint some good men to do it for him." His Majesty hated a Puritan as one who did not bow down to the divine right of rule in bishops and archbishops, and, therefore, would have but a weak faith in the divine authority of kings. James had spoken his own mind as a "free king," with weak notions of freedom in a people, when, in 1598, he published *The True Law of Free Monarchies; or, the Reciprock and Mutual Dutie betwixt a Free King and his Naturall Subjectes*, and he had a sufficiently shrewd sense of the tendencies of Puritan opinion. When Usher came to England next, in 1619, he found it necessary to bring with him a certificate of orthodoxy from the Lord Deputy and his Council, and he had to submit to the infliction of a private theological examination, with his most conceited Majesty for the examiner. But Usher was a strong and conscientious supporter of authority in Church and State, and passed his examination so well that the king gave him the bishopric of Meath. As bishop, Usher was still active against Catholicism, and he published, in English, in 1622, *A Discourse on the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and British*, to show that Protestant opinions were those of the ancient faith, and point out how at successive times the practices of the Church of Rome had been introduced. This work caused King James to command that Bishop Usher should produce a larger work, in Latin, on the antiquities of the British Church, with leave of absence from his diocese for consultation of authorities. He was a year in England, returned to Ireland in 1624, and, in reply to William Malone, published an *Answer to a Challenge of a Jesuit in Ireland* to disprove uniformity of doctrine in the Roman Catholic Church; thus giving more evidence of his knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquities. He then returned to England, and as the Archbishop of Armagh died at that time, King James, in the last year of his reign, gave the archbishopric to Usher.

18. The accusation of Puritanism made at one time against Usher was, as we have seen, partly grounded on the Calvinism

of the articles drawn up by him for a convocation of the Irish Church. The Established Church of England was in Elizabeth's time chiefly Calvinist in doctrine; under the Stuarts it was chiefly Arminian. Puritans held generally by the faith of Calvin, but by each road England went the way to her own liberties. *Arminius* was the Latinised name of Jacob Harmensen, who was born in 1560, at Oudewater, in South Holland, where his father was a councillor. Left early an orphan, Arminius was helped by friends to study at Leyden, Marburg, Geneva, and Basle. He went also to Padua and Rome before he returned to Holland, and preached in pulpits of the Reformed Church. In 1588 he became pastor at Amsterdam. Some clergy at Delft then published a volume against Calvin's doctrine of predestination. Arminius was asked to refute their book, examined its arguments, was convinced, and ended not merely by accepting but by developing and enforcing its opinions. Great controversy then arose, but the chair of theology vacant at Leyden by the death of Francis Junius (ch. vii. § 26) was offered to Arminius. There he had to meet the assaults of a Calvinist colleague, Francis Gomarus, and the two parties formed were called Arminians and Gomarists. The good man's life was embittered by this controversy, and he died in 1609, leaving many disciples, who, in 1610, set forth by five articles the opinions of their founder in a Remonstrance to the Estates of Holland. This gave them the name of *The Remonstrants*. They had freedom of opinion until 1618, when it was taken from them by their religious and political enemies at the Synod of Dordrecht, and was not recovered again till the death of Maurice, Prince of Orange, in 1625, the year also of the death of James I.

19. **John Selden** was born in December, 1584, at Salvington, about two miles from Worthing, in Sussex. His father was a musician, who sent him to the free school at Chichester, whence he was sent by the master's advice to Hart Hall, Oxford. In 1602 he became a member of Clifford's Inn; and a year after the accession of King James, being then aged nineteen, he removed to the Inner Temple. John Selden had a strong body, able to sustain incessant studies; he had also a wonderful memory. He practised little at the bar, but was consulted for his knowledge; gathered many books, inquired through them freely, and wrote on the front leaf of most of them, as his motto, in a Greek sentence, "Above all, Liberty." He very soon became solicitor

and steward to the Earl of Kent, and found also a good friend in Sir Robert Cotton, to whom he dedicated his first book, finished in 1607, but not published till 1615, the *Analecton Anglo-Britannicon Libri Duo*, two books of collections, giving a summary chronological view of English records down to the Norman Invasion. In 1610, besides two little treatises, one Latin and one English, on the antiquities of English law, he set forth some results of his reading in a short piece on *The Duello, or Single Combat*, extra-judicial and judicial, but chiefly judicial, with its customs since the Conquest. In 1614, Selden produced his largest English work, *Titles of Honour*, a full study of the history of the degrees of nobility and gentry, derived from all ages and countries, but applied especially to England. In 1617 appeared, in Latin, Selden's treatise on the gods of Syria—*De Deis Syris*—a learned inquiry into polytheism, mainly with reference to that of Syria, for special study of the false gods named in the Old Testament. This book and the *Titles of Honour* had raised and extended beyond England Selden's character for learning, when, in 1618, his way of research crossed dangerous ground, for he then highly offended James I., by publishing *The History of Tithes*. The churchmen who dwelt most upon obedience to authority, whom, therefore, the king preferred, had upheld a divine right of tithes, inherited by the Christian from the Jewish priesthood. Selden's book was not written, he said, to prove a case on either side; it was not "anything else but itself, that is, a mere narrative, and the history of tithes." But in his dedication of it to Sir Robert Cotton he had rightly said that study of the past is to be cherished only for its fruitful and precious part, "which gives necessary light to the present;" and condemned "the too studious affectation of bare and sterile antiquity, which is nothing else than to be exceeding busy about nothing." When, therefore, it appeared that Selden had carefully marshalled and verified authorities on both sides, and that, although he himself gave no opinion, his facts against the theory of a divine right of tithes outweighed his facts in favour of it, there was outcry, and His Majesty had argument with Mr. Selden, who was introduced to him by two friends, one of them Ben Jonson. Selden was called also before members of the High Commission Court, who compelled him to a declaration in which he did not recant anything, but was sorry he spoke. He admitted error in having published "The History of Tithes," in having given "occasion of argument against any right of

maintenance, *jure divino*, of the ministers of the gospel," and expressed grief at having incurred their lordships' displeasure. Selden's book was prohibited; all men were free to write against it. Richard Mountagu, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, was encouraged by the king to confute Selden, to whom His Majesty said, "If you or any of your friends shall write against this confutation I will throw you into prison." Dr. Mountagu had it all his own way when, in 1621, he issued his *Diatribe upon the First Part of the late History of Tithes.* Selden confined himself to private comments, and sent to Edward Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Cherbury, some notes on the work of one of his antagonists. He sought also to appease His Majesty by giving him three tracts, to make amends for his inadvertent rudenesses. 1. His Majesty concerned himself about the number of the Beast, and Selden had spoken slightingly of the attempts to calculate it. In one of the three tracts he now restricted his censure, and spoke respectfully of a most acute deduction of His Majesty's. 2. Selden had spoken of Calvin's confession that he could not interpret the Book of Revelation as "equally judicious and modest." But King James was a confident interpreter, and was not he also judicious and modest? Selden explained that all men had not ignorance to confess, and that King James's explanations were "the clearest sun among the lesser lights." 3. Selden had referred in his "History of Tithes" to the want of evidence that Christmas-day was a true anniversary. "This," said King James, "countenances Puritan objection to our way of keeping Christmas." To please the king, Selden in his third tract produced evidence to support the date of the anniversary. It was at the close of James's reign, in 1624, that John Selden first entered Parliament, as member for Lancaster.

20. The keen spirit of inquiry that formed part of the new life of England made, in **Edward Herbert** (afterwards known as Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury), a bold stride towards denial of all revelations in religion. Edward Herbert was born at Montgomery, in Wales, educated at Oxford, visited London in 1600, went abroad, joined English auxiliaries in the Netherlands, was an intrepid soldier, was knighted on the accession of James I., was sent in 1616 as ambassador to France, was recalled for a bold saying, sent back again, and in 1624 published at Paris a Latin treatise upon Truth—*De Veritate*—in which he denounced those who did not hold his own five fundamental

truths of natural religion. He argued that heaven could not reveal to a part only of the world a particular religion. Yet he said that, to encourage himself to oppose revelation, he asked for a sign, and was answered by a loud yet gentle noise from heaven.

21. The rising spirit of inquiry was now active also for advance of science. **John Napier**, of Merchistoun, used the same mind which had spent its energies, in 1593, upon "A Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of St. John," upon the discovery of the use of Logarithms, and set forth his invention, in 1614, as *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio*. In the following year, 1615, **William Harvey** first brought forward, in lectures at the College of Physicians, his discovery of the Circulation of the Blood, afterwards more fully established and set forth in a small book, early in the reign of Charles I. Harvey lost practice by his new opinions, and his doctrine was not received by any physician who was more than forty years old; but he was made, in 1623, Physician Extraordinary (which is less than Ordinary) to James I.

