49. **Richard Lovelace**, the brilliant and handsome Cavalier poet, died miserably during the Commonwealth. He was born in the same year as Cowley, 1618, the eldest son of Sir William Lovelace, of Woolwich, and was educated at Charterhouse School, and Gloucester Hall, Oxford. Lovelace was so handsome that, in 1636, though a student of but two years' standing, he was made, at the request of a great lady, M.A., among persons of quality who were being so honoured while the court was for a few days at Oxford. He was the first and last undergraduate who was made Master of Arts for his beauty. Lovelace attached himself to the court, served in 1639 as an ensign in the Scottish expedition, afterwards as captain; wrote a tragedy called *The Soldier;* retired to his estate of Lovelace Place, at Canterbury; was elected to go up to the House of Commons with the Kentish petition for restoring the king to his rights, and for this was committed to the Gatehouse Prison at Westminster, April 30, 1642. There he wrote his song, "To Althea, from Prison," which contains the stanza:

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage.
If I have freedom in my love,
And in my soul am free,
Angels alone that soar above
Enjoy such liberty."

After some weeks of imprisonment, Lovelace was released on bail, and lived in London beyond his income, as a friend of the king's cause and of good poets. In 1646 he served in the French army, and was wounded at Dunkirk. Report of his death caused Lucy Sacheverell, the Lucasta (*lux casta*, "chaste light") of his poetry, to disappoint him of her hand by marrying another. In 1648, Lovelace returned to England, and was soon a political prisoner in Peter House, Aldersgate Street, where he arranged his poems for the press—*Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, &c.*, published in 1649. Richard Lovelace died, it is said, in an alley in Shoe Lane, in 1658.

50. To these poets who were battling, suffering, and singing in the days of Charles I., and out of whose midst rose the first music of Milton, there is one yet to be added—a man twenty-seven years older than Lovelace and Cowley, but who sang when they were singing, and outlived them both. This was the Rev. Robert Herrick, Vicar of Dean Prior, in Devon-

shire **Robert Herrick,** born in 1591, was the fourth son of a silversmith in Cheapside. His University was Cambridge, and it was in 1629 that he was presented to his living, in the village of Dean Prior, four miles from Ashburton, where he spent the next seventeen years of his life, and said :

"More discontents I never had
Since I was born, than here ;
Where I have been, and still am sad,
In this dull Devonshire."

There Herrick, with great nose and double chin, lived as a bachelor vicar, attended by his faithful servant, Prudence Baldwin, and a pet pig, whom he taught to drink out of a tankard. In 1648, Robert Herrick was ejected from his living, and betook himself to London, where he had wits and poets for companions, and published at once, for help to a subsistence, his delightful love lyrics, epigrams, and scraps of verse in many moods ; sometimes reflecting licence of the times, not of the man ; including also strains of deep religious feeling. These pieces—many of them only two or four lines long—he had written in the West of England, and therefore (from *hesperis*, "western") he called them *Hesperides ; or, Works both Humane and Divine.*" His pious pieces were arranged under the name of *Noble Numbers.* The imaginary fair one whom Herrick celebrated in his lonely vicarage was Julia.

"Cherrie ripe, ripe, ripe, I cry,
Full and faire ones, come and buy,
If so be you ask me where
They doe grow, I answer, There,
Where my Julia's lips doe smile,
There's the land, or cherry-isle ;
Whose plantations fully show
All the yeere where cherries grow."

51. John Milton (§ 30) returned to Cambridge and began his studies there twelve days after the accession of Charles I. In the following winter his sister's first-born, a daughter, died in infancy of a cough, and verses upon that family grief open the series of Milton's poems with a strain of love. He practised himself as a student, both in Latin and in poetry, by writing Latin elegies. One, written in September, 1626, was on the death of Bishop Andrewes (§ 16). Throughout his college days Milton retained his old kindness for his teacher at St. Paul's School, young Alexander Gill, corresponding with him, praising verse of his, and submitting verse of his own

to his friend's criticism. He retained, also, his old kindness for his first tutor, Thomas Young, who came back from Hamburg to take a vicarage in Stowmarket. In 1629, on the 26th of March, Milton graduated as B.A. On the following Christmas-day, his age being twenty-one, he wrote his hymn, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity." It may have then come into young Milton's mind to form a series of odes on the great festivals of the Christian Church, for on the 1st of January the ode on the Nativity was followed by one on "The Circumcision;" and when Easter came he began a poem on "The Passion," of which he wrote only eight stanzas and then broke off. "This subject," says the appended note, "the author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished."

In 1631 the unexpected death of the young Marchioness of Winchester was lamented by poets, and among them by Ben Jonson in his latter years, by Milton at the opening of his career. On his birthday, the 9th of December, in the same year 1631, Milton wrote that sonnet "on his being arrived at the age of twenty-three," which is the preface to his whole life as a man. He refers in it to his boyish aspect, feels his mind unripe, his advance slow, his achievement little, and adds these lines of self-dedication, to which he was true in his whole after life:

> "Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,
> It shall be still in strictest measure even
> To that same lot, however mean or high,
> Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven:
> All is, if I have grace to use it so,
> As ever in my great Task-master's eye."

Already Milton showed himself an exact student of his art. This sonnet, and every other sonnet written by him, was true to the minutest detail in its technical construction (ch. vi. § 46)—true not only in arrangement of the rhymes, but in that manner of developing the thought for which the structure of this kind of poem was invented. The sonnet of self-dedication Milton wrote when his college life was near its close. In July, 1632, he graduated as M.A. At Cambridge, Milton had added seven years of study in the University to seven years of school training. He was not paled by study, but long retained the bloom of youth upon a very fair complexion. He was a little under middle height, slender, but erect, vigorous, and agile, with light brown hair clustering about his fair and oval face, with dark grey eyes.

His voice is said to have been "delicate and tunable." His father, by this time retired from business, and living in the completely rural village of Horton, which is not far from Windsor Castle, had designed his eldest son for a career in the Church; but Milton felt, he said afterwards, that "he who would take orders must subscribe himself slave and take an oath withal," and by that feeling the Church was closed to him. His choice was to be God's minister, but as a poet. Such a choice produced from his father natural remonstrance. There is reference to this in a Latin poem to his father—"Ad Patrem"—written by Milton at the close of his University training, full of love and gratitude for the education so far finished, with this glance at the kindly controversy that was then between them. The translation is Cowper's:

"Nor thou persist, I pray thee, still to slight
The sacred Nine, and to imagine vain
And useless, powers, by whom inspired? Thyself
Art skilful to associate verse with airs
Harmonious, and to give the human voice
A thousand modulations, heir by right
Indisputable of Arion's fame.
Now say, what wonder is it if a son
Of thine delight in verse, if so conjoin'd
In close affinity, we sympathise
In social arts, and kindred studies sweet?
Such distribution of himself to us
Was Phœbus' choice; thou hast thy gift, and I
Mine also, and between us we receive,
Father and son, the whole-inspiring God."

Milton went home to Horton, and proceeded to add to the seven years of school training and the seven years of university training another seven years of special training for his place among the poets. Nearly six years were spent at Horton, from the end of July, 1632, to April, 1638; then followed fifteen months of foreign travel.

Milton's life as a writer is in three parts:—1. The period of his Earlier Poems, in the time of Charles I., including "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," "Arcades," "Comus," "Lycidas;" all written during the training time at Horton. 2. The period of his Prose Works, from 1641 to the end of the Commonwealth. 3. The period of his Later Poems, in the time of Charles II., namely, "Paradise Lost," "Paradise Regained," and "Samson Agonistes." To the reign of Charles I. belong, then, all Milton's Earlier Poems and some of his Prose Works.

52. *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* are companion poems, repre-

senting two moods of one mind, and that mind Milton's. No man can be the one, in Milton's sense, who cannot also be the other. It was part of Milton's training for his work as a poet to study thoroughly the words through which he was to express his thought. Milton's precision in the use of words is very noticeable, and it fills his verse with subtle delicacies of thought and expression. Mirth and Melancholy would not content Milton as titles for these poems, because one word has for its original meaning "softness," and is akin to marrow, the soft fat in bones; the other word, based on an old false theory of humours in a man, traces the grave mood to black bile. The poems themselves use the English words with definition of the sense in which alone each is accepted:

> "These delights if thou canst give,
> Mirth, with thee I mean to live."

> "These pleasures, Melancholy, give,
> And I with thee will choose to live."

The Italian titles to the poems represented in each case the real source of these delights and pleasures. Milton's Mirth was the joy in all cheerful sights and sounds of nature, and in social converse natural to the man whose bosom's lord sits lightly on his throne; and "L'Allegro" is defined in Gherardini's *Supplimento a' Vocabolarj Italiani* (six vols., Milan, 1852) as "one who has in his heart cause for contentment (*che ha in cuore cagione di contentezza*), which shows itself in serenity of countenance." "Il Penseroso," whose name is derived from a word meaning "to weigh," is the man grave, not through ill-humour, but while his reason is employed in weighing and considering that which invites his contemplation. With his companion sketches of this true lightness of heart and this true gravity, Milton blends a banning of the false mirth of the thoughtless —"vain deluding joys, the brood of Folly"—and the black dog, the loathed (from *láth*, meaning "evil") Melancholy "of Cerberus and blackest midnight born." To commendation of the true he thus joins condemnation of the false; and by transferring his condemnation of a baseless joy to the opening of that poem which paints gravity of thoughtfulness, and his condemnation of a Stygian gloom to that poem which paints innocent enjoyment, he heightens the effect of each poem by contrast, and links the two together more completely. The poems are exactly parallel in structure.