22. Advance of scientific inquiry is a marked feature in the literature of the Stuart times, and it was aided greatly by **Francis Bacon** (ch. vii. § 85), who during the reign of James I. set forth his philosophy. Bacon now prospered. He was made Sir Francis by his own wish, in July, 1603, that he might not lose grade, because new knights were multiplying, and there were three of them in his mess at Gray's Inn. Essex had been active for James. Bacon told the Earl of Southampton that he "could be safely that to him now which he had truly been before;" and adapted himself to the new political conditions by writing a defence of his recent conduct, as *Sir Francis Bacon his Apologie in certain Imputations concerning the late Earle of Essex*. To the first Parliament of King James, Bacon was returned by Ipswich and St. Albans. He was confirmed in his office of King's Counsel in August, 1604; but when the office of Solicitor-General became vacant again in that year, he was not appointed to it. In 1605, about the time of the discovery of Gunpowder Plot, there appeared, in English, *The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Aduauncement of Learning, Diuine and Humane. To the King*. These two books of the Advancement of Learning—which, in 1623, towards the end of his life, reappeared in Latin, expanded into nine books, *De Augmentis Scientiarum, Libri IX.*—form the first part, or

the groundwork of his *Instauratio Magna*, or "Great Reconstruction of Science." It was dedicated to King James, as from one who had been "touched, yea, and possessed, with an extreme wonder at those your virtues and faculties which the philosophers call intellectual; the largeness of your capacity, the faithfulness of your memory, the swiftness of your apprehension, the penetration of your judgment, and the facility and order of your elocution." Of the "universality and perfection" of His Majesty's learning, Bacon said, in this dedication, "I am well informed that this which I shall say is no amplification at all, but a positive and measured truth; which is, that there hath not been since Christ's time any king or temporal monarch which hath been so learned in all literature and erudition, divine and human." His Majesty stood "invested of that triplicity which in great veneration was ascribed to the ancient Hermes; the power and fortune of a king, the knowledge and illumination of a priest, and the learning and universality of a philosopher." It was fit, therefore, to dedicate to such a king a treatise in two parts, one on the excellency of learning and knowledge, the other on the merit and true glory in the augmentation and propagation thereof. In his first book Bacon pointed out the discredits of learning from human defects of the learned, and emptiness of many of the studies chosen, or the way of dealing with them. This came especially by the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge, as if there were sought in it "a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate." The rest of the first book was given to an argument upon the Dignity of Learning; and the second book, on the Advancement of Learning, is, as Bacon himself described it, "a general and faithful perambulation of learning, with an inquiry what parts thereof lie fresh and waste, and not improved and converted by the industry of man; to the end that such a plot made and recorded to memory may both minister light to any public designation and also serve to excite voluntary endeavours." Bacon makes, by a sort of exhaustive analysis, a ground-plan of all subjects of study, as an intellectual map, helping the right inquirer in his search for the right path. The right path is that

by which he has the best chance of adding to the stock of knowledge in the world something worth labouring for, as labour for "the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate."

In May, 1606, Bacon, aged forty-six, married Alice Barnham, daughter of a London merchant who was dead, and whose widow had taken in second marriage Sir John Packington, of Worcestershire. The lady had £220 a year, which was settled on herself. In June, 1607, Sir Francis Bacon became Solicitor-General. While rising in his profession he was still at work on writings that set forth portions of his philosophy. In 1607 he sent to Sir Thomas Bodley his *Cogitata et Visa*—a first sketch of the *Novum Organum*. In 1608—the year of John Milton's birth—Bacon obtained the clerkship of the Star Chamber, worth £1,600 or £2,000 a year, of which the reversion had been given him in 1589. In 1612 appeared, in November or December, Bacon's *Second Edition of the Essays;* there had been, since the first, two unauthorised editions, in 1598 and 1606. In Bacon's own second edition the number of the essays was increased from ten to thirty-eight, and those formerly printed had been very thoroughly revised. The range of thought, also, was widened (ch. vii. § 85), and the first essay was "Of Religion." The purpose of dedicating this edition to Prince Henry was stopped by the prince's death, on the 6th of November. In February, 1613, Bacon contrived, for the gentlemen of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple, a *Masque of the Marriage of the Thames and the Rhine*, on the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine. In October, 1613, Bacon was made Attorney-General. The dispassionate mind that his philosophy required Bacon applied somewhat too coldly to the philosophy of life. Without hatreds or warm affections, preferring always a kind course to an unkind one, but yielding easily to stubborn facts in his search for prosperity, Bacon failed as a man, although he had no active evil in his character, for want of a few generous enthusiasms. Seeking to please a mean master, who was the dispenser of his earthly good, in 1614 Bacon was official prosecutor of Oliver St. John, a gentleman of Marlborough, who had written a letter to the mayor of his town on the illegality of the king's act in raising money by benevolences. In December of the same year the Rev. Edmund Peacham, a clergyman seventy years old, rector of Hinton St. George, Somersetshire, was deprived of his orders by the High Commission for accusations against his diocesan. In searching his house a manuscript

sermon was found, which had been written but not preached. It censured acts of the king—as sale of Crown lands, gifts to favourites—and seems to have suggested that the recovery of Crown lands to the people might cost blood. The old clergyman was, by the king's desire, accused of treason, and was twice put to the rack, that accusation of himself or others might be wrung from him. As Attorney-General, Bacon, serving his master, discussed privately with the judges in furtherance of the king's desire that Peacham might be convicted of treason for the composition of the sermon without any act of publication. They would not see with the king's eyes, or follow Bacon, who wrote to the king of his foregone conclusion as the truth, and expressed his hope of the judges that "force of law and precedent will bind them to the truth; neither am I wholly out of hope that my Lord Coke himself, when I have in some dark manner put him in doubt that he shall be left alone, will not continue singular." As nothing could be done in London, the old clergyman was sent to Taunton assizes, where a conviction was secured in August, 1615; but the sentence of death was not carried out, because many of the judges were of opinion that Peacham's offence was not treason. He died, in 1616, a prisoner in Taunton gaol. In 1616—the year of Shakespeare's death—Bacon was made a Privy Councillor. While the Attorney-General was thus obedient to his master, he was suitor for the office of Lord-Keeper, which the bad health of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere would probably soon cause him to resign. This office Bacon obtained in March, 1617. In January, 1618, he became Lord Chancellor; six months afterwards he was made Baron Verulam. In October, 1620, he presented to the king his *Novum Organum*, a fragment on which he had worked for thirty years, and which formed the second and main part of his "Instauratio Magna." Three months later he was made, on the 27th of January, 1621, Viscount St. Albans, and had reached his highest point of greatness. Then came his memorable fall.

On the 15th of March the report of a Parliamentary Committee on the administration of justice charged the Lord Chancellor with twenty-three specified acts of corruption. Bacon's final reply was: "Upon advised consideration of the charge, descending into my own conscience, and calling my memory to account as far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence, and put myself on the grace and mercy of your lordships." He then,

as he had been required to do, replied upon each case. and pleaded guilty to each. The Lords sent a committee of twelve to the Chancellor, to ask whether he had signed this, and would stand by his signature. He replied to the question: "My lords, it is my act, my hand, and my heart. I beseech your lordships to be merciful to a broken reed." He was sentenced by the House of Lords, on the 3rd of May, 1621, to a fine of £40,000, which the king remitted; to be committed to the Tower during the king's pleasure, and he was released next day; thenceforth to be incapable of holding any office in the State, or sitting in Parliament. It was decided by a majority of two that he should not be stripped of his titles. Of worldly means there remained what private fortune he had, and a pension of £1,200 a year that the king had lately given him. The rest of his life Bacon gave to study, only applying, unsuccessfully, in 1623, for the provostship of Eton. In 1622 he published, in Latin, as the third part of his "Instauratio Magna," his Natural and Experimental History—*Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis*, and his *Historie of the Raigne of K. Henry VII.*, dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales. In 1623 appeared, in Latin, his *History of Life and Death*, as well as the Latin expansion into nine books of "The Advancement of Learning," as a first volume of his works. In 1625, Bacon published his own *Third Edition of the Essays*, with their number increased to fifty-eight, and again with revision and rearrangement of the earlier matter. The first essay in this final edition was "Of Truth;" and the Essay "Of Religion," with its title changed to "Of Unitie in Religion," was much enlarged and carefully modified, to prevent misconception of its spirit. On the 9th of April, 1626, ten years after Shakespeare, Francis Bacon died.

Bacon arranged his writings for the "Instauratio Magna" into six divisions:—1. The books on the "Dignity and Advancement of Learning"—the ground-plan. 2. The "Novum Organum," of which only the first part was executed, showing what was the new instrument, or method of inquiry, which he substituted for the old instrument, the "Organon" of Aristotle. 3. The "Experimental History of Nature; or, Study of the Phenomena of the Universe." In this division Bacon's most complete work was the *Silva Silvarum; or, Natural History in Ten Centuries.* Then came the science raised on these foundations, in, 4, the *Scala Intellectus;* or, Ladder of the Understanding, which leads up from experience to science. 5. The *Prodromi;* or, the Anticipations

of the Second Philosophy—provisional anticipations founded on experience, which the investigator needs as starting-points in his research ; and, 6, Active Science—experiment in the fair way to such gains of knowledge as may benefit mankind.

Bacon opposed to the "Organon" of Aristotle, which only analysed the form of propositions, his "New Organon," which sought a method of analysis that would attain discoveries enlarging the dominion of man. "Human science," he said, "and human power coincide." Invention must be based upon experience ; experience be widened by experiment. Bacon's highest and purest ambition was associated with his life-long endeavour to direct the new spirit of inquiry into a course that would enable men "to renew and enlarge the power and dominion of the human race itself over the universe. . . . Now the dominion of men over things depends alone on arts and sciences; for Nature is only governed by obeying her." Bacon had no sympathy whatever with research that consists only in turning the mind back on itself. For him the mind was a tool, and nature the material for it to work upon. The only remaining way to health, he said, "is that the whole work of the mind be begun afresh, and that the mind, from the very beginning, should on no account be trusted to itself, but constantly directed." All knowledge comes to men from without, and the laws to which we can subject natural forces are to be learnt only from the interpretation of nature. In former days invention had been left to chance, and science had been occupied with empty speculations. A way of inquiry should be used that will lead—be inductive—from one experience to another, not by chance, but by necessity. Hence Bacon's method has been called inductive ; but the second and main part of his philosophy was, after arriving by this method at a truth in nature, to deduce therefrom its uses to man. Having found, for example, by inductive experiment, a general truth about electricity, the crowning work of the Baconian philosophy would be to deduce from it the Atlantic cable.

Bacon taught that the inquirer was to take as frankly as a child whatever truths he found. He compared human knowledge with divine, of which it is said. "Except ye become as little children ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." And he too said, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." "The idols," Bacon said, "and false notions which have hitherto occupied the human understanding and are deeply rooted in it,

not only so beset the minds of men that entrance is hardly open to truth, but even when entrance is conceded, they will again meet and hinder us in the very reconstruction of the sciences, unless men, being forewarned, guard themselves as much as possible against them." He therefore classified the common forms of false image within the mind to which men bow down. They are Idols (1) of the Forum or Market-place (*Idola Fori*), when we take things not for what they are, but for what the common talk, as of men in the market-place, considers them to be; they are Idols (2) of the Theatre (*Idola Theatri*), when we bow down to authority, or fear to differ from those who have played great parts on the world's stage; Idols (3) of Race or Tribe (*Idola Tribus*) are "founded," says Bacon, "in the very tribe or race of men. It is falsely asserted that human sense is the standard of things," for the human intellect, blending its own nature with an object, distorts and disfigures it. There are Idols also (4) of the Cave or Den (*Idola Specus*); these are the accidental faults and prejudices of the individual inquirer.

On his guard against these idols, the philosopher who follows Bacon's teaching trusts to pure experience. Everything in Nature appears under certain conditions. Comparative experiments can be made to determine which of these conditions are essential and which accidental. Thus we may advance from fact to fact, till, by successive testings and comparisons of facts, we reach one of the laws by which the course of nature is determined. So we ascend, by the method of induction, from the experiment to the axiom. But experiment may seem to have found a law with which some fact—some "negative instance"—is at odds. This contradiction must not be put out of sight, but taken simply as against acceptance of the law till it be reconciled with it. Nay, more, the investigator must use all his wit to invent combinations able to disprove his fact, if it be no fact; he must seek to invent negative instances, acting as counsel against himself until assured that his new fact will stand firm against any trial. "I think," said Bacon, "that a form of induction should be introduced which from certain instances should draw general conclusions, so that the impossibility of finding a contrary instance might be clearly proved." When so assured that it stands firm, the inquirer may announce his new truth confidently, and either deduce from it himself or leave others to deduce its use to man.

In this philosophy Bacon did no more than express formally,

distinctly, and with great influence over the minds of others, what had always been the tendency of English thought. His namesake, Roger Bacon, in the thirteenth century, had pursued science very much in the same spirit, and had nearly anticipated Francis Bacon's warning against the four idols, in his own four grounds of human ignorance (ch. iii. § 33). We must not forget, also, when we find feebleness in the scientific experiments of Bacon and his followers, with the retention of much false opinion about nature, that what Bacon professed was to show, not grand results, but the way to them. He bade his followers "be strong in hope, and not imagine that our 'Instauratio' is something infinite and beyond the reach of man, when really it is not unmindful of mortality and humanity; for it does not expect to complete its work within the course of a single age, but leaves this to the succession of ages; and, lastly, seeks for science, not arrogantly within the little cells of human wit, but humbly, in the greater world."

23. We finish the sketch of our literature in the reign of James I. with a glance at some of the poets who were not dramatists. **Michael Drayton** (ch. vii. § 80) wrote, at the king's accession, *To the Majestie of King James: a Gratulatore Poem*, but turned from the king disappointed; published, in 1604, his fable of *The Owle;* and in 1607 the *Legend of Great Cromwell*, which appeared again in 1609 as *The Historie of the Life and Death of the Lord Cromwell, some time Earl of Essex and Lord Chancellor of England.* In 1613 appeared his *Polyolbion* (the word means Many-ways-Happy), a poetical description of his native land, in nearly sixteen thousand lines of Alexandrine verse, with maps of counties, and antiquarian notes by the author's friend, John Selden. This poem was another illustration of the quickened patriotism of the English. Thus Drayton sang when he came to his own county of Warwick, that he and Shakespeare loved:

> "My native country, then, which so brave spirits hast bred,
> If there be virtues yet remaining in thy earth,
> Or any good of thine thou bredst into my birth,
> Accept it as thine own, whilst now I sing of thee,
> Of all the later brood the unworthiest though I be."

William Browne, born in 1590, at Tavistock, in Devonshire, studied at Exeter College, Oxford, then went to the Inner Temple, and in 1613, the year of the appearance of Drayton's "Polyolbion," produced, at the age of twenty-three, the first

part of his *Britannia's Pastorals*, partly written before he was twenty. The *Shepherd's Pipe*, in seven eclogues, followed in 1614. In 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death, appeared the second part of Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*. The two parts were published together about the end of James's reign, and about the same time their author went back to Exeter College as tutor to Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon. His pleasant pastoral strain touched but lightly upon the realities of life. The rustic manner showed the influence of Spenser, but in James's reign this influence was greatest on Giles Fletcher.

24. **Giles Fletcher** (ch. vii. § 91), was at Trinity College, Cambridge, when he contributed a canto on the death of Queen Elizabeth to the collection of verses *Sorrow's Joy*, on the death of Elizabeth and accession of James, published by the printer to the University in 1603. He took the degree of B.D. at Trinity College, and held the living of Alderton, in Suffolk, till his death, in 1623. It was not until after the death of Giles that his elder brother, Phineas, appeared in print as a poet, though at the close of his own early poem Giles spoke of his brother as young Thyrsilis, the Kentish lad that lately taught

"His oaten reed the trumpet's silver sound."

Giles Fletcher's poem was published at Cambridge, in 1610, when the author's age was about six-and-twenty. It was a devout poem on *Christ's Victory and Triumph in Heaven and Earth over and after Death*, in an original eight-lined stanza, suggested by Spenser's, but not happily constructed. For five lines the stanza followed Spenser, and then came a triplet, of which the last line was an Alexandrine, as in the Spenserian stanza. Thus:

"At length an aged sire far off he saw
Come slowly footing; every step he guess'd
One of his feet he from the grave did draw;
Three legs he had, that made of wood was best;
And all the way he went he ever blest
With benedictions, and with prayers store;
But the bad ground was blessed ne'er the more:
And all his head with snow of age was waxen hoar."

Christ's Victory in Heaven heralded the work of Christ with long personifications and speeches of Justice and of Mercy, to whom finally all bowed; the Victory on Earth painted Christ in the wilderness, approached by Satan (the aged sire above mentioned) in the guise of an old Palmer, who so bowed "that at his feet his head he seemed to throw," who led Christ to

echoes of Spenser to the cave of Despair, which he would entice him to enter; to the top of the Temple, also, where personified Presumption tempted in vain; and then to Pangloretta, on the mountain top, where Giles Fletcher faintly recalled notes from Spenser's bower of Acrasia. The other two books on the Triumph over Death and the Triumph after Death were in like manner.

Joshua Sylvester (ch. vii. § 93), about 1620, gratified His Majesty, who had published in 1604 a *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, with a poem of his own, called *Tobacco Battered and the Pipes Shattered* (*about their Ears that idlely Idolise so Base and Barbarous a Weed; or at least-wise Over-love so Loathesome Vanitie*), *by a Volley of Holy Shot thundered from Mount Helicon.* This poem was as wise as its title, and suggests the form into which Euphuism degenerated in the time of James I.

25. Strain for ingenious alliteration, and for unexpected turns of phrase or thought, losing much of the grace and strength it had in the Elizabethan time, became more pedantic in the wise, more frivolous in the foolish, often obscure by the excess of artifice and the defect of sense. There was the same degeneration everywhere of the *Earlier Euphuism*, bright with fresh invention and poetical conceits, into the *Later Euphuism* that had to a great extent lost freshness of impulse, and was made obscure by poets who, with less to say than their predecessors, laboured to outdo them in ingenuities of thought and speech. There is no reason in or out of metaphysics why the Later Euphuistic poetry, of which Donne's verse is a type, should be called "metaphysical." It was so called in an age that knew little or nothing of the character of English poetry before the Commonwealth. There is as little reason for the assertion that a change for the worse was made in our literature by the influence of Donne. He only represented change, and he was popular because he followed cleverly the fashion of his day. Precisely what has been said of Donne, in his relation to our English literature, has been said also of Gongora, who died in 1627, and of Marino, who died in 1625—men who went with the same current of literature, one in Spain, the other in Italy, during the reign of James I. in England. In Spain the writers corresponding to our Earlier and Later Euphuists are known as the *Conceptistas*, or "Conceited School," and the *Cultos*, who cherished what they called a "Cultivated Style" in poems and romances. Our later Euphuism was English cousin to the

cultismo of Spain, and to the style called, after Marino, by Italians the *stile Marinesco*. Here, also, we are at the beginning of the history of the false worship of diction.