L'Allegro.	*Lines.*
1. Banning of "loathed" Melancholy	1—10
2. Invitation to "heart-easing" Mirth	11—24
3. Allegorical parentage and companions...	25—40
4. The Morning Song	41—56
5. Abroad under the Sun ...	57—98
6. Night, and the tales told by the social fireside	99—116
7. L'Allegro social	117—134
8. His Life set to Music... ...	135—150

Il Penseroso.	*Lines.*
1. Banning of "vain" Joys ...	1—10
2. Invitation to "divinest" Melancholy...	11—21
3. Allegorical parentage and companions...	22—54
4. The Even Song	55—64
5. Abroad under the Moon ...	65—76
6. Night, and lonely study of Nature's mysteries, and of the great stories of the Poets	77—120
7. Il Penseroso solitary	121—154
8. His Life set to Music... ...	155—174

9. Acceptance of each mood—if this be it.

53. The cousin to whom Spenser dedicated "The Tears of the Muses," retaining the higher title that belonged to her as widow of her first husband (ch. vii. § 76), still was called the Countess Dowager of Derby after she had become wife of Sir Thomas Egerton, afterwards Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. Lord Ellesmere, too, had been married before, and his son John married one of the two daughters of the widow who became his second wife. When Milton was at Horton, in Buckinghamshire, the Dowager Countess of Derby, having outlived both her husbands, and bearing the title given by the first of them, lived chiefly at her favourite country house of Harefield, in Middlesex. That was on the borders of Buckinghamshire. At Ashridge Park, also on the borders of Buckinghamshire, and but a few miles from Horton, lived John Egerton, only male heir of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, who, in compliment to his family, had been made Earl of Bridgewater. He was doubly son-in-law to the Countess of Derby, for she had been his father's wife, and was his own wife's mother. The Earl and Countess of Bridgewater had four sons and eleven daughters, of whom, in 1634, when Milton produced "Comus" for them, ten survived, namely, eight daughters, of whom the eldest was Lady Frances, aged thirty, and the youngest Lady Alice, aged fourteen or fifteen. After the eight girls came two boys—John, the elder and heir, Viscount Brackley, aged twelve or thirteen, and Thomas, aged eleven or twelve. Milton's introduction to this household was probably through Henry Lawes, who, as fashionable composer and musician, taught singing in noble families. Henry and William Lawes were sons of a musician, had been singing-boys in Salisbury Cathedral, and were now prospering in London. Doubtless the elder Milton's interest in music had caused Henry Lawes, eight years older

than Milton, to be one of the poet's friends. The *Arcades* may have preceded "Comus." On some occasion of congratulation, the old Countess of Derby's numerous family of children and grandchildren planned a small entertainment in her honour, to contain only a few songs and a few spoken words of blessing on her house. Henry Lawes would be taken into counsel as musician, and would probably suggest that he had a friend at Horton, a few miles off, who could write the words. For such a purpose, certainly, and probably in some such way, Milton received the commission which caused him to write *Arcades* ("The Arcadians"). On the appointed day the old lady was led to a seat of state—say, in her garden. Then "some noble persons of her family" came "in pastoral habit," as Arcadians, down the garden walk towards her, singing her praise as they approached. They arranged themselves before her, and to pay homage to her one stood forward as the genius of the wood about her house, who blessed the place with health, and lived in accord with the celestial harmonies. Two other songs then followed, of love and praise to the old lady; the young members of the family paid homage to her; she would then kiss them, say "Thank you, my dears," and all was over. The poem was but a slight piece, contrived according to the fashion of the time, its simple motive being family affection.

There is no direct evidence that "Arcades" was written before "Comus;" but it is likely that success in the small occasional masque caused Milton to be joined again with Henry Lawes when a masque on a much larger scale was required by the same family for a state occasion. This was *Comus*.

In June, 1631, John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, was nominated to the office that Sir Henry Sidney had held, of Lord President of the Council of the Principality of Wales and the Marches of the same, with a jurisdiction and military command that comprised the English counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Shropshire. Ludlow Castle, in Shropshire, was the seat of government; it was to the Lord-President of Wales what Dublin Castle now is to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and a large hospitality was, of course, one duty of the Lord-President's office. The Earl of Bridgewater did not go to his post till 1633. In the following year he was joined by members of his family who had been left at Ashridge or Harefield, and then it became the Lord-President's business to give a grand entertainment to the country people, and of this a masque

was to be one feature. The masque of "Comus," by John Milton, with music by Henry Lawes, was accordingly produced in the great hall of Ludlow Castle, on the 29th of September, 1634. Milton was true in "Comus" to the highest sense of his vocation as a poet, while he satisfied all accidental demands on his skill. The masque must include music—with a special song for Lady Alice—dances, and entertaining masquerade. The rout of Comus disguised in heads of divers animals, provided masquerade in plenty. The masque must appeal to local feeling, and did that by bringing in Sabrina, the nymph of the Severn; must refer, also, with direct compliment, to the new Lord-President, and must provide fit parts for the three youngest children of the family, the Lady Alice, and her brothers John and Thomas, aged from fifteen to twelve. William Prynne had been pilloried, and was then in prison, for his "Histriomastix" (§ 36), produced only two years before. Richard Baxter, two years before, had been a youth of seventeen, living in Ludlow Castle as private attendant upon Mr. Wicksted, the chaplain, when the presidency was in commission, and Baxter told afterwards of the corrupting influences of the place. He knew, he said, one pious youth whom it had made a confirmed drunkard and a scoffer. Something of this Milton may have known when he made his masque a poet's lesson against riot and excess. The reverence due to youth Milton maintained by causing his children-actors to appear in no stage disguise, but simply as themselves. There was on the stage a mimic wood, through which the children passed on the way to their father and mother, who sat in front, and to whom, at the close of the masque, they were presented. As they traversed this wood of the world, typical adventures rose about them, and gave rise to dialogue, in which the part given to Lady Alice made the girl—still speaking in no person but her own—a type of holy innocence and purity.

Since in the same year, 1634, the "Comus" of Ericius Puteanus (first published at Louvain in 1608) was reprinted at Oxford, it may be that this pamphlet had some influence on Milton's choice of subject for his masque. When in London, Milton went to the play, as a letter to his friend Diodati tells us, and the revival of Fletcher's "Faithful Shepherdess" (§ 6) occurred at the beginning of 1634, when it was "acted divers times with great applause" at the Blackfriars Theatre, after its production at court on Twelfth Night. Some influence from

Fletcher's play might blend with some influence from a recent reading of the Dutchman's pamphlet, newly re-issued from an Oxford press, when Milton was determining the subject of his masque. "Comus" is quite original, but it includes distinct evidence of Milton's acquaintance with those works. He may have read, also, Peele's "Old Wives' Tale" (ch. vii. § 72). Ericius Puteanus was the Latinised name of Hendrick Van der Putte, known in France as Henri du Puy, a modest and sound scholar, who was born at Vanloo, in 1574, and after writing about a hundred little books, officiating also as Professor of Eloquence at Milan and Louvain (where he succeeded Lipsius, in 1606), and as Historiographer to the King of Spain, died at Louvain, governor of the citadel there and Councillor of State, twelve years after Milton's "Comus" was produced. The "Comus" of this writer had for its second title, "Phagesiposia Cimmeria"—that is, eating and drinking after the manner of Cimmerians, or those who live in darkness—and under the fiction of a dream, with dialogue of a friend, Aderba, and a wise Tabutius, in a great hall of feasters which has the colossal image of the idol Comus upreared at one end, Van der Putte's book in Latin prose exposed and censured the vices of sensualists.

Comus was a Greek personification of disordered pleasure, "tipsy dance and jollity." The name is derived from the Greek word for a village (κώμη). When the procession at old sacred festivals passed from village to village, with measured step and music, it picked up a disorderly following of merry villagers, who sang and danced wildly and out of measure. This following was called the Comus, and soon yielded a general name for unmeasured festival. The next step was to personification. This we have in the Agamemnon of Æschylus, when Cassandra says of the house of the son of Atreus: "That horrid band who sing of evil things will never forsake this house. Behold Comus, the drinker of human blood, fired with new rage, still remains within the house, kindred of Furies, hard to send away." The last step was to engrave his image, and this was done by representing him as a divinity balanced unsteadily on his crossed legs, with a large stomach, a drooping head, and an inverted torch in his hand—the torch of reason.

54. In 1635 Milton was incorporated as M.A. at Oxford. On the 3rd of April, 1637, his mother died. On the 10th of August 1637, the son of Sir John King, Secretary for Ireland, Edward King, a young man who was a fellow of Milton's own college at

Cambridge, who was three or four years younger than Milton, and had been destined for the Church, was drowned when on his way home for the long vacation. The ship in which he sailed from Chester for Dublin struck on a rock, in a calm sea, near the Welsh coast, and went down with all on board. When the next college session began, a little book of memorial verse, in Latin, Greek, and English, was planned, and this appeared at the beginning of 1638, as "Obsequies to the Memorie of Mr. Edward King." It contained twenty-three pieces in Latin and Greek, and thirteen in English, of which thirteen the last was Milton's *Lycidas*, written in November, 1637.

At that time Milton was preparing to add to his course of education two years or more of travel in Italy and Greece. As a poet he did not count himself to have attained, but still pressed forward. In a letter to his friend, Charles Diodati, he had written on the 23rd of September: "As to other points, what God may have determined for me I know not; but this I know, that if He ever instilled an intense love of moral beauty into the breast of any man, He has instilled it into mine: Ceres, in the fable, pursued not her daughter with a greater keenness of inquiry than I, day and night, the idea of perfection. Hence, whenever I find a man despising the false estimates of the vulgar, and daring to aspire, in sentiment, language, and conduct, to what the highest wisdom, through every age, has taught us as most excellent, to him I unite myself by a sort of necessary attachment; and if I am so influenced by nature or destiny, that by no exertion or labours of my own I may exalt myself to this summit of worth and honour, yet no powers of heaven or earth will hinder me from looking with reverence and affection upon those who have thoroughly attained this glory, or appear engaged in the successful pursuit of it. You inquire with a kind of solicitude even into my thoughts. Hear, then, Diodati, but let me whisper in your ear, that I may not blush at my reply—I think (so help me Heaven!) of immortality. You inquire also what I am about? I nurse my wings, and meditate a flight; but my Pegasus rises as yet on very tender pinions. Let us be humbly wise."

The opening lines of Milton's *Lycidas* repeat this modest estimate of his achievement. In "Comus" Milton had produced one of the masterpieces of our literature, but he felt only that the laurels he was born to gather were not yet ripe for his hand, and that when the death of Edward King called from

him verse again, and love forced him to write, his hand could grasp but roughly at the bough not ready for his plucking.

"Yet once more, O ye laurels, and once more
Ye myrtles brown with ivy never sere,
I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude,
And, with forced fingers rude,
Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year:
Bitter constraint, and sad occasion dear,
Compels me to disturb your season due:
For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,
Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer.
Who would not sing for Lycidas?"

The pastoral name of Lycidas was chosen to signify purity of character. It sprang, probably, from a Greek root (λύκη) meaning light. Like Spenser, Milton looked on the pastoral form as that most fit for a muse in its training time. Under the veil of pastoral allegory, therefore, he told the story of the shipwreck; but in two places his verse rose as into bold hills above the level of the plain, when thoughts of higher strain were to be uttered. The first rise (lines 64 to 84) was to meet the doubt that would come when a young man with a pure soul and high aspiration laboured with self-denial throughout youth and early manhood to prepare himself for a true life in the world, and then at the close of the long preparation died. If this the end, why should the youth aspire?

"Were it not better done, as others use,
To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair."

(As in Virgil, Ecl. viii., ll. 77, 78; and Horace, Od. III. xiv., ll. 21—24.)

But, Milton replied, our aspiration is not bounded by this life:

"Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
Nor in the glistering foil
Set off to the world, nor in broad rumour lies:
But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes
And perfect witness of all-judging Jove:
As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
Of so much fame, in heaven expect thy meed.