26. **John Donne** was born in 1573, the son of a London merchant. He was taught at home till, in his eleventh year, he was sent to Hart Hall, Oxford. At fourteen he left Oxford for Cambridge, where he remained till he was seventeen, but took no degree, because his family was Roman Catholic, and would not let him take the required oath. He left Cambridge for London, and studied law at Lincoln's Inn. His father died at that time, leaving him three thousand pounds. His mother sought to bring him to the faith of his parents; and unsettlement of mind caused him to make a special study of the controversies of the time between the Roman Catholics and the Reformers. As a storehouse of opinion on the controversy, young Donne fastened upon the works of Cardinal Bellarmin (§ 16). He went with the expeditions of the Earl of Essex, in 1596 and 1597, and spent afterwards some years in Italy and Spain, returned to England, and became chief secretary to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. He held that office five years, during which he fell in love with Anne More, a niece of Lady Ellesmere, who lived in the family. Her father, Sir George More, heard of this, and carried away the young lady to his house in Surrey; but a secret marriage was effected. When this was told to Sir George, he caused Lord Ellesmere to dismiss his secretary, whom apparent ruin could not keep from a play on words, according to the fashion of the time; for in writing the sad news to his wife he added to his signature the line, "John Donne, Anne Donne, Un-done." Donne was imprisoned for a time, and when he was free his wife was kept from him. He sued at law to recover her. She came to him when his means were almost gone, and a family grew fast about the young couple, who were living in the house of a kinsman, Sir Francis Woolly, of Pirford, Surrey. It was then urged upon Donne that he should take orders in the Church, but he hesitated, and preferred study of civil and canon law. Sir Francis Woolly died, but before his death he had persuaded Donne's father-in-law to cease from wrath and pay a portion with his daughter, at the rate of £80 a year. Donne remained very much dependent on the liberality of friends, and was still studying points of controversy between the English and the Romish Church, when a home was given to him in the house of Sir Robert Drury, in

Drury Lane. Donne came now into contact with King James, discussed theology with him, and wrote, at his request, a book on the taking of the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, called *Pseudo Martyr*, published in 1610. This pleased the king so much that he required Donne to be a clergyman. Donne made what interest he could to have the king's good-will shown in the form of secular employment; but James had made up his mind that Donne should be a preacher, and, in spite of himself, he was forced into the Church as the only way by which he was allowed a chance of prospering. When Donne had at last taken orders, King James made him his chaplain, and in the same month called on Cambridge to make him Doctor of Divinity. In this first year of his prosperity Donne's wife died, leaving him with seven children. Outward prosperity increased. He became a famous preacher and a fashionable poet, was lecturer at Lincoln's Inn till he was joined in a mission to Germany, and about a year after his return was made by the king, in 1623, Dean of St. Paul's, while the vicarage of St. Dunstan's in the West, and yet another good thing, fell to him almost at the same time. Donne survived King James, and died in the year 1631. His lighter occasional poems were not published until after his death. In James's reign he, like other poets, published in 1613 "An Elegy on the Untimely Death of the Incomparable Prince Henry." A severe illness of his own led also to the publication in 1624 of his *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, and Seuerall Steps in Sickness;* and in 1625 he published a poem upon mortality, since that was not out of harmony with his sacred office. It was called *An Anatomy of the World, wherein, by the untimely Death of Mrs. Eliz. Drury, the Frailty and Decay of this whole World is represented.* From this poem we take, for specimen of artificial diction, a passage that contains by rare chance one conceit rising in thought and expression to the higher level of Elizabethan poetry:

"She, in whose body (if we dare preferre
This low world to so high a marke as shee)
The Western treasure, Easterne spicery,
Europe, and Afrique, and the unknowne rest
Were easily found, or what in them was best;
And when we have made this large discoverie
Of all, in her some one part then will bee
Twenty such parts, whose plenty and riches is
Enough to make twenty such worlds as this;
Shee, whom had they knowne, who did first betroth
The tutelar angels, and assigned one, both

To nations, cities, and to companies,
To functions, offices, and dignities,
And to each several man, to him, and him,
They would have given her one for every limbe;
Shee, of whose soule, if we may say, 'twas gold,
Her body was th' Electrum, and did hold
Many degrees of that; wee understood
Her by her sight; *her pure and eloquent blood*
Spoke in her cheekes, and so distinctly wrought
That one might almost say, her body thought.
Shee, shee, thus richly and largely hous'd, is gone."

Unreality of a style that sacrifices sense to ingenuity is most felt in Donne's lighter poems. The collection of the verse of the late Dean of St. Paul's published in 1635, as *Poems by J. D., with Elegies on the Author's Death*, opens with an ingenious piece, of which the sense is, so far as it has any, that a woman's honour is not worth a flea. Donne was unquestionably a man with much religious earnestness, but he was also a poet who delighted men of fashion.

27. The literary affectations of the time were reduced to absurdity by Thomas Coryat, and John Taylor, the Water Poet. **Thomas Coryat,** son of George Coryat, rector of Odcombe, Somerset, and educated at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, lived a fantastic life at court for the amusement of Prince Henry. In 1608 he travelled on foot for five months in France, Italy, and Germany, walking 1,975 miles, and more than half the distance in one pair of shoes, which were only once mended. The shoes, when he came home, were hung up in Odcombe Church, and kept there as the "thousand mile shoes" till 1702. The travel in them was described in a book published in 1611, as *Coryat's Crudities hastily Gobbled Up in Five Months' Travel in France, &c. Introduced by An Odcombian Banquet of nearly Sixty Copies of Verses*, which were praises written in jest by nearly all the poets of the day. This book was followed by *Coryat's Crambe; or, his Colewort Twise Sodden, and now Served with other Macaronicke Dishes as the Second Course to his Crudities.* In 1612, Coryat gathered the people of Odcombe at their market cross, and took leave of them for a ten years' ramble. He visited Greece, Egypt, India, and died at Surat, in 1617. There was the English love of sturdy enterprise and adventure underlying Coryat's endeavour to delight his public.

John Taylor was a poor man's son from Gloucestershire, who became a Thames waterman, after he had served under Elizabeth in sixteen voyages; he was with Essex at Cadiz and

the Azores. He read many books, and he wrote sixty-three booklets to amuse the public with their oddities. He made presents of his little books to customers and courtiers, and took whatever they might give in return. One of his books told how he won a bet that he would row in his boat to the Continent and back again within a certain time. It appeared as *Taylor's Travels in Germanie; or, Three Weekes Three Daies and Three Hours' Observations and Travel from London to Hamburg. . . . Dedicated for the present to the absent Odcombian knight errant, Sir Thomas Coriat, Great Britain's Error and the World's Mirror.* This appeared in the year of Coryat's death at Surat. Another of Taylor's freaks was a journey on foot from London to Edinburgh, "not carrying any money to and fro, neither begging, borrowing, nor asking meat, drink, or lodging." This yielded, in 1618, a book, *The Pennyles Pilgrimage; or, the Moneylesse Perambulation of John Taylor, alias the King's Majestie's Water Poet, from London to Edenborough on Foot.* Another of his adventures was a voyage from London to Queenborough in a paper boat, with two stock-fish tied to two canes for oars. It was celebrated, in 1623, by *The Praise of Hempseed, with the Voyage of Mr. Roger Bird and the Writer hereof, in a Boat of Brown Paper, from London to Quinborough in Kent. As also a Farewell to the Matchless Deceased Mr. Thomas Coriat. Concluding with Commendations of the famous River of Thames.* All this was a little tract of twenty-four leaves. So we come down from Elizabeth to James I.; from Frobisher, and Drake, and Raleigh, to poor Tom Coryat and John Taylor, His Majesty's Water Poet. But although the court lost dignity, the spirit of the people was unchanged.

28. **George Wither** was born in 1588, at Bentworth, near Alton, in Hampshire. At the beginning of the reign of James I. he was sent to Oxford, but was soon recalled to attend to the Hampshire farm land. In 1612, Wither first appeared as a poet by joining in the lament for Prince Henry, adding to his Elegies a "supposed interlocution between the ghost of Prince Henry and Great Britaine;" and in 1613, being then twenty-five years old, he spoke out boldly for England in *Abuses Stript and Whipt; or, Satirical Essayes, by George Wyther, divided into Two Bookes.* The successive satires are under the heads of human passions, as Love, Lust, Hate, Envy, Revenge, and so forth :

> "What? you would fain have all the great ones freed,
> They must not for their vices be controll'd;

Beware ; that were a sauciness indeed ,
But if the great ones to offend be bold,
I see no reason but they should be told."

Wither was bold in condemnation as others in offence. While he continued the attack upon self-seeking of the higher clergy, he maintained the office of the bishop, and gave high praise to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. The Satires, although sharp, were generous ; their style was diffuse, but simple, earnest, often vigorous, for Wither had the true mind of a poet. He would tell what he knew,

" And then if any frown (as sure they dare not)
So I speak truth, let them frown still, I care not."

The great ones did frown, and Wither was locked up in the Marshalsea. But he was not to be silenced. He sang on in his cage, and sang plain English, contemning the pedantry of fashion. Wither translated in his prison a Greek poem on "The Nature of Man," besides writing the most manly pastorals produced in James's reign, *The Shepheards' Hunting : being certain Eclogues written during the time of the Author's Imprisonment in the Marshalsey*, and a *Satire to the King*, in justification of his former Satires. In the "Shepheard's Hunting," we learn how Wither, as Philarete (lover of Virtue), had hunted with ten couple of dogs (the satires in "Abuses Stript and Whipt") those foxes, wolves, and beasts of prey that spoil our folds and bear our lambs away. But wounded wolves and foxes put on sheep's clothing, complained of the shepherd's hunting, and caused his imprisonment. In his prison, Philarete talked with his friends, kept up his spirit, and was comforted by song. *Wither's Motto, Nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo* ("I have not, want not, care not")—a line in it says, "He that supplies my want hath took my care"—was published in 1618. In 1622 Wither's poems were collected as *Juvenilia;* and in the same year he published *Faire-Virtue, the Mistresse of Philarete, written by Him-selfe.* Virtue is here described as a perfect woman, mistress of Philarete (lover of Virtue). This long poem, in seven-syllabled verse, is musical with interspersed songs, including the famous—

" Shall I, wasting in despair,
Die because a woman's fair ?"

and delicately playful with the purest sense of grace and beauty. George Wither takes his own way still, saying :

"Pedants shall not tie my strains
To our antique poets' veins,
As if we in latter days
Knew to love, but not to praise.
Being born as free as these,
I will sing as I shall please,
Who as well new paths may run
As the best before have done."

Wither remained an active writer in the reign of Charles I.; and **Francis Quarles**, who was four years younger than Wither, produced his best work after the death of James I. Quarles was born in 1592, at Romford, in Essex, educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and at Lincoln's Inn. He was cupbearer to James's daughter, the Queen of Bohemia, and afterwards served in Ireland as secretary to Archbishop Usher (§ 17). His first publication was in 1620, *A Feast for Wormes in a Poem on the History of Jonah*, with *Pentalogia; or, the Quintessence of Meditation.* In 1621 followed *Hadassa; or, the History of Queen Esther*, these histories being in ten-syllabled couplets, and, in the same measure, *Argalus and Parthenia*, a poem in three books, founded on a part of Sidney's "Arcadia" (ch. vii. § 44). Then came in 1624, *Job Militant, with Meditations Divine and Moral;* also *Sion's Elegies, wept by Jeremie the Prophet;* and, in 1625, *Sion's Sonnets, sung by Solomon the King, and periphrased.* The writing of Quarles in the reign of James I. consisted, then, of *Argalus and Parthenia*, and those pieces which were collected into one volume, in 1630, as Quarles's *Divine Poems.*

29. **William Drummond**, M.A. of Edinburgh, after four years in France, inherited, in 1610, at the age of twenty-five, his paternal estate of Hawthornden, gave up the study of law, took his ease, and wrote poetry. He joined in the lament for the death of Henry, Prince of Wales; published at Edinburgh, in 1616, *Poems: Amorous, Funerall, Divine, Pastorall, in Sonnets, Songs, Sextains, Madrigals, by W. D., the Author of the Teares on the Death of Meliades*, (Meliades was the anagram made for himself by the prince from "Miles a Deo"); and in 1617, upon James's visit to Scotland, published *Forth Feasting: a Panegyric to the King's Most Excellent Majestie.* During the greater part of April, 1619, Drummond had Ben Jonson for a guest, and took ungenial notes of his conversation. In 1623 he published *Flowres of Sion, to which is adjoyned his Cypresse Grove.* His sonnets were true to the old form of that

kind of poem, and they were not all of earthly love and beauty, for sonnets in the spirit of Spenser's Hymns of Heavenly Love and Beauty (ch. vii. § 77) are among the spiritual poems in Drummond of Hawthornden's "Flowers of Sion."

Sir Thomas Overbury was murdered in 1613, when but thirty-two years old. As a follower of the king's favourite, Carr, he opposed his marriage with the Countess of Essex. The king, wishing to send Overbury out of the way, offered him an embassy to Russia. He refused it, and was committed to the Tower for contempt of the king's commands. There, by the connivance of Lady Essex, Overbury died of poison ten days before the judgment of divorce; and this was followed, as the year closed, by the creation of Carr as Earl of Somerset, and his marriage to the Countess in the Chapel Royal. Bacon devised a masque at Gray's Inn in honour of the marriage. He also took part, in May, 1616, in the trial of the earl and countess for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. The victim of this crime was in repute among the writers of his day for a poem on the choice of a wife, called *A Wife now a Widowe*, published the year after his murder, in 1614, and reprinted in the same year with the addition of twenty-one characters. To write compact and witty characters of men and women was a fancy of the time, derived in the first instance from Theophrastus, and associated with the quick growth of the drama. Such pithy character writing had been prefixed formally as "The Character of the Persons" to Ben Jonson's "Every Man Out of his Humour;" and the dialogue of the second act of his "Cynthia's Revels," produced in 1600, is chiefly made up of such character writing as that in which Sir Thomas Overbury showed his skill in 1614, and John Earle showed his in 1628. It was the manner of this character writing that suggested to young Milton his lines on the death of Hobson, the University carrier.

30. **John Milton** was seventeen years old at the end of James's reign, and we may now pass with him into the reign of Charles I. He was born in Bread Street, Cheapside, on the 9th of December, 1608. His father, also a John Milton, was son to a Catholic, of Oxfordshire, perhaps a husbandman, perhaps an under-ranger of Shotover Forest, who had cast him off for changing his religion. Thus the poet's father had settled in London as a scrivener, and prospered. He had a taste for music. In 1601 he had been one of twenty-two musicians who

published twenty-five madrigals, as *The Triumphs of Oriana.* In 1614, when the poet son was about six years old, the musician father was joined with others in providing music to the *Tears and Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soul.* Seven years later, as contributor to a book of *Psalms*, he harmonised the tunes still popular as "Norwich" and "York." Of the tenor part of York tune, it has been said that at one time "half the nurses in England were used to sing it by way of lullaby." Thus the poet's father had musicians among his friends, as well as men like himself earnest in religious feeling. One of these, Thomas Young, of Loncarty, in Perthshire, afterwards a minister in Suffolk, and a man of note among the Puritans, was the boy's first teacher. In 1622, Young, aged thirty-five, went to be pastor of the congregation of English merchants at Hamburg; his pupil had then been for a couple of years at St. Paul's School (ch. vi. § 10), where Mr. Gill was head master, and his son, Alexander Gill, taught under him. Milton was a schoolboy at St. Paul's from 1620 until a few months before the close of the reign of James I. His father too readily encouraged the boy's eagerness for study; he had teaching at home as well as at school, suffered headaches, and laid the foundation of weak sight by sitting up till midnight at his lessons.

At St. Paul's School Milton found a bosom friend in Charles Diodati. The friendship outlasted their boyhood, only death interrupted it. Charles was the son of Theodore Diodati, a physician in good practice in London, who had been born in Geneva, the son of Italian Protestants. His younger brother, Giovanni, uncle of Milton's friend, was still at Geneva, professor there of theology, and had published translations of the Bible into Italian and French. Of such a household came the friend to whom young Milton spoke his inmost thoughts. Charles Diodati left school more than two years before Milton, and went to Trinity College, Oxford, where, in November, 1623, he joined in writing Latin obituary verse upon the death of William Camden. But John Milton and Charles Diodati had their homes in the same town, and their friendship was easily maintained by visits and correspondence. There is a Greek letter written in London from Diodati to Milton, hoping for fine weather and cheerfulness in a holiday the two friends meant to have next day together on the Thames. The surviving children in Milton's home were Anne, the eldest; John; and Christopher, seven years younger than John. Towards the close of 1624

Milton's sister, Anne, married Mr. Edward Phillips, of the Crown Office in Chancery.

In February, 1625, John Milton was admitted at Christ's College, Cambridge, aged two months over sixteen; but he had returned to London before the end of the term, and was there on the 26th of March, writing to his old tutor, Thomas Young, an affectionate letter: "I call God to witness how much as a father I regard you, with what singular devotion I have always followed you in thought." The next day, March 27, 1625, was the day of the death of James I.

B.—REIGN OF CHARLES I.

31. Charles I. came to the throne at the age of twenty-five. Ben Jonson was then fifty years old, Milton not seventeen, and Bacon sixty-four, with but another year to live. John Fletcher (§ 6) died five months after the accession of Charles I.

At the accession of Charles I., Dr. Donne (§ 26) was fifty-two years old, and he lived until 1631; George Chapman (ch. vii. § 98, ch. viii. § 10) was sixty-eight years old, and lived till 1634. John Marston (ch. vii. § 99, 100) died about the same time as Chapman. Thomas Dekker and Thomas Heywood (ch. vii. § 99), who continued to write plays, lived on till about 1641. Heywood had "an entire hand or a main finger" in 220 plays. John Webster (§ 9) lived throughout the reign of Charles I., and died under the Commonwealth, about 1654.