From that height of thought Milton skilfully descended again:

"O fountain Arethuse, and thou honour'd flood,
Smooth-sliding Mincius, crown'd with vocal reeds!
That strain I heard was of a higher mood:
But now my oat proceeds," &c.;

and we are again upon the flowery plain of the true pastoral, till presently there is another sudden rise of thought (ll. 108—131). The dead youth was destined for the Church, of which he would have been a pure devoted servant. He is gone, and the voice of St. Peter, typical head of the Church, speaks sternly of the many who remain—false pastors who care only to shear their flocks, to scramble for Church livings, and shove those away whom God has called to be His ministers. Ignorant of the duties of their sacred office, what care they? They have secured their incomes; and preach, when they please, their unsubstantial, showy sermons, in which they are as shepherds piping not from sound reeds but from little shrunken straws ("scrannel," from *scrincan*, to shrink, past *scranc*, with diminutive suffix. In Lancashire a "scrannel" is a lean skinny person). The congregations, hungry for the word of God, look up to the pulpits of these men with blind mouths, and are not fed. Swollen with windy doctrine, and the rank mist of words without instruction, they rot in their souls and spread contagion, besides what the devil, great enemy of the Christian sheepfold, daily devours apace, "and nothing said." Against that wolf no use is made of the sacred word that can subdue him, "of the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God" (Ephes. vi. 17). "But that two-handed engine"—two-handed, because we lay hold of it by the Old Testament and the New:

> "But that two-handed engine at the door
> Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more."

Milton wrote engine (contrivance of wisdom) and not weapon, because "the word of God, quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword" (Heb. iv. 12), when it has once smitten evil, smites no more, but heals and comforts.

Here again, by a skilful transition, Milton descends to the level of his pastoral or Sicilian (ch. v. § 28) verse. The river of Arcady has shrunk within its banks at the dread voice of St. Peter, but now it flows again:

> "Return, Alpheus; the dread voice is past,
> That shrunk thy streams; return, Sicilian Muse,
> And call the vales," &c.

The first lines of "Lycidas" connected Milton's strain of love with his immediate past. Its last line glances on to his immediate future. Milton was preparing for his travel to Italy and Greece. "To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new."

55. In April, 1638, Milton, attended by one man-servant, left Horton for his travel on the Continent. His younger brother, Christopher, married about that time, and seems then to have lived at Horton with his father. Milton went to Paris with letters to the English Ambassador there, Lord Scudamore, by whom he was introduced to Hugo Grotius, then ambassador at the French court for the Queen of Sweden. Hugo Groot, born at Delft in 1583, had acquired fame as a youth at the beginning of the century by his Latin tragedies and poems. His career had been that of a patriotic historian, philosopher, and statesman, and he was prosperous at home until he suffered for maintaining the cause of the Arminians (§ 18). For this he was doomed at the Synod of Dort, in 1618, to perpetual imprisonment. In prison he was still a busy writer. After two years' imprisonment his escape was contrived by his wife, but it was not till October, 1631, that he was able to return to his own country. The strength of party feeling caused him to leave Holland again in March, 1632, and he found a friend in the great Chancellor Oxenstiern, who then came to the head of affairs in Sweden. In 1636, Grotius was sent to Paris as ambassador from Sweden, and he retained that office till 1644, the year before his death. From Paris, Milton went to Nice, from Nice by sea to Genoa; he visited Leghorn and Pisa, stayed two months at Florence, then, by way of Siena, went to Rome. At Rome he remained two months, and while there enjoyed and praised in three Latin epigrams the singing of the then famous vocalist, Leonora Baroni. From Rome, Milton, aged thirty, went to Naples, where he was kindly received by Manso, Marquis of Villa, then an old man of seventy-eight, the friend and biographer of Tasso. At his departure he paid his respect to Manso in a Latin poem addressed to him. Milton was about to pass on through Sicily to Greece when, as he wrote afterwards in his "Second Defence of the People of England," "the melancholy intelligence which I received of the civil commotions in England made me alter my purpose; for I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home." He retraced his steps, dwelt on his way back another two months at Rome, where, when attacked for his faith he boldly defended it. "It was," he says, "a rule I laid down to myself in those places, never to be the first to begin any conversation on religion; but if any questions were put to me concerning my faith, to declare it without any reserve or fear." At Florence also he

again stayed for two months; he visited Lucca, Bologna, Ferrara; gave a month to Venice; from Venice he shipped to England the books he had bought in Italy; then he went through Verona and Milan to Geneva, where he was in daily converse with Giovanni Diodati (§ 30), uncle of his old school friend. From Geneva, Milton passed through France, and was at home again in July or August, 1639, after an absence of about fifteen months. When he returned he found his friend Charles Diodati dead, and poured out his sorrow in a Latin pastoral, "Damon's Epitaph"—*Epitaphium Damonis*—with the refrain:

> "Go seek your home, my lambs; my thoughts are due
> To other cares than those of feeding you."

The flocks, the dappled deer, the fishes, and the birds can find the fit companion in every place:

> "We only, an obdurate kind, rejoice,
> Scorning all others, in a single choice;
> We scarce in thousands meet one kindred mind,
> And if the long-sought good at last we find,
> When least we feel it, Death our treasure steals,
> And gives our heart a wound that nothing heals.
> Go, go, my lambs, unpastur'd as ye are,
> My thoughts are all now due to other care.
> Ah, what delusion lur'd me from my flocks,
> To traverse Alpine snows, and rugged rocks?
> What need so great had I to visit Rome,
> Now sunk in ruins, and herself a tomb?
> Or, had she flourish'd still as when, of old,
> For her sake Tityrus forsook his fold,
> What need so great had I t' incur a pause
> Of thy sweet intercourse for such a cause;
> For such a cause to place the roaring sea,
> Rocks, mountains, woods, between my friend and me?
> Else had I grasp'd thy feeble hand compos'd
> Thy decent limbs, thy drooping eyelids clos'd,
> And, at the last, had said—'Farewell—ascend—
> Nor even in the skies forget thy friend.'"

Into Charles Diodati's ear Milton had whispered his dream of immortality, said that his muse rose yet only on tender wings, unequal to the meditated flight. In his poem to Manso, Milton indicated that it was in his mind to write a poem of high strain upon King Arthur. A passage in this "Epitaph of Damon" shows that when he came back to England the design to write an epic upon Arthur took a more definite shape. Had he taken Arthur for his hero, Milton would, like Spenser (ch. vii. § 78), have turned him to high spiritual use. He had looked for examples, he said afterwards (in his "Reason of Church Government

against Prelacy"), to Homer, Virgil, Tasso, to the plays of Sophocles and Euripides, to the odes of Pindar, to the poetical books of the Old and New Testament, as "the mind at home in the spacious circuit of her musing" sought to plan its future work. He had reasoned to himself whether in the writing of an epic poem "the rules of Aristotle herein are to be strictly kept or nature to be followed, which in them that know art and use judgment is no transgression but an enriching of art." But still, and for years yet to come, Milton felt that the work to which his soul yearned forward was to be achieved only "by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out His seraphim, with the hallowed fire of His altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom He pleases: to this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs." He knew that only hard work could enable him to make the best use of his genius, hard work and a right life. In the "Apology for Smectymnuus" Milton has written, "I was confirmed in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem."

56. The news that caused Milton to turn back from his longer travel into Greece was news of trouble with the Scots which clearly boded civil war. Milton had left Wentworth and Laud governing England. In June, 1638, judgment was given against John Hampden in the question of ship-money; and law, physic, and divinity were pilloried in the persons of **William Prynne**, the lawyer (§ 36), now to be branded on both cheeks with "S. L." (Schismatic Libeller), and imprisoned for life in Carnarvon Castle; Robert Bastwick, a physician; and Henry Burton, a clergyman. Prynne's controversial activity against Laud and his policy was met by that of **Peter Heylin**, a divine of Laud's own school, who had published, in 1621, *Microcosmus*, a Description of the World, and, in 1629, became chaplain to Charles I. Dr. Heylin, who was born in 1600 and died in 1662, was a prolific writer, bitter against Puritans, and very faithful in maintaining the Divine authority of Church and king. Milton left England in April, 1638, and while he was away Church controversy had been embittered. Prelacy had been restored in Scotland in 1606. In 1609, King James had further set up in Scotland the Court of High Commission. In 1618, King James had forced the Assembly at Perth to accept for the Scottish

Church Five Articles of his own devising. This was the year in which the Synod of Dort declared Calvinism the religion of the Dutch, and condemned the Five Points in the Remonstrance of the Arminians (§ 18). James had not carried out his design of imposing upon the Church of Scotland a liturgy like that of the Church of England, in place of Knox's "Book of Common Order," which some used and some had dropped. But, in 1636, Charles I. issued under the Great Seal, by his personal authority, "Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical for the Government of the Church of Scotland," followed by a "Book of Common Prayer," prepared by two Scottish bishops, and so revised by Laud that it came nearer than the Anglican Service Book to the form of a Roman Missal. The new Prayer-Book was to be proclaimed at every market cross, and to come into use at Easter, 1637. The people were stirred to excitement. The Scottish bishops delayed. The court forbade farther delay; the new service was used for the first time on the 23rd of July, 1637, and there were riots at Edinburgh in the churches of St. Giles and the Greyfriars. The Scottish Council suspended for a time the use of both the old and the new Service Books. Laud and the king would not yield, and there were then riots in Edinburgh. But the resolve of a nation was not represented only by excesses of a mob. The nobles, the middle classes, and the clergy claimed a right to meet and petition; and the Privy Council at Edinburgh then assented to the proposal that they should be represented by four permanent committees, consisting, 1, of nobles; 2, of a gentleman from every county; 3, of a minister from every presbytery; 4, of a burgher from every town; each sending representatives to a central committee. The four committees sat at four tables in the Parliament House, were known as the Tables, and formed a central revolutionary committee that soon became the supreme power.

Opposition to the new Prayer-Book was now blended with opposition to the whole Episcopacy and the Court of High Commission. It was determined to revive the method of covenantin used by the Lords of the Congregation, when the Scottish Reformation was established. A confession which King James VI. had been made to subscribe in 1581, during a panic against Romanism, was now revived; there was added to that, a summary of the Acts of Parliament condemning Romanism and securing the liberties of the Scottish Church; and then came, as third part of the same document, the Covenant itself, in which

the subscribers swore to maintain their religion. On the 28th of February, the signing of the Covenant began at Edinburgh, in the Greyfriars church and churchyard. Copies were sent for signature throughout the country. The cause of prelacy was lost in Scotland. As the Archbishop of St. Andrews said, the Covenanters had "thrown down in a day what we have been building up for thirty years."