32. **Ben Jonson** (ch. vii. § 100, ch. viii. § 5), after the death of James I., was driven to the stage again by poverty. The town did not receive his play, *The Staple of News*, produced in 1625, with much favour, and at the close of that year the poet had a stroke of palsy. He had bad health during the rest of his life. His play of *The New Inn*, acted in January, 1630, was driven from the stage; and it was then that Jonson turned upon the playhouse audiences with an indignant ode. At the end of 1631 a quarrel with our first great architect of the Renaissance, Inigo Jones, who invented the machinery for the court masques, deprived Jonson of all court patronage, and in 1632 and 1633 he was compelled to write feebly for the public stage his last plays, *The Magnetic Lady* and *The Tale of a Tub*. But after this, court favour and city favour, which also had been withdrawn, were regained for him. He had a pension from court of £100 and a tierce of canary. The favour of all the good poets of the

time was with him always. In the latter part of James's reign Jonson had lodged at a comb-maker's, outside Temple Bar. Just within Temple Bar, and between it and the Middle Temple gate, was a tavern, which had for its sign Dunstan, the saint of the parish, with the devil's nose in his tongs. It was called, therefore, the "Devil Tavern." Here Ben Jonson gathered about him the new generation of poets, in the Apollo Club. In his last days, when disease was closing in upon him, he was all poet again, at work on his pastoral play of *The Sad Shepherd; or, a Tale of Robin Hood*, which he left unfinished. He died in August, 1637, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. There was question of a monument, but none was raised. One Jack Young gave a mason eighteenpence to cut on the stone over the grave "O rare Ben Jonson."

33. **Philip Massinger** (§ 9) lived until 1640, writing many plays, of which only eighteen remain. The public stage under Charles I. was not strongly supported by the king and court, and it was strongly contemned by the Puritans. Good plays were often ill received, and then good poets might hunger. In 1633, when Ben Jonson made his last struggle to please a playhouse audience, Massinger printed that one of his plays which has held the stage to our own time, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. In the same year also Ford's *Broken Heart* was first printed.

John Ford, born in 1586, at Ilsington, in Devonshire, and bred to the law, began to write plays only two or three years before the accession of Charles I., and was one of the chief dramatists of Charles's reign until his death in 1639. In Ford, as in Massinger, men born in Elizabeth's reign, with grandeur of poetical conception, there is still the ring of Elizabethan poetry.

There is enough of it also in **James Shirley,** who was only about nine years old when Elizabeth died, and who lived into Charles II.'s reign, to justify his place among Elizabethan Stuart dramatists. The reign of Charles I. was Shirley's work-time as a dramatist. He was a Londoner born, educated at Merchant Tailors' School and St. John's College, Oxford, when Laud was its president. He removed to Cambridge, took orders, had a cure near St. Albans, left that because he turned Romanist, and taught, in 1623, at the St. Albans Grammar School. Then Shirley came to London, became a dramatist, and was not unprosperous; his genius and his Catholicism recommended him to Charles's queen. He went to

Ireland in 1637, the year of Ben Jonson's death, and wrote plays for a theatre then newly built, the first in Dublin. When he came back, a clever dramatist and blameless gentleman, James Shirley took part on the king's side in the Civil War; and when the stage would no longer support his wife and family he taught boys again.

34. In the versification of many Elizabethan Stuart dramatists, and noticeably in Massinger and Shirley, there is further development of the ten-syllabled blank verse into a free measure, with frequent use of additional syllables, often monosyllables (ch. vi. § 47). The breaks of lines also are often so made as to compel such running of two lines together as deprives the verse of some of its character. We have begun the descent from poetical blank verse to a loosely metrical form of dialogue, when we find writing like this in Massinger:

> "Speak thy griefs.
> I shall, sir;
> But in a perplexed form and method, which
> You only can interpret: would you had not
> A guilty knowledge in your bosom of
> The language which you force me to deliver."

35. **Thomas May**, born in Sussex, in 1594, came from Cambridge to Gray's Inn, and was the one among Elizabethan Stuart dramatists whose work was least Elizabethan. His comedy of *The Heir* was printed in 1622, when he also published a translation of *Virgil's Georgics*. In 1627 appeared his translation of *Lucan's Pharsalia*, which had been preceded, in 1614, by that of Sir Arthur Gorges. In 1633, May added, in seven books, his own *Continuation* to the death of Julius Cæsar. May's *Lucan* caused Charles I. to command of him two original historical poems. These were, *The Reigne of King Henry the Second, in Seven Bookes* (1633), and, also in seven books, *The Victorious Reigne of King Edward the Third*. In the Civil War, May took part with the Parliament, and was made its secretary and historiographer. In this character he published, in 1647, in folio, *The History of the Parliament of England which began Nov.* 3, M.DC.XL.; *with a Short and Necessary View of some Precedent Years*; an abridgment of this, in three parts, appeared in 1650, the year of his death. May also translated a selection from Martial's Epigrams and Barclay's "Argenis" and "Icon Animarum."

36. Stuart dramatists born within a year or two after the

death of Elizabeth were Jasper Mayne, Thomas Randolph, and William Davenant. **Jasper Mayne,** born in 1604, at Hatherleigh, Devonshire, was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. He held the livings of Cassington and Pyrton, in Oxfordshire, till he was deprived of them in 1648. He wrote in the time of Charles I. a comedy called *The City Match* (printed in 1639), and the tragi-comedy of *The Amorous War* (printed in 1648). After the Restoration he became Archdeacon of Chichester and chaplain to Charles II. He lived till 1672.

Thomas Randolph, born at Newnham, Northamptonshire, in 1605, was at Westminster School with Mayne. He went to Trinity College, Cambridge, became M.A. and Fellow of his College, was a good scholar and good wit, lived gaily, and died in 1634, before he was thirty. In honour of sack and contempt of beer, he wrote a lively dramatic show, called *Aristippus* (1630), in which the jovial philosopher—whose name was given to sack (sec) or dry sherry—lectured to scholars on the virtues of that source of inspiration till the scholars sang:

> "Your ale is too muddy, good sack is our study,
> Our tutor is Aristippus."

Yet in another of Randolph's plays, *The Muses' Looking-Glass* —"the Ethics in a Play"—there is a moralising of the uses of the drama for the benefit of Puritan objectors; and after a dance of the seven sins, the opposite extremes which have a virtue in the mean—as servile Flattery and peevish Impertinence, extremes on either side of Courtesy; impious Confidence and overmuch Fear, extremes of Fortitude; swift Quarrelsomeness and the Insensibility to Wrong, extremes of Meekness—are cleverly illustrated in successive dialogues. The Golden Mean appears at last, with a masque of Virtues, replying to the Puritans who said that the stage lived by vice—

> "Indeed, 'tis true
> As the physicians by diseases do,
> Only to cure them."

This was far more rational than Laud's way of answering Prynne. **William Prynne,** born in 1600, at Swainswick, near Bath, educated at Oriel College, Oxford, and then a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, represented Puritan opinion by writing, in 1628, *Health's Sickness*, on the Sinfulness of Drinking Healths, and a tract on *The Unloveliness of Lovelocks*. His tracts in the reign of Charles I. were very numerous, and upon every point

of controversy maintained by the Puritans. In 1633 he published, against plays, masques, balls, and other such entertainments, *Histrio-mastix: the Players' Scourge or Actors' Tragedie.* For this book Prynne was committed to the Tower, prosecuted in the Star Chamber, and sentenced to pay a fine to the king of £5,000, to be expelled from the University of Oxford, from the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and from his profession of the law; to stand twice in the pillory, each time losing an ear; to have his book burnt before his face by the hangman; and to suffer perpetual imprisonment.

Thomas Randolph wrote also a comedy, *The Jealous Lovers*, acted, in 1632, before Charles and his queen by the students of Trinity College; and a graceful pastoral play, *Amyntas* (1638), acted before the king and queen at Whitehall. Among Randolph's songs and poems is one to Ben Jonson, who loved him and other of the bright young poets of the day, and called them sons. I was not born, he says, to Helicon,

> "But thy adoption quits me of all fear,
> And makes me challenge a child's portion there.
> I am akin to heroes being thine,
> And part of my alliance is divine."

William Davenant, son of an Oxford innkeeper, was born in 1605, was educated at the Oxford Grammar School and at Lincoln College, went to court as page to the Duchess of Richmond, and was then in the household of Sir Philip Sidney's friend, **Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke,** until his murder in 1628. *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes*, by Fulke Greville, were published in 1633, including his tragedies of *Alaham* and *Mustapha*, of which part had been printed in 1609. He left behind him also a short life of Sir Philip Sidney, which was published in 1652. **Davenant,** after his patron's death, turned to the stage, and began, in 1629, with a tragedy, *Albovine, King of the Lombards*, followed next year by two plays, *The Cruel Brother* and *The Just Italian.* In 1634, Davenant wrote a masque, *The Temple of Love*, to be presented at Whitehall by the queen and her ladies. In 1635 he published with other poems *Madagascar*, in couplets of ten-syllabled lines, on an achievement at sea by the king's nephew, Prince Rupert. Davenant remained in favour at court for his Masques and Plays; and after the death of Ben Jonson, Davenant took his place. Small-talk has it that disappointment at this turned Thomas May from the king. In 1639, William Davenant

was made governor of the king and queen's company acting at the Cockpit in Drury Lane. Outbreak of civil war brought him into danger. He escaped, returned, was the Earl of Newcastle's Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and, in 1643, was knighted for his service at the siege of Gloucester. As exile in Paris, Sir William Davenant was at the end of the king's reign writing *Gondibert*, an heroic poem. Davenant resumed his post as a leading dramatist, and was poet-laureate after the Commonwealth.

37. **William Habington,** who, like Mayne, Randolph, and Davenant, was born soon after Elizabeth's death, and was about twenty at the accession of Charles I., wrote a tragi-comedy of *The Queen of Arragon*, published in 1640. In that year appeared also his *Historie of Edward the Fourth, King of England*, written at the king's request. Habington's father was a Worcestershire Roman Catholic, condemned to abide always in Worcestershire, for having concealed in his house persons accused of complicity in Gunpowder Plot. The father, since he was to see so much of Worcestershire, wrote a history of the county. The son, educated at St. Omer's, came home and married Lucy, daughter of William Herbert, first Lord Powis. In the name of Castara he paid honour to her through some lyrics of pure love, as the type of modest, spiritual womanhood. Habington's *Castara* first appeared in two parts, in 1634; the second edition, adding three prose characters and twenty-six new poems, appeared in 1635; and a third in 1640, enlarged with a new part, containing a Character of "The Holy Man" and twenty-two poems, chiefly sacred. **John Earle** (§ 29), M.A., Fellow of Merton, had published, in 1628, his collection of Characters, as *Micro-cosmographie; or, a Peece of the World Discovered, in Essayes and Characters.* Earle was then twenty-seven years old. He became afterwards chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke, and was Bishop of Salisbury when he died, in 1665.

38. We leave the line of the playwrights, which we have followed down to the young writers of the time of Charles I., and turn back to the elder men who were in that reign writing poetry.

Dr. Barten Holyday, chaplain to Charles, was born in 1593, the son of an Oxford tailor. He was educated at Christ Church, took orders, went to Spain with Sir Francis Stewart, and after his return was chaplain to the king and Archdeacon of Oxford. He was a learned man and timid politician. He is hardly to be called a dramatist, although he wrote a comedy,

published in 1618, called *Technogamia; or, the Marriage of the Arts.* But he left behind him when he died, in 1661, a translation of *Juvenal and Persius* into poor verse, with many learned illustrative notes. **George Sandys** (§ 11) published his complete translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses* in 1626, and in 1636 a *Paraphrase of the Psalms*, with music of tunes by Henry Lawes. Sandys died in 1644.

Thomas Carew, born in Devonshire in 1589, was gentleman of the privy chamber and sewer in ordinary at the court of Charles I., a lively man, whose little poems were in good request, but, except when set to music, were not published in his lifetime. He died in 1639. The musicians William and Henry Lawes set many songs of Carew's, and were the chief writers of music for the poems that abounded in this reign.

William Drummond of Hawthornden (§ 29) lived through the reign of Charles I., and died soon after the king's execution, in 1649. There has been ascribed to him a mock-heroic macaronic poem (ch. vi. § 42) on a country quarrel over muck-carts—*Polemo-Middinia inter Viterram et Nebernam*—blending Latin with the Scottish dialect in a coarse but comical example of that kind of writing.

John Taylor, the Water Poet (§ 27), wrote on through the reign of Charles I., and took part in the Civil War by discharging squibs of verse against the Puritans. He had then an inn at Oxford. When the king's cause was lost, he set up an inn in London, by Long Acre, with the sign of "The Mourning Crown;" but he was obliged to take that down, and set up his own portrait in place of it. He died in 1654.

39. **George Wither** (§ 28), at the beginning of the reign of Charles, was in London during a great plague time, bravely helping its victims, and he published, in 1628, a poem upon his experiences, as *Britain's Remembrancer: containing a Narration of the Plague lately Past; a Declaration of the Mischiefs Present, and a Prediction of Iudgments to Come (if Repentance Prevent not). It is Dedicated (for the Glory of God) to Posteritie; and to these Times (if they please), by Geo. Wither.* Wither tells the reader of this book: "I was faine to print every sheet thereof with my owne hand, because I could not get allowance to doe it publikely." His verse translation of *The Psalms* was printed in the Netherlands, in 1632; his *Emblems*, with metrical illustrations, in 1635; his *Hallelujah; or, Britain's Second Remembrancer*, in 1641. Wither, of course, was active

in the Civil War, body and mind, becoming captain and major in the army of the Parliament. When his "Emblems" appeared he was the king's friend. He was the king's friend even when opposing him in the first incidents of civil war, as one who hoped for reconciliation between king and parliament. Wither lived on, and was an old man in London at the time of the great fire. He died in 1667.

Francis Quarles (§ 28) produced in 1632 *Divine Fancies, Digested into Epigrammes, Meditations, and Observations;* and the quaintest and most popular of his books of verse, *Emblems Divine and Moral*, appeared in the same year (1635) with the "Emblems" by George Wither. The taste for emblem pictures, with ingenious and wise interpretation of them, had been especially established by the Latin verse "Emblems" of the great Italian lawyer, Andrea Alciati, who died in 1550. These "Emblems" were translated into Italian, French, and German, and read in schools. The taste they established was widely diffused throughout the seventeenth century. The prevalent taste for ingenious thought, blending with the religious feeling of the people, helped especially to a revival of emblem writing in Holland and England, and in Holland the Moral Emblems of Jacob Cats, statesman as well as poet, who was born in 1577, came twice as ambassador to England and outlived Quarles, were in very high repute. Quarles, in Ireland with Archbishop Usher, suffered by the Irish insurrection of 1641. He came to England, took part with the royal cause in a book called *The Loyal Convert*, joined the king at Oxford, and was ruined in the Civil War. He had been twice married, and had by his first wife eighteen children. Quarles died, overwhelmed with troubles, in 1644.

40. **George Herbert,** born at Montgomery Castle, in 1593, was the fifth of seven sons in a family of ten. His eldest brother was **Edward Herbert** (§ 20), who returned from France to England at the beginning of the reign of Charles I., was made an Irish baron, and in 1631 an English peer, as Lord Herbert of Cherbury. In the Civil War, Edward Herbert first sided with the Parliament, and then went to the king's side at great sacrifice. He died in 1648, and in the following year appeared his *History of the Life and Reign of Henry VIII.*, in which little attention is paid to the religious movements of the time. **George Herbert,** who was consumptive, died in 1633, fifteen years before his elder brother. His father died

when he was four years old, and till he was twelve he was in the care of a very good mother at home, with a chaplain for tutor. He was then sent to Westminster School, and at fifteen elected from the school for Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1615, George Herbert became M.A. and Fellow of his College. In 1619 he was chosen orator for the University, and so remained for the next eight years. His wit in use of the laboured style of the time delighted King James; for when his Majesty made the University a present of his "Basilicon Doron," which had been published in 1599, George Herbert ended for the Cambridge authorities his acknowledgement of the royal gift, with the remark, put neatly in Latin verse, that they could not now have the Vatican and the Bodleian quoted against them; one book was their library. James, upon this, observed that he thought George Herbert the jewel of the University. The Cambridge Public Orator, who was skilled in French, Italian, and Spanish, thought he might rise at court, and was often in London. The king gave him a sinecure worth £120 a year. With this, his fellowship, his payment as Orator, and private income, he could make a good figure at court, and he was usually near the king. But the death of two of his most powerful friends, and soon afterwards of King James himself, put an end to George Herbert's ambition to become one day a Secretary of State. He resolved then to follow his mother's often-repeated counsel, and at the beginning of the reign of Charles I., George Herbert took orders. He obtained, in 1626, the prebend of Layton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln, and with help of his own friends handsomely rebuilt the decayed church of that village. The Rev. George Herbert, cheerful and kind, tall and very lean, was ill for a year with one of his brothers, at Woodford, in Essex, and then again recruiting health in Wiltshire, at the house of the Earl of Danby, whose brother had become his mother's second husband. He then married, three days after their first interview, a young kinswoman of the earl's, who had been destined for him by her father, and in April, 1630, three months after the marriage, which proved a most happy one, George Herbert was inducted into his living of Bemerton, a mile from Salisbury. He was then thirty-six years old. The pure beauty of the evening of George Herbert's life—the three years at Bemerton before his death in 1633—was expressed in his verse as in his actions. With Hooker's faithful regard for the Church system, he maintained it in his parish according to his own

standard of purity, blended with love and a free-handed charity, with poetry and music. He was a skilful musician, and went into Salisbury twice a week on certain days for the cathedral service. In 1631 George Herbert's poems appeared as *The Temple: Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations.* The forced ingenuity of the time is in them, but the ingenuity so forced is that of a quick wit, and the spirit glorifies the letter; the words, too, are by the writer's sense of harmony tuned often exquisitely to the soul within them. Herbert's *Priest to the Temple; or, Character of a Country Parson,* was first printed under the Commonwealth, in 1652.

41. **Phineas Fletcher,** who had the living of Hilgay, in Norfolk, was born at Cranbrook, Kent, in April, 1582, and went to Cambridge from Eton in 1600. He published in 1627 a satire against the Jesuits, *The Locustes or Apollyonists,* in Latin and English; in 1631, *Sicelides, a Piscatory,* in five acts, as it hath been acted in King's College, in Cambridge; in 1632, a couple of religious pieces; in 1633, Latin poems, *Sylva Poetica* and *The Purple Island.* Phineas Fletcher's "Purple Island" is "the Isle of Man," and the poem is a long allegory in ten cantos of man as the study of mankind, with an allegorical description of his structure, much larger and less poetical than Spenser's in (Book II. Canto 97 of) the "Faerie Queene:" with allegorical description of the passions, desires, virtues lodged in man, as "this Purple Island's nation," and, of course, not wanting the dragon to be fiercely contended with. The poem was written long before it was published, for its flight is said to be that of a "callow wing that's newly left the nest," and it represents a young man's reverence for Spenser. Quarles called its author "the Spenser of this age." The metre of "The Purple Island" is Giles Fletcher's eight-lined stanza (§ 24), with its fifth line gone. **William Harvey** published, in 1628, the little Latin book, *De Motu Sanguinis et Cordis,* which diffused through Europe his discovery of the circulation of the blood. In 1633 the "thousand brooks," which represented veins and arteries, in Fletcher's "Purple Island," were described by Fletcher according to the old doctrine, without knowledge or without recognition of Harvey's discovery. In 1633 Fletcher's Piscatory play was followed by *Piscatorie Eclogs and other Poeticall Miscellanies.* They are seven pastorals, in which the old forms are applied to fishermen. "A fisher lad (no higher dares he look)," or "Myrtel fast down by silver Medway's shore," and

"On a day
Shepherd and fisherboys had set a prize
Upon the shore, to meet in gentle fray,
Which of the two should sing the choicest lay."