So matters stood when Milton, in the spring of 1638, the year of the Second Scottish Reformation, set out for his travel in Italy. King Charles partly opposed, partly temporised, and partly yielded; but the strong will of the Scottish laity bore down all his resistance. On the 21st of November, 1638, a General Assembly of the Scottish Church met in Glasgow Cathedral, the Marquis of Hamilton sitting as Lord High Commissioner to represent the king. This Glasgow Assembly swept away King James's Five Articles, swept away King Charles's Canons and the Service Book, and swept away the Bishops, finishing its labours on the 20th of December. Meanwhile, both sides had been preparing arms in case of need, and news of what seemed to be the inevitable conflict, with a sense of what the letting out of waters might be if the strife began, caused Milton to abridge his term of travel.

In the spring of 1639, King Charles was at the head of an army at York, and the Covenanters were being drilled into an organised force by Alexander Leslie, who had been serving his apprenticeship to battle with the Dutch against Spain, and had been a field-marshal under Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War for the defence of German Protestantism, which had yet nine of its thirty years to run. At the end of May the English and Scottish armies faced each other at Berwick, on opposite sides of the Tweed, every Scottish company having colours inscribed in golden letters, "For Christ, Crown and Covenant." But no blow was struck, a pacification was agreed upon at Berwick; and though the king would not recognise any acts of the Glasgow Assembly, he yielded the essential points by promising a free General Assembly, at Edinburgh, on the 6th of August, followed by a Parliament on the 20th, to make its resolutions law. For a time, then, civil war was averted; and so matters stood when, at the end of June, or early in July, 1639, Milton returned from his travel in Italy.

In August the General Assembly met in Edinburgh, passed an Act cancelling all that had been done since 1606 for the

establishment of Episcopacy in the Church of Scotland, and restored the old Presbyterian system. Having secured their own liberties, the Scottish Presbyterians proceeded to attack the liberties of others; they renewed the Covenant, required all to swear to it, and asked for civil pains and penalties on Roman Catholics and others who refused. Parliament met on the day after the closing of the Assembly, but King Charles prorogued it.

John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who had lived in London since his deposition, died at the close of this year, 1639, aged seventy-four. He left behind him a *History of the Church of Scotland, beginning the Year of Our Lord* 203, *and continued to the end of the Reign of King James VI.*, which was first published in folio in 1655. It is an honest book, written by a strong upholder of Episcopacy. Ten years younger than Spottiswoode was another actor in these scenes, **David Calderwood,** a Presbyterian divine, who told the story as a strong opponent of Episcopacy, and dealt with that part about which he could give valuable information in his *True History of the Church of Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation unto the end of the Reign of James VI.* Calderwood died in 1651.

Charles I. endeavoured to prevent the confirmation of the Acts of the Edinburgh Assembly, by a Scottish Parliament. He therefore prorogued the Parliament to October, then again to November, then to June, 1640. A technical blunder enabled the Scots to turn deaf ears to the next prorogation; their Parliament met, and soon afterwards their General Assembly met also, at Aberdeen. In August an army, under Leslie, marched southward from Edinburgh, routed the king's troops at Newburn, and on the 30th had possession of Newcastle. In England, Charles, needing money, after governing for eleven years without a Parliament, had summoned one in April to dissolve it in May. It sat for three weeks, and was the Short Parliament. The Covenanters were in Newcastle, and were to be paid £850 a day by the king while the terms of peace were being arranged; and a new Parliament, to become memorable as the Long Parliament—it sat for thirteen years—was opened on the 3rd of November, 1640. On the 11th of November, it impeached the Earl of Strafford, who was committed to the Tower on the 25th. On the 18th of December, Archbishop Laud was impeached, and on the 1st of March, 1641, he was sent to the Tower. On the 22nd of March, Strafford's trial began, and on the 12th of May, Strafford was executed. Among other early

proceedings of this Parliament were the release of political prisoners—that brought **William Prynne** (§ 36), among others, back in triumph to London—abolition of the Star Chamber and of the Court of High Commission; peace with Scotland; and discussion of Episcopacy.

In December, 1640, fifteen thousand Londoners petitioned Parliament for the rooting out of the Episcopal system, with all its dependencies. Other petitions followed, and were referred to a Committee of Religion, which was to consider the whole question, and report to the House. **Joseph Hall**, Bishop of Norwich (ch. vii. § 92, ch. viii. § 15), who had published a treatise, in 1640, on *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, issued at the end of January, 1641, his *Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament. By a Dutifull Sonne of the Church.* The question thus raised occupied many earnest minds in 1641, and was in that year the chief subject of controversy. John Milton took part in the argument.

57. **Sir Henry Wotton,** who had been Provost of Eton since 1624, and who had written a most cordial letter to his young neighbour, John Milton, before he left for Italy, died, at the age of seventy-two, six months after Milton's return. He had been, as a young man, secretary to the Earl of Essex, had then lived in Florence, and served the Grand Duke of Tuscany as a diplomatist. Being sent as ambassador to James VI. of Scotland, Wotton pleased that monarch so well that he was employed by him, when King of England, as his ambassador to Venice, and to princes of Germany. He was made Provost of Eton at the close of James's reign; and in the same year, 1624, he published his *Elements of Architecture.* Wotton wrote also on the State of Christendom, a Survey of Education, Poems, and other pieces, collected and published in 1651, by Izaak Walton, as *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ; or, a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of Sundry Personages, and other Incomparable Pieces of Language and Art. By Sir H. Wotton, Knt.*

During the last months of Wotton's life at Eton, the old provost was much comforted by the society of **John Hales** (born in 1584), who had been made Greek professor at Oxford in 1612, and who had then an Eton fellowship. He died in 1656, and his writings were published in 1659, as *Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable Mr. John Hales, of Eton College.* The most interesting part is the series of letters written by Hales

from the Synod of Dort. Having gone to the Hague, in 1616, as chaplain to the English Ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, Hales went to the Synod of Dort, where his sympathies were with the Arminians; and in letters and documents sent to Sir Dudley Carleton, he has left an interesting narrative of the proceedings of the Synod. Hales was sixteen years younger than his friend Sir Henry Wotton, and eighteen years older than his friend **William Chillingworth**, who was born at Oxford, in 1602, and had Laud for his godfather. Chillingworth became a Fellow of Trinity, was converted to the Roman faith by John Fisher, the Jesuit, re-converted by Laud, returned to Oxford, inquired freely into religion, and published, in 1637, dedicated to Charles I., his *Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way to Salvation.* Chillingworth's inquiry led him to dissent from the Athanasian Creed and some points of the Thirty-nine Articles. That stayed his promotion; but in 1638 he was induced to subscribe as a sign of his desire for peace and union, but not of intellectual assent. He then obtained preferment in the Church, and was in the Civil War so thoroughly Royalist that he acted as engineer at the siege of Gloucester. He was taken prisoner at the siege of Arundel, and died in 1644. One of the worst examples of the bitterness of theologic strife was published immediately after his death, by Francis Cheynell, in a pamphlet called *Chillingworthi Novissima; or, the Sickness, Heresy, Death, and Burial of William Chillingworth.* He was the friend of Laud, and therefore counted as an enemy by Francis Cheynell; but he was a man of the best temper, as well as a clear close reasoner.

58. The religious mind of England had in the days of Charles I., as always, manifold expression. There were many readers of the *Resolves, Divine, Political, and Moral*, published in 1628, by **Owen Feltham**, a man of middle-class ability, with a religious mind, who was maintained in the household of the Earl of Thomond. His Resolves are one hundred and forty-six essays on moral and religious themes, the writing of a quiet churchman, who paid little attention to the rising controversies of his day.

Oriental scholarship was represented by **John Lightfoot**, born at Stoke-on-Trent, in 1602, who had been of Milton's college, at Cambridge, then was tutor at Repton School, then held a curacy in Shropshire, and became chaplain to Sir Rowland Cotton, a great student of Hebrew. This gave Lightfoot his impulse to a study of the Oriental languages, and in 1629

he published his *Erubhim; or, Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical*, dedicated to Sir Rowland, who gave him, two years afterwards, the rectory of Ashley, Staffordshire.

Henry More represented Platonism. He was born in 1614, at Grantham, in Lincolnshire, educated at Eton and Christ's College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship. He abandoned Calvinism, was influenced by Tauler's "Theologia Germanica," and fed his spiritual aspirations with writings of Plato and the Neoplatonists, Plotinus and Iamblichus, and Platonists of Italy at the time of the revival of scholarship. Henry More was for a time tutor in noble families, obtained a prebend at Gloucester, but soon resigned it in favour of a friend. Content with a small competence, he declined preferment, and sought to live up to his own ideal as a Christian Platonist. He lived on through the reign of Charles II., and died in 1687, aged seventy-three. The Platonism which had been a living influence upon Europe at the close of the fifteenth century had its last representative in Henry More. In 1642 he published "Ψυχώδια *Platonica; or, a Platonical Song of the Soul*," in four books; with prefaces and interpretations, published in 1647, as "Philosophicall Poems." The first book, "Psychozoia" (the Life of the Soul) contained "a Christiano-Platonicall display of life." The Immortality of the Soul was the theme of the second part, "Psychathanasia," annexed to which was a metrical "Essay upon the Infinity of Worlds out of Platonick Principles." The third book contained "A Confutation of the Sleep of the Soul, after Death," and was called "Antipsychopannychia," with an Appendix on "The Præ-existency of the Soul." Then came "Antimonopsychia," or the fourth part of the "Song of the Soul," containing a confutation of the Unity of Souls; whereunto is annexed a paraphrase upon Apollo's answer concerning Plotinus his soul departed this life. This poem was throughout written in the Spenserian stanza, with imitation also of Spenser's English. The books were divided into cantos, and each canto headed in Spenser's manner. Thus, the first canto of Book I. is headed:

> "Struck with the sense of God's good will
> The immortality
> Of souls I sing: praise with my quill
> Plato's philosophy."

But there is no better reason why it should not have been all written in prose, than the evidence it gives that Platonism came

as poetry to Henry More, although he was not himself a great poet. Dr. Henry More also published, with a dedication to Cudworth, the Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, his *Threefold Cabbala*, a triple interpretation of the three first chapters of Genesis, with a *Defence* of it. The Jewish Cabbala (from *kibbal*, "to receive") was conceived to be a traditional doctrine or exposition of the Pentateuch, which Moses received from the mouth of God while he was on the mount with Him. Henry More's "Threefold Cabbala" was, he said "the dictate of the free reason of my minde, heedfully considering the written text of Moses, and carefully canvasing the expositions of such interpreters as are ordinarily to be had upon him." The threefold division of his "Cabbala" was into literal, philosophic, and moral. More wrote also against Atheism, and on theological topics.

Intense religious feeling, Puritan in tone, was expressed in the sermons and books of **Richard Sibbes** (born in 1577), who was Master of Catherine Hall when Milton was at Cambridge, and a frequent preacher in the University. Of the two great English Universities, Cambridge was the stronghold of the Puritans. The persecuted Puritans who had left home for the New World called the town Cambridge in which they founded, in 1638, their first university, named after a private benefactor, John Harvard, a clergyman of Charlestown. Sermons by Sibbes were published as his *Saints' Cordials*, in 1629. To his *Bruised Reede and Smoking Flax*, in which other sermons were collected, Baxter said that he owed his conversion. Richard Sibbes had died in 1635.

59. Two clever clergymen, one aged thirty-three, the other twenty-seven, Thomas Fuller and John Wilkins, were, in 1641 taking opposite sides in the great controversy of the day **Thomas Fuller**, born at Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, in 1608, was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge. He became a popular preacher at St. Benet's, Cambridge, then obtained a prebend at Salisbury, and became Rector of Broad Winsor, in Dorsetshire, when he married. His first publication, at the age of twenty-three, was a poem, in three parts, *David's Hainous Sinne, Heartie Repentance, Heavie Punishment.* In 1639 appeared, in folio, Fuller's first work of any magnitude, *The History of the Holy Warre.* His wife died, and in 1641 he came to London as lecturer at the Savoy Church, in the Strand, where his vivacity of speech not only brought together crowded audiences within the walls, but also procured him listeners outside

the windows. In 1642, Fuller published one of the most characteristic of his works, *The Holy and Profane State*, a collection of ingenious pieces of character writing, moral essays, and short biographical sketches. Troubled as the times were, the book went through four editions before 1660. The quips and conceits of Fuller's style represent the later Euphuism in its best form, for Fuller had religious feeling and high culture, good humour, liberality, quick sense of character, and lively wit, which the taste of the day enabled him to pour out in an artificial form, with a complete freedom from affectation. Culture and natural wit made his quaintness individual and true. The ingenuity of **John Wilkins** took a scientific turn. He was born in 1614, the son of a goldsmith, at Oxford, was educated in Oxford, graduated, took orders, and was chaplain, first to Lord Say, then to the Count Palatine of the Rhine. When the Civil War broke out, Fuller went to the king, at Oxford; and John Wilkins took the Solemn League and Covenant. In 1638, Wilkins, aged twenty-four, published anonymously, *The Discovery of a New World; or, a Discourse tending to prove that 'tis probable there may be another Habitable World in the Moon.* In 1640 this was followed by a *Discourse concerning a New Planet: tending to prove that 'tis probable our Earth is one of the Planets.* Wilkins's book on the world in the moon closed with an argument for the proposition "that 'tis possible for some of our posterity to find out a conveyance to this other world; and if there be inhabitants there, to have commerce with them." His other tract, in support of the doctrine set forth by Copernicus, in 1543, and developed in the time of Charles I. by Galileo, included a temperate endeavour to meet those prevalent theological objections to which Galileo had been forced to bend. It was in 1632 that Galileo published, at Florence, the "Dialogues," in which he proved the double movement of the earth, round the sun and round its own axis. In June, 1637, Galileo, seventy years old, was sentenced to imprisonment by the Inquisition at Rome, and forced to abjure the "heresy" of "holding and believing that the sun is the centre of the world, and immovable; and that the earth is not the centre, and that it moves." It may be added of Galileo, who, by ground glasses fitted to an organ-pipe, discovered the uneven surface of the moon, and taught his pupils to measure its mountains by their shadows, who discovered Jupiter's satellites, Saturn's ring, the sun's spots, and the starry nature of the Milky Way, that he

became blind in 1636, and was living, blind, at his country house near Florence, when, during his Italian journey, Milton spoke with him.

60. Soon after his return to England, **John Milton** settled in London, by taking lodgings for a short time at the house of a tailor in St. Bride's Churchyard, and there he undertook the teaching of his sister Anne's two boys, Edward and John Phillips, aged nine and eight. Edward Phillips, to whom Anne Milton was married in 1624, died in 1631, leaving his widow with these boys, then babies, their only surviving children. Mrs. Phillips had had a considerable dowry from her father, and the bulk of her husband's property was left to her. When her brother John undertook the education of her boys, she had taken for second husband Thomas Agar, a widower, who succeeded also to Edward Phillips's post of Secondary in the Crown Office. While teaching his nephews, Milton, in 1640, was sketching plans of sacred dramas, dwelling especially upon "Paradise Lost" as the subject of a drama: suggesting also as themes, "Abram from Morea; or, Isack redeem'd," "The Deluge," "Sodom," "Baptistes," noting subjects also from British history. Milton "made no long stay," his nephew tells us, in his lodgings in St. Bride's Churchyard: "necessity of having a place to dispose his books in, and other goods fit for the furnishing of a good handsome house, hastening him to take one; and, accordingly, a pretty garden-house he took, in Aldersgate Street, at the end of an entry, and therefore the fitter for his turn, besides that there are few streets in London more free from noise than that." There he worked hard, and had his two nephews to board with him. There also he began, in 1641, the second part of his literary life, put aside, at the age of thirty-two, his high ambition as a poet, and, devoting himself to the duty that lay nearest to his hand, gave the best years of his manhood, the twenty years from thirty-two to fifty-two, to those questions of his day that touched, as he thought, the essentials of English liberty.

In 1641 the great argument was for and against Episcopacy. Bishop Hall's *Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament* appeared at the end of January, in defence of the Liturgy and of Episcopal Government. Towards the close of March appeared *An Answer to a Book entituled an Humble Remonstrance . . Written by Smectymnuus.* This name was compounded of the initials of the five divines who took part in its production, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy,

Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. Thomas Young, Milton's old tutor, was chief author of the pamphlet. **James Usher** (§ 17), now Archbishop of Armagh, was urged by Bishop Hall to add the weight of his knowledge of Church antiquities to the argument for Episcopacy, and he published, towards the end of May, *The Judgment of Doctor Rainoldes touching the Originall of Episcopacy, more largely confirmed out of Antiquity.* A week or two later, when the Bishops' Exclusion Bill was awaiting the decision of the Lords, and when the Commons, on the 27th of May, had expressed their mind more strongly by passing the second reading of a "Root and Branch" Bill, "For the utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops," &c., Milton published his first pamphlet, entitled, *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England, and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it: Two Books, written to a Friend.* In the first book he argued that, in and after the reign of Henry VIII., Reformation of the Church was most hindered by retaining ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and by giving irresponsible power to bishops, who, though they had removed the pope, yet "hugged the popedom and shared the authority among themselves." In his second book, Milton argued from history that the political influence of prelacy had always been opposed to liberty. This pamphlet of ninety pages was followed quickly by a shorter pamphlet in twenty-four pages, chiefly in reply to Usher, and entitled *Of Prelatical Episcopacy; and whether it may be deduc'd from the Apostolical Times by vertue of those Testimonies which are alleg'd to that purpose in some late Treatises, one whereof goes under the Name of James, Archbishop of Armagh.* While the controversy was at its height, Milton's pen had no rest. Bishop Hall had replied promptly to Thomas Young and his fellow-writers, with *A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance against the Frivolous and False Exceptions of Smectymnuus.* This was a thick pamphlet. The Smectymnuans replied again for themselves in a thicker pamphlet; and Milton aided them with his own third pamphlet, *Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*, which is a rough pulling to pieces of Hall's pamphlet, with sharp comment upon successive passages and phrases.

On the 1st of December the Grand Remonstrance was presented by the Commons to the king, at Hampton Court. On the 31st of December, the Commons voted that the House be

resolved into a committee to take into consideration the militia of the kingdom. On the 3rd of January, 1642, the Attorney-General, at the bar of the House of Lords, accused, in the king's name, of high treason, Lord Kimbolton and five members of the House of Commons—Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Haslerig, and Strode. On the same day the king sent, without warrant of Privy Council or of magistrate, a serjeant-at-arms to the House of Commons to require of the Speaker that the five members be given in custody. On the following day the king came to the House with armed force to take them, but leave had been given to them to absent themselves. On the 10th of January, Charles left Whitehall for Hampton Court. Next day the five members were brought in a popular triumph to the House of Commons. On the 14th of February, the king, who returned no more to London till the end, gave his assent to the Bill which excluded bishops from the House of Lords. On the 16th the queen, taking the crown jewels with her, went to Holland. She was in search of aid for the impending struggle. The king, who refused assent to the Bill for regulating the militia, went to York. On the 23rd of April he appeared, with a body of horse, before Hull, and demanded admission to the town and fortress. The governor replied respectfully that he had sworn to keep the place at the disposal of the Parliament, and could not admit the king. Thirty-two peers and sixty-five members of the House of Commons then joined the king at York; those who remained formed a Parliament no longer asking the king's sanction for its acts. On the 5th of May, Parliament issued its ordinance for the militia. Civil war was inevitable; there was contest between each party for possession of fortified places and gunpowder. On the 22nd of August, the king set up on Nottingham Castle the royal standard, with a red battle-flag over it—a formal act signifying that the kingdom was in a state of war—and called upon his subjects to attend him. Next day the king heard that the army of the rebels—for such he had now declared them—was, horse, foot, and cannon, at Northampton.

While this was the course of events, John Milton continued his discussion of Episcopacy. In the first months of 1642 he published, near the time when the king gave his assent to the Bill excluding bishops from the House of Lords, the fourth of his pamphlets on this subject, now first setting his name upon the title-page. This was *The Reason of Church Governmen urg'd against Prelaty, by Mr. John Milton: In Two Books*

It was a careful expression of his argument that Church government is necessary, but that Prelacy is not the proper form of it He suggested rather a government by presbyters and deacons, with free debate and vote in parochial consistories, representing single congregations; and a General Assembly, elected as a parliament for the whole Church. In the opening of the second book he expressed his spirit, as a writer, in the midst of strife on questions of this kind. The duty was burdensome. "For, surely, to every good and peaceable man, it must in nature needs be a hateful thing to be the displeaser and molester of thousands; much better would it like him doubtless to be the messenger of gladness and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happiness. But when God commands to take the trumpet and blow a dolorous or jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall conceal." When the Word was in the heart of Jeremiah, as a burning fire shut up in his bones, he was weary with forbearing, and could not stay; "which might teach these times not suddenly to condemn all things that are sharply spoken or vehemently written, as proceeding out of stomach, virulence, or ill-nature." When there was so strong a resisting power to contend with, "no man can be justly offended with him that shall endeavour to impart or bestow, without any gain to himself, those sharp and saving words which would be a terror and a torment in him to keep back. For me, I have determined to lay up, as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth, when I shall think it available in so dear a concernment as the Church's good." If the end of the struggle be oppression of the Church, how shall he bear in his old age the reproach of the voice within himself, saying, "When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all thou hast read or studied to utter in her behalf? Yet ease and leisure was given thee for thy retired thoughts out of the sweat of other men. Thou hast the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified; but when the cause of God and His Church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listened if He could hear thy voice among His zealous servants, but thou wert dumb as a beast; from henceforward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee." In this spirit Milton maintained throughout his prose writing that which he believed to be the cause of