Phineas Fletcher wrote of himself as Thirsil, and figured his father with his troubles at Cambridge as Thelgon of Chame. Among his other poems was *Elisa, an Elegy* for the early death of Mr. St. Antony Irby, as the lament of "his weeping spouse, Elisa."

Richard Corbet, born in 1582, was of Phineas Fletcher's age. He was the son of a famous gardener, from whom he inherited some land and money. He was educated at Westminster School and Oxford; became M.A. in 1605, and was in repute first as a University wit and poet, and then as a quaint preacher, who got patronage at James's court. He married in 1625, became Bishop of Oxford in 1629, of Norwich in 1632, and died in 1635. He was a stout royalist, worked with Laud, but was less bitter, and wrote merry squibs against the Puritans. A poem to his little son, and one on the death of his father, show his kindliness. One of sundry recorded jokes of Bishop Corbet's, is of the upsetting of his coach when he and his chaplain, Dr. Stubbings, who was very fat, were spilt into a muddy lane. Stubbings, the bishop said, was up to his elbows in mud; and he was up to his elbows in Stubbings. A very small volume appeared in 1648, issued by Corbet's family, entitled *Poetica Stromata; or, A Collection of Sundry Pieces in Poetry: Drawn by the known and approved hand of R. C.* Written copies of short satires, songs, and other pieces, passed from hand to hand, so that a man might have high reputation in society as wit and poet without the printing of a line of his during his lifetime, except now and then, when Henry Lawes or some other composer had set a song to music.

42. **Edmund Waller** was of the same age as Sir William Davenant, and, like Davenant, lived to take place among the writers under Charles II. He was born in 1605, at Coleshill, Herts. His father died in his infancy, and left him an income of £3,500 a year; say, ten thousand in present value. His mother was John Hampden's sister. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, entered Parliament when young, and soon became known at court as a poet. He added to his wealth by marrying a city heiress, who died leaving Waller, in 1630, a gay courtier of five-and-twenty, writing verse-worship of the

Earl of Leicester's eldest daughter, Lady Dorothea Sidney, as Sacharissa, and of another lady of the court, perhaps Lady Sophia Murray, as Amoret. The lady whom he took as second wife has no place in his verses. She became the mother to him of five sons and eight daughters. In the Civil Wars, Waller at first took part with his uncle Hampden; but he opposed abolition of Episcopacy, showed goodwill to the king, spoke freely in the Parliament,—by which he was sent, in 1642, as one of the Commissioners to the king at Oxford,—and, in 1643, plotted against it. He saved himself ignobly, and escaped, after a year's imprisonment, with a fine of £10,000 and exile to France, where he lived chiefly at Rouen.

43. **Sir John Suckling** was about four years younger than Waller, and a year younger than Milton. He was born in 1609, the son of the Comptroller of the Household to James I. Suckling was an overtaught child, who could speak Latin at the age of five; but he cast aside, as a young man, his father's gravity, was on active service for six months in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, and in the days of Charles I. lived in London as light wit, light lyric poet, light dramatist, and liberal friend of men of genius. His plays were *Aglaura*, *Brennoralt*, and *The Goblins*. He spent £12,000 on rich equipment of a troop of 100 horse to aid the king, and died in 1641, of a wound in the heel, some say, caused by a servant who robbed him; but there is more reason to think that he took poison in Paris.

44. **William Cartwright** also wrote plays and lyrics, was about two years younger than Suckling, and also died at the age of thirty-two. He was the son of a Gloucestershire gentleman, who had wasted his means, and lived by innkeeping at Cirencester. William Cartwright was taught in the Cirencester Grammar School, at Westminster School, and Christ Church, Oxford. He became M.A. in 1635, took orders, and was a famous preacher. He studied sixteen hours a day, preached excellent sermons, wrote excellent lyrics, and also four plays; one of them, *The Royal Slave*, a tragi-comedy, acted before the king and queen in 1637, by the students of Christ Church, Oxford. Cartwright was also an admired lecturer at Oxford on metaphysics, worked hard as one of the council of war to provide for the king's troops at Oxford, was beloved of Ben Jonson, who said of him, "My son Cartwright writes all like a man," and was praised by his bishop as "the utmost man could come to." He died in 1643, of the camp fever that killed many at Oxford.

45. Oxford had Cartwright; Cambridge had **John Cleveland**, for nine years a Fellow of St. John's College, eminent in poetry and oratory, and the first to pour out from the Royalist side defiant verse against the Puritans. Turned out of his fellowship, he joined the king at Oxford; then went to the garrison at Newark-on-Trent, where he was made Judge-Advocate, and resented the king's order to surrender. He was then in prison at Yarmouth till the Commonwealth, when he obtained his release from Cromwell, lived quietly in Gray's Inn, and died in 1658. Cleveland was the best of those Royalist poets who chiefly wrote partisan satire. The most popular, perhaps, was **Alexander Brome**, an attorney in the Lord Mayor's Court, who was not thirty at the date of the king's execution, and whose songs were trolled over their cups by Royalists of every degree.

46. **Sir John Denham** was born in Dublin in 1615, son of a Baron of Exchequer. He was an idle student at Oxford, and joined gambling with study of law at Lincoln's Inn. But he checked himself, published an *Essay on Gaming*, and in 1636 translated the second book of the "*Æneid*." In 1638 his father died. In 1641 he produced his tragedy of *The Sophy*, which was acted at a private house in Blackfriars, with so much success that Waller said he "broke out like the Irish rebellion, three score thousand strong, when nobody was aware, or in the least suspected it." The play was followed, in 1643, by his *Cooper's Hill*, a contemplative poem on the view over the Thames and towards London from a hill in the neighbourhood of Windsor Castle. Denham was actively employed in the king's service, but in the midst of his labours he found time to publish a translation of *Cato Major*. Denham lived to receive homage among poets of the reign of Charles II.

47. **Richard Crashaw**, son of a preacher zealous against Catholicism, was born about the year of Shakespeare's death, educated at the Charterhouse and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Before he was twenty he published anonymously sacred epigrams in Latin. He graduated, became a Fellow of Peterhouse, was expelled from Cambridge in 1644, for refusing to subscribe the Covenant, became a Roman Catholic, and went to Paris. There in 1646, the year of the publication of his *Steps to the Temple*, he was found by Cowley, and commended to the friendship of Queen Henrietta Maria, from whom he had letters to Rome. At Rome he became secretary to a cardinal and Canon of the Church of Loretto. Crashaw died in 1650

With much more of the later Euphuism than is to be found in lyrics of those Cavalier poets who took active part in the stir of the Civil War, Crashaw's religious poems, "Steps to the Temple," are not less purely devotional, though they have less beauty and force than those of Herbert, whom he imitated, and of whose volume he wrote to a lady, with a gift of it, "Divinest love lies in this book."

Henry Vaughan was born in 1622 at Scethrog, in Llansaintfread, Brecknockshire. He went in 1638 to Jesus College, Oxford; published love verses in 1646; became a country doctor in his native place; married; had children; and produced in 1650 *Silex Scintillans*, the Flint (of the Heart) yielding Sparks (of spiritual fire). There was a second part in 1655. This book of religious poems is scarcely inferior to Herbert's *Temple*. Vaughan published also *Olor Iscanus* in 1651; *The Mount of Olives*, 1652, *Flores Solitudinis*, 1654. He lived until 1695. His twin-brother Thomas wrote of magic and alchemy as "Eugenius Philalethes."

48. **Abraham Cowley** was born in 1618, after the death of his father, who was a London stationer. His mother, who lived to be eighty, struggled to educate him well, and he got his first impulse to poetry as a child from Spenser, whose works lay in his mother's parlour. His mother got him into Westminster School, where he wrote a pastoral comedy called "Love's Riddle," and in his fifteenth year (in 1633) appeared Cowley's *Poetical Blossoms*, with a portrait of the author at the age of thirteen, and including "The Tragical History of Pyramus and Thisbe," written at the age of ten, and "Constantia and Philetus," written at the age of twelve. In 1636 he went to Cambridge. In 1638 the play of *Love's Riddle*, written at school, was published; and also a Latin comedy, *Naufragium Joculare*, acted at Trinity College in that year. At the beginning of the Civil War, Cowley's play of *The Guardian* was acted before the prince as he passed through Cambridge. In 1643, Abraham Cowley, M.A., ejected from Cambridge, went to St. John's College, Oxford, and wrote satire against the Puritans. He went afterwards with the queen to Paris, and was employed in ciphering and deciphering letters between her and the king. His love-poems appeared in 1647, under the title of *The Mistress*. They are musical, ingenious, and free in tone, but strictly works of imagination. It is said that Cowley was in love but once, and that he was then too shy to tell his passion Abraham Cowley lived into the reign of Charles II.