liberty. Were he wise only to his own ends, he said, he would write with leisurely care upon such a subject as of itself might catch applause, and should not choose "this manner of writing wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account, but of my left hand." Many a man of genial temper and predominating gentleness of life has gone as a soldier into battle, and struck death about him without stopping to discriminate the true merits of those whose skulls he cleft. He knew only that one of two sides was to prevail, and while the battle raged he was to do his duty as a soldier. In bloodless war of controversy for a vital cause, where the appeal is on a few broad questions to national opinion, there may be like need to beat roughly down opposing arguments, to roll in the dust and march over the credit of opposing reasoners, without staying a blow to an opponent's credit as a reasoner from just consideration of his feelings and impartial weighing of his merits. The day may come when we shall all argue with philosophical precision, and call equal attention to the merits and the faults of those over whom we struggle to prevail. It certainly is nearer than it was in Milton's time. Controversy then was simply a strong wrestle with the single desire in each wrestler to secure the fall of his antagonist. So Milton wrestled, and gave many a rough hug with his intellectual arm, but he sought only the triumph of his cause by strife of mind with mind: his antagonists opposed to him argument rough as his own, with coarse abuse; and their supporters, when they could, had argued with the prison and the pillory. But Milton never called for pains and penalties on an opponent. That is not true of the Long Parliament. At Christmas, 1641, it sent William, Archbishop of York, and twelve bishops, of whom one was Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich (ch. vii. § 92), to the Tower for a protest against acts done in Parliament while they were kept away by force of tumult in the streets. Bishop Hall remained in the Tower till the beginning of May, and during his imprisonment appeared a reply to Milton's "Animadversions." The writer of much of this reply was probably the Rev. Robert Hall, the bishop's son. It was called *A Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and Scurrilous Libell, intituled Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus.* This modest confuter says of John Milton that "Of late, since he was out of wit and clothes, he is now clothed in serge and confined to a

parlour; where he blasphemes God and the king as ordinarily erewhile he drank sack and swore. Hear him speak! . . . Christian! dost thou like these passages? or doth thy heart rise against such unseemly beastliness? . . . Nay, but take this head . . . Horrid blasphemy! You that love Christ, and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest yourselves smart for his impunity." Milton replied with *An Apology against a Pamphlet call'd A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions of the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus.* It includes a dignified reply to the personal slanders, in which Milton expressed the true spirit of his life, and censured the butcherly speech "against one who in all his writing spake not that any man's skin should be rased."

61. Five pamphlets within a year had now represented Milton's part in the argument upon Episcopacy, and he had delivered his mind on the subject. Among the other writers on the question there was one man of genius, nearly five years younger than Milton, opposed to him in opinion but as pure in aspiration, who was made by the king's will Doctor of Divinity, for a pamphlet called *Episcopacy Asserted.* This was **Jeremy Taylor.** He was born at Cambridge, in August, 1613, the son of a barber, who sent him, when three years old, to a free school then just founded by Dr. Stephen Perse. At thirteen, Jeremy Taylor left this school to enter Caius College as a sizar, or poor scholar. He had proceeded to the degree of M.A., and been ordained by the time he was twenty-one. A college friend then asked young Taylor to preach for him at St. Paul's. He had, like Milton, outward as well as inward beauty, and a poet's mind. Archbishop Laud heard of his sermons, called him to preach at Lambeth, and became his friend. Laud having more patronage and influence at Oxford than at Cambridge, Taylor was incorporated there, and the archbishop procured for him a Fellowship of All Souls, by using his sole authority as Visitor of the College to overrule the statutes which required that candidates should be of three years' standing in the University. Laud also made the young divine his chaplain; and in March, 1637, when Jeremy Taylor was not yet twenty-four, obtained for him the rectory of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire. Two years later, in May, 1639, Taylor was married, in his own church, to Phœbe Langsdale. Three years afterwards his youngest son died, in May, 1642, and his wife died shortly afterwards. He was left with two infant sons, at the time when the breach between the king and

Commons had become irreparable. Then he was made one of the king's chaplains, and joined the king; perhaps when, in August, he was on his way to hoist the royal standard at Nottingham. The infant boys must have been left to the care of his wife's relations, and for some years remained with them. In October, 1642, the Parliament resolved on sequestration of the livings of the loyal clergy. Jeremy Taylor, like Herrick and others, was deprived. The indecisive battle of Edge Hill was fought in the same month. In November, the king marched upon London: there was a fight at Brentford. The Londoners mustered their trained bands. It was the occasion of Milton's sonnet, "When the Assault was Intended to the City." But the Royalists retired, and at the end of November the king was at winter quarters in Oxford. There Jeremy Taylor published his *Episcopacy Asserted*, and was rewarded, at the age of twenty-nine, with the degree of Doctor of Divinity. On the 26th of January, 1643, Parliament passed a Bill for the utter abolition of Episcopacy.

62. **John Milton** took no part in the strife of swords, nor did he write a syllable to animate it. His duty to God was to make full use of his reason. For him the great inspiring truth was, not that Englishmen drew swords on one another—glory of animal battle we share with the dogs and cats—but that they were drawn to this by a conflict of opinion. On one side was a belief that discord would be endless if Englishmen were not in Church and State bound by allegiance to a single authority, ordained by God; on the other side, a belief that such authority in Church and State had claimed for itself too great a power to restrain men where God made them free. Authority should not decree for them the form of their opinions. Yet very many fought on this side against authority over themselves who were too ready to impose their own opinions upon others. Milton was true to his own principle. He was against the Parliament when it put thought in fetters. The passions and stupidities of men had made the Civil War a dread necessity, but the work of bloodshed was no work for him who "in all his writing spake not that any man's skin should be rased." To each man his place; and Milton's place was to keep watch over the course of opinion while the contest raged. His life would have belied his writing if Milton had ever shot a man for his opinions. His own brother, Christopher, was a Royalist, and difference of opinion caused no break in the household harmony. Christopher had

been called to the bar in January, 1640, and in 1641 had settled at Reading, with his wife and one or two young children. The father, too, left Horton then, and lived with Christopher at Reading. In April, 1643, strife was resumed with the siege of Reading, which on the 24th surrendered to the forces of Parliament. Milton took also about this time—at the end of May or in June—a wife from a Royalist family with which he had an old acquaintance. This was Mary Powell, eldest daughter in the large family of Richard Powell, of Forest Hill, three or four miles from Oxford, then the head-quarters of the Royalists. The old home of the Milton family was in the same part of Oxfordshire, and between Milton and the Powells there had been old neighbourly relations. John Milton, the poet, when at college, had money of his own. Perhaps the grandfather, who had quarrelled with his father, did what is not uncommon in family quarrels, and left property over the son's head to the son's son. At any rate, John Milton, when at Cambridge, and twenty years old, had lent £500 to Richard Powell. The Powells, therefore, were old friends, and to them Milton, aged not quite thirty-five, went for the wife, then in her eighteenth year, whom he brought home to Aldersgate Street about the end of June, 1643. Her experience was of a Cavalier country gentleman's way of free housekeeping and social enjoyment. The philosophic calm of the house in Aldersgate Street was new to her, and at first irksome. In the first weeks of marriage those whose lives have differed must learn how to make their lives agree, and it must needs take more than a month to do that where home-grown ways, in many respects opposite, have to be changed or modified, and brought into accord. Milton's young wife was allowed or encouraged by her family to fly from the first difficulty. "By the time," says Milton's nephew, "she had for a month or thereabout led a philosophical life, her friends, possibly incited by her own desire, made earnest suit by letter to have her company the remaining part of the summer." She was to return at Michaelmas, but did not. At this time Milton began to receive other pupils than his two nephews, and through the disestablishment of Christopher after the surrender of Reading, soon after Milton's wife had gone back to Forest Hill, his father came to live with him.

When Milton's newly-married wife went to her home, near Shotover, the queen had just joined King Charles at Oxford, bringing more troops with her; the Royalists had been victorious

in Somersetshire and Wiltshire: strife was embittered, Royalist hope was rising. On the 27th of July, Bristol was taken by Prince Rupert. A note from Colonel Cromwell, on the 6th of August, recognised "how sadly our affairs stand." The change of prospect might have led the Powells to prompt or encourage a separation of their daughter from John Milton. In September there was published by the Parliament the text of the "Solemn League and Covenant," which was to bring in Scottish aid. Commissioners to Scotland had asked for a Civil League, the Scotch offered a Religious Covenant; the compromise took form that might be made to content both sides, as the Solemn League and Covenant, which, after slight modification by the Westminster Assembly, the Parliament swore to maintain. In the middle of January, 1644, the Scots, again under Leslie, who was now Earl of Leven, entered England.

Milton sought in vain to win back his wife; and being left with nothing of matrimony but its chain, his mind was turned into a course of thought upon the bond of marriage. The result was, in 1644, his treatise in two books on *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, addressed to the Parliament and the Westminster Assembly then sitting, written wholly without passion or personal reference, and arguing from a pure and spiritual sense of marriage as a bond for the mutual aid and comfort of souls rather than of bodies. He asked that among reforms then under discussion there might be included a revisal of the canon law, which allowed divorce only on grounds less valid than "that indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace." When marriage was found to be rather an unconquerable hindrance than a help to the true ends of life, Milton desired that it might be ended by deliberate consent of both husband and wife, religiously, in presence of the Church. For he said, "It is less breach of wedlock to part, with wise and quiet consent betimes, than still to foil and profane that mystery of joy and union with a polluting sadness and perpetual distemper: for it is not the outward continuing of marriage that keeps whole that covenant, but whatsoever does most according to peace and love, whether in marriage or in divorce, he it is that breaks marriage least; it being so often written that "Love only is the fulfilling of every com-

mandment." Right or wrong in opinion, Milton wrote this treatise in no spirit of bitterness. His last words in it are, "That God the Son hath put all other things under His own feet, but His commandments he hath left all under the feet of Charity." In a second pamphlet, published in the same year, 1644, Milton supported his case by translating and abridging the like opinions of Martin Bucer from a book of his on "The Kingdom of Christ," addressed to Edward VI. This pamphlet was addressed also to the Parliament, as *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce.*

63. But this was not the only nor even the chief subject occupying Milton's thoughts in the year 1644. In that year he addressed to the Parliament another writing, which is the noblest of his English prose works, *Areopagitica; a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Vnlicenc'd Printing, to the Parlament of England.*

John Selden had said in Parliament, in 1628, "There is no law to prevent the printing of any books in England; only a decree of the Star Chamber." Licensing of new books was placed in the power of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his substitutes and dependents, who used, we are told, "that strictness that nothing could pass the press without his or their approbation, but the authors must run a hazard." The Star Chamber, under Charles I., had sought to make more effective the decrees and ordinances of Queen Elizabeth (ch. vii. § 92) for the control of the press, and the suppression of books that contained opinions distasteful to the Government. In July, 1637, a stringent decree was issued for the control of printers, booksellers, and the works issued and sold by them, and to restrain unlicensed importations. All books of Divinity, Physic, Philosophy, and Poetry were to be licensed either by the Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of London, or by substitutes of their appointment. Check was thus put on the reprint of books of divinity formerly licensed. A new licence was denied, for instance, to Fox's "Book of Martyrs." Historical works seem to have been submitted to the Secretary of State for his sanction. To May's "Edward III." is prefixed, "I have perused this book, and conceive it very worthy to be published.—Io. Coke, Knight, Principall Secretary of State, Whitehall, 17th of November, 1634." Besides His Majesty's printers and the printers allowed for the Universities, the number of master printers was, by the decree of 1637, limited to twenty, who were named; and no new

printer could be licensed until the place of one of the twenty was left vacant for him by death, censure, or otherwise. It was decreed also that there should be only four licensed type-founders, also named, and, like the printers, under strictest oversight, and there were arrangements for the hunting out of all unlicensed presses. Now the Long Parliament, which had abolished the Star Chamber, set up a Committee of Examinations for control of printers, search for books and pamphlets disapproved by them, and seizure of the persons by whom such works were published or sold; and on the 14th of June, 1643, the Lords and Commons ordered the publication of their ordinance "for the regulating of printing, and for suppressing the great late abuses and frequent disorders in printing many false, scandalous, seditious, libellous, and unlicensed pamphlets, to the great defamation of religion and Government." Milton met this by publishing, in November, 1644, a noble protest, as his plea for liberty of thought and utterance. "Why," he asked, "should we affect a rigour contrary to the manner of God and of Nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted are, to the trial of virtue and the exercise of truth." "And now," he says again, "the time in speciall is, by priviledge to write and speak what may help to the furder discussing of matters in agitation. The Temple of *Janus* with his two *controversal* faces might now not unsignificantly be set open. And though all the windes of doctrin were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors, in a free and open encounter. Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of *Geneva*, fram'd and fabric't already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy, and oppose, if it come not first in at their casements. What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, *to seek for wisdom as for hidd'n treasures* early and late, that another order shall enjoyn us to know nothing but by statute. When a man hath been labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnisht out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battel raung'd, scatter'd and defeated all objections in his way, calls

out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument, for his opponents then to sculk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licencing where the challenger should passe, though it be valour enough in souldiership, is but weaknes and cowardise in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, no strategems, no licencings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power."

Milton called this tract "Areopagitica," with reference to an oration of Isocrates, "the old man eloquent" of his sonnet to Lady Margaret Ley, whom

> "That dishonest victory
> At Chæronea, fatal to liberty,
> Kill'd with report."

Isocrates, who had Demosthenes among his pupils, is said to have been an old man of ninety-eight when he ceased to take food after receiving the news of the battle of Cheronea (B.C. 338). Twenty-one of his sixty speeches are extant, and one of these, inscribed "Areopagitic," was a polished argument in the form of deliberative, not popular, oratory designed to persuade the High Court of Areopagus to reform itself. Milton was seeking to persuade the High Court of Parliament, our Areopagus, to reform itself, by revoking a tyrannical decree against liberty of the press. He took, therefore, for his model this noble Greek oration, written with discretion and high feeling, but without harshness of reproof. He uttered nobly his own soul and the soul of England on behalf of that free interchange of thought which Englishmen, permitted or not, have always practised, and by which they have laboured safely forward as a nation.

Milton published also, in 1644, his short letter on "Education," addressed to **Samuel Hartlib.** Samuel Hartlib was of a good Polish family; ancestors of his had been Privy Councillors to Emperors of Germany. He came to England in 1640, and his active beneficent mind brought him into friendship with many of the earnest thinkers of the time. In 1641, Hartlib published *A Brief Relation of that which hath been lately attempted to procure Ecclesiasticall Peace among Protestants*, and a *Description of Macuria*, his ideal of a well-ordered state. In the midst of the strife of civil war, Hartlib was wholly occupied with scientific study, having especial regard to the

extension and improvement of education, and the development of agriculture and manufactures. In 1642 he translated from the Latin of a Moravian pastor, John Amos Komensky, two treatises on *A Reformation of Schooles.* His zeal for the better education of the people, as a remedy for their distresses, caused him not only to give thought to the education of the poor, but also to attempt the establishment of a school for the improved education of the rich; and he asked Milton to print his ideas on the subject; hence the tract of eight pages published by Milton, in 1644, without title-page, but inscribed on the top in one line, *Of Education. To Mr. Samuel Hartlib.* In 1645, Hartlib edited a treatise on "Flemish Agriculture," which gave counsel that added greatly to the wealth of England. Among Hartlib's schemes was a plan for a sort of guild of science, which should unite students of nature into a brotherhood while they sought knowledge in the way set forth by Francis Bacon.

64. Bacon's philosophy had arisen out of that part of the energy of thought, quickened along its whole line, which prompted free inquiry into nature. It gave new impulse and a definite direction to the movement that produced it. Scientific studies had new charms for many minds, and there was an enthusiasm for experiment in the Baconian way (§ 22). Many a quiet thinker, to whom civil war was terrible, turned aside from the tumult of the times, and found rest for his mind in the calm study of nature. Such men were drawn together by community of taste, driven together also by the discords round about them; and the influence of Bacon's books upon the growing energy of scientific thought was aided by the Civil War.

Robert Boyle, the chemist, was a young man in these days. The outside dignity of the Boyle family was established by Richard, son of Roger Boyle, of Canterbury. Richard Boyle went to Ireland, married an heiress, who soon died, became secretary for the Government in Munster, used his opportunities of getting estates cheap, became enormously rich, married another heiress, and died Earl of Cork in 1643, leaving seven sons and eight daughters, with estates enough to provide handsomely for all of them. His fifth son was **Roger Boyle,** born in 1621, who at twenty married a daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, went with his bride to Ireland, defended his father's castle of Lismore in the Rebellion, and often brought armed force to the aid of his neighbours. We shall meet with him again. The seventh son of the Earl of Cork was born in 1626, the year

of Bacon's death, and he was **Robert Boyle**, educated between eight and twelve years old at Eton, then at Geneva. When his father died, in 1643, Robert Boyle, aged seventeen, returned to England. By advice of his eldest sister, Lady Ranelagh, he shunned the strife of parties, and devoted himself to study. Lady Ranelagh having become a widow, added her income to Robert's, and kept house for him. In 1644, Robert Boyle became a friend of Hartlib's, and entered heartily into his beneficent schemes. He became also a friend of Milton's, for Lady Ranelagh sent her son and her nephew, the Earl of Barrimore, to Milton's school. Another of Milton's pupils was Sir Thomas Gardiner, of Essex. In Robert Boyle the fresh study of nature quickened love of God; his scientific thought was blended with simple and deep religious feeling.

Dr. Thomas Browne, of Norwich, who did not become **Sir Thomas Browne** until the reign of Charles II., was educated at Winchester and Oxford. He practised physic for a time in Oxfordshire, married, went to Ireland, France, and Italy; on his way home through Holland was made M.D. at Leyden, returned to England, and in 1636 settled at Norwich. In 1642 he published his *Religio Medici* (the Religion of a Physician), rich in the original quaintness that was then especially enjoyed, full of learning, Latinism, acute perception, and courageous ingenuity, and with religious depths where now and then the formalist suspected shallows, with delight in knowledge, acceptance of the scientific errors of the time, and bold feeling in right and wrong directions for new matter of thought. In 1646, Dr. Browne of Norwich published his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (Epidemic False Doctrines); *or, Inquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors*, which showed the scientific mind itself accepting uncorrected errors of the learned upon which, in our thoughtless moods, we may now look back with surprise. The men of science had only made a fresh start with more settled determination, and a better guide upon the road to truth. But Bacon knew no better than his neighbours what they would find on the way. Copernicus had reasoned in vain for him as for others. When Bacon rejected the theory of the crystalline spheres, he added, "Nothing is more false than all these fancies, except perhaps the motions of the earth, which are more false still." John Wilkins (§ 59) was even now one of the few men in England for whom Galileo had not spoken in vain. "Smectymnuus," opposing one of Bishop Hall's assertions, took the notion "that the earth moves"

as a commonplace for an absurdity: "We shall show anon that there is no more truth in this assertion than if he had said with Anaxagoras, 'Snow is black,' or with Copernicus, 'The earth moves and the heavens stand still.'" Error so great among the learned showed clearly enough that it was not for science to stand still.

A young man of science who did not separate himself from the contest of the time was the mathematician, **John Wallis**, born in 1616, son of a rich incumbent of Ashford, Kent. His father died when he was six years old, his mother educated him for a learned profession, he went at sixteen to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and is said to have been the first student who maintained Harvey's new doctrine of the circulation of the blood (§ 41). There was no study of mathematics then in Cambridge; the best mathematicians were in London, and their science was little esteemed. Wallis graduated, obtained a fellowship at Queen's College, took orders in 1640, and acted as chaplain in private families until the Civil War. He then took the side of the Parliament, and used his mathematical skill in reading the secret ciphers of the Royalists. The ingenious **John Wilkins** had called attention to various methods of cipher-writing, as well as of telegraphing, in 1641, by his *Mercury; or, the Secret and Swift Messenger: Shewing how a Man may with Privacy and Speed Communicate his Thoughts to a Friend at any Distance.* In 1643, **John Wallis**, aged twenty-seven, obtained the living of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch Street. In the same year the death of his mother gave him independent fortune. In 1644 he married, and was one of the secretaries of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. In 1645 he was among the men of science, and took part in the meetings which led to the formation of the Royal Society. In 1648 he was rector of a church in Ironmonger Lane. He remonstrated against the execution of Charles I., and in 1649 he was appointed Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford.

Sir Henry Spelman, who died in 1641 at the age of eighty, was only twelve years younger than the founder of that professorship (ch. vii. § 89). He had been employed and knighted by James I. He was an orthodox antiquary, who had written in behalf of tithes when John Selden got into trouble for his account of them, and left behind him a valuable archæological glossary, and a collection in two folios, the first published in 1639, the second after his death, of British Ecclesiastical Laws. *Con-*

cilia, Decreta, Leges, Constitutiones in Re Ecclesiastica Orbis Britannici. He had a son, Sir John Spelman, who inherited his tastes, wrote a life of King Alfred, and survived his father but two years. In 1640, Sir Henry Spelman, then eighty years old, founded a lectureship at Cambridge for the study of Anglo-Saxon or First English. Archbishop Usher, at his suggestion, nominated **Abraham Wheloc,** a learned Orientalist, who was already teaching Arabic there. Sir Henry Spelman set apart a portion of his private income and the vicarage of Middleton, as a stipend either for the reading of Anglo-Saxon lectures, or the publishing of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Wheloc preferred private study. He edited Bede's History (ch. ii. § 10), and gave much of his time to the printing of the gospels in Persian, to be used for missionary enterprise.

65. **John Milton** had no great liking for the Westminster Assembly, in which Wallis, the mathematician, acted as a secretary. The prevailing policy in the Assembly and the Parliament was Presbyterian. Milton's "Reason of Church Government against Prelacy" showed that he had no dislike to the Presbyterian system in itself, but it seemed to him that the Scottish Covenanters and their English allies sought to impose it on all men without regard to their consciences, and to set up a spiritual dominion that differed only in name from that which they had thrown down. Milton's battle was against a despotism from without, forcing the consciences of men. The Westminster Assembly first met in July, 1643, summoned by an ordinance of Parliament, to reconstitute the Church in nearer harmony with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad. There were 121 divines and 30 laymen, among whom was John Selden, who took an active part in the debates. The rising body of the Independents, weakly represented in the Assembly, had a central doctrine that brought Milton into much sympathy with them. They held with the Brownists, who were Independents of Elizabeth's time (ch. vii. § 84), that, given the Bible for a rule of faith, each Christian should draw from it the highest truth that was the truth to him; that men who agreed sufficiently should form themselves into a congregation, elect and pay their own minister, be independent of all outside interference, and seek in their own way their own spiritual welfare. They would form a united church of all these bodies of Christians, each left free to seek Divine truth in the way that seemed right to its members and all held together by the Christian charity which bound them

to avoid coercion of their neighbours. That view of a church agreed with Milton's sense of right. In 1643 a pamphlet written in this spirit, *An Apologeticall Narration of some Ministers formerly Exiles in the Netherlands, now Members of the Assembly of Divines*, was answered by A. S. In the Assembly and in his writings **Samuel Rutherford** bitterly attacked the Independents, and **Thomas Edwards** expressed a hate of all who differed from him that, in 1646, was summed up in his *Gangræna; or, A Catalogue of many of the Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time;* **Rutherford** publishing in the same year his *Divine Right of Church Government.* Seeing such things, and attacked himself, **Milton**, in his sonnet on the *New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament*, spoke his mind about the Westminster Assembly that would

> "Adjure the civil sword
> To force our consciences that Christ set free,
> And ride us with a classic hierarchy
> Taught ye by mere A.S. and Rotherford.
> Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent
> Would have been held in high esteem by Paul,
> Must now be named and printed heretics
> By shallow Edwards and Scotch What-d'ye-call."

He trusted Parliament would use its civil power to clip, not, as under past tyranny, the ears, but the phylacteries of these new masters:

> "When they shall read this clearly in your charge:
> New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large."

66. Absolute authority of the king was maintained in the philosophy of **Thomas Hobbes**, who was born in April, 1588, son of a clergyman, at Malmsbury, in Wiltshire. As a schoolboy at Malmsbury he translated the "Medea" of Euripides from Greek into Latin verse. In 1603 he was entered to Magdalene Hall, Oxford; and in 1608 became tutor to William, Lord Cavendish, son of Lord Hardwicke, soon afterwards created Earl of Devonshire. In 1610, Hobbes travelled with his pupil in France and Italy. When he came home, Bacon, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and Ben Jonson, were among his friends. In 1626 his patron died, and in 1628 the son whose tutor he had been died also. In that year Hobbes published his first work, a *Translation of Thucydides*, made for the purpose of showing the evils of popular government. Ben Jonson helped in the revision of it. Hobbes next went to France as tutor to the son of Sir Gervase

Clifton, but was called back by the Countess Dowager of Devonshire to take charge of the young earl, then thirteen years old. In 1634 he went with his pupil to France and Italy, returned to England in 1636, and, still living at Chatsworth with the family he had now served for about thirty years, he, in this year, honoured Derbyshire with a Latin poem on the wonders of the Peak, *De Mirabilibus Pecci*. In 1641 Hobbes withdrew to Paris, and in 1642 published in Latin the first work setting forth his philosophy of society. It treated of the citizen—*Elementa Philosophica de Cive*. Hobbes upheld absolute monarchy as the true form of government, basing his argument upon the principle that the state of nature is a state of war. In 1647 Hobbes became mathematical tutor to Charles Prince of Wales.

67. **Nicholas Hunton**, a Nonconformist minister, published in 1643-4 a treatise on Monarchy, in two parts, with a Vindication. Part One inquired into the nature of Monarchy; Part Two argued that the sovereignty of England is in the Three Estates—King, Lords, and Commons. This doctrine was afterwards, in 1683, condemned by the Convocation of the University of Oxford, and the book publicly burnt. Two or three years later it was answered by **Sir Robert Filmer**, an upholder of absolute monarchy, who based it upon patriarchal authority, and combated every form of the assertion that men were born equal. Filmer's reply to Hunton, published in 1646, was entitled *Anarchy of a Limited and Mixed Monarchy*. Sir Robert was the son of Sir Edward Filmer, of East Sutton, in Kent. He entered Trinity College as a student in 1604, and died under the Commonwealth, in 1653. The book for which he is remembered, his "Patriarcha," written about 1642, was not published until 1680; but in 1648 he expressed much of his argument in a pamphlet on *The Power of Kings; and in Particular of the King of England*, which sets out with this practical definition of the king's absolute power not subject to any law. "If the sovereign prince be exempted from the laws of his predecessors, much less shall he be bound by the laws he maketh himself; for a man may well receive a law from another man, but impossible it is in nature for to give a law unto himself." Filmer published also in 1648, *The Freeholder's Grand Inquest touching our Soveraign Lord the King and his Parliament*, endeavouring to prove from history that the king alone makes laws and is supreme judge in Parliament; that "the Commons by their writ are only to perform and consent to the ordinances of Parliament,"

and that the Lords "are only to treat and give counsel to Parliament."

68. **John Selden** (§ 19), in December, 1621, had joined in a protest of the House of Commons, claiming liberty of speech, and counselling James I. upon his duties as the king of a free people, and for that offence to the king he suffered slight imprisonment. In the Parliament of Charles I. he was opposed to arbitrary government, he supported liberty of the press, and was sent to the Tower for a time by Charles as well as by James. But Selden had the moderation of a scholar, and the regard for old institutions that is strengthened by a study of the past; while, true to his love of liberty, he sought conciliation, and was somewhat suspected by more angry combatants. Usher had been nominated as a member of the Westminster Assembly, but refused to attend, and preached against it at Oxford. On this account it was resolved to confiscate his library, but Selden saved it for him. Selden himself went to the Assembly, and foiled bitter divines at their own weapons. "Sometimes," says his friend Whitelock, "when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, 'Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves,' which they would often pull out and read, 'the translation may be thus, but the Greek or Hebrew signifies thus and thus,' and so would silence them." When, in September, 1645, the House of Commons was debating the proposal to bring in excommunication and suspension from the Sacrament as part of the discipline in the new establishment of religion, Selden marshalled his learning into array against it. The most interesting books of his that appeared in the reign of Charles I. were his account of the marbles brought from the East to the house of the Earl of Arundel, a great patron of art and literature—the *Marmora Arundelliana*, published in 1629; and the *Mare Clausum* ("Closed Sea"), published in 1636—it had been written in the reign of James I. Grotius, in his *Mare Liberum* ("Free Sea"), having contended that the sea was free to the Dutch in the East Indies, where Portugal laid claim to rights in it, Selden argued that the sea round England belonged to the English. The book was not printed in James's reign; but in 1634 disputes arose out of the claim of Dutch fishermen to the right of free sea for the herring fishery by English coasts. Selden's *Mare Clausum* was then published, with its purport set forth in its title-page, "The Closed Sea; or, On the Dominion of the Sea. Two Books. In the first it is demonstrated that the

sea, from the law of nature or of nations, is not common to all men, but is the subject of property equally with the land In the second, the King of Great Britain is asserted to be lord of the circumfluent sea, as an inseparable and perpetual appendage of the British Empire." In 1640, Selden published an elaborate work on the natural and national law of the Jews — *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum*, and he added to this, in 1646, *Uxor Ebraica*, which was a work upon the Jewish laws of marriage and divorce.

69. We return now to **John Milton**, and his argument on a like question. In 1645 he met the religious arguments against his doctrine with a pamphlet called *Tetrachordon* (that is, "arranged with four chords"): *Expositions upon the Four Chief Places in Scripture which treat of Marriage or Nullities in Marriage.* To this was added presently *Colasterion* (*i.e.*, "place of punishment"), a reply to an anonymous assailant, with a special word to the Parliament's new licenser, who surpassed the old licenser under the Crown, "for a licenser is not contented now to give his single imprimatur, but brings his chair into the title-leaf, there sits and judges up or judges down what book he pleases." The licenser who cried a book up on its title-page might help the printer to put off wares otherwise unsaleable, which might in time, Milton suggested, bring him in round fees. But upon the subject of divorce, also, Milton had now said what he had to say.

Civil war had advanced. English and Scottish armies were besieging York; in June, 1644, Prince Rupert marched to relieve the city. He did so, but marched out again; and on the 2nd of July, at Marston Moor, the charges of Fairfax and Cromwell turned defeat of the Parliamentary army into signal victory. The queen fled to France. On the 10th of January, 1645, the Presbyterians sent Laud to the scaffold—Prynne, his violent opponent, and once his victim, acting as counsel against the helpless old man at his trial. Then followed the failure of an attempt at treaty; and then, on the 14th of June, the battle of Naseby, in which the king's cause was completely lost, and the success again was mainly due to Cromwell and his Ironsides, This ruin of the king's cause brought the Powells into difficulties. John Milton's wife suddenly appeared to him in 1645, when he was paying a visit to a relative named Blackborough, who lived by St. Martin's-le-Grand. She knelt for forgiveness, had it at once, went back to his home, and we have no reason for

doubting that she learnt to understand his gentle nature. He resumed, also, his active good-will to her family, and, with help of his brother Christopher as a lawyer, stood between them and ruin. In the same year, 1645, Milton removed to a larger house in Barbican, and a publisher obtained from him a collected edition of his earlier verse, *Poems both Latin and English, by John Milton.* In the following year, 1646, Milton's first daughter, Anne, was born. She was lame. In the next year, 1647, his second daughter, Mary, was born, and his father died. He moved in that year to a house in Holborn, looking back on Lincoln's Inn Fields. He published no more pamphlets or books during the Civil Wars.

In 1648, Cromwell had defeated, at Darwen Bridge, the Scotch Royalist army brought in by the Duke of Hamilton, and was welcomed in Edinburgh as a deliverer; and after this Milton addressed to him a sonnet as "our chief of men," who had prevailed, "guided by faith and matchless fortitude;" but while paying honour to his success in battle, the poet urged that which lay next to his heart

> "Yet much remains
> To conquer still; Peace hath her victories
> No less renown'd than War; new foes arise
> Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains."

On the 2nd of May, 1648, the Presbyterians had secured a Parliamentary ordinance enacting that all persons who, "by preaching, teaching, printing, or writing," denied seven specified articles of faith, should, on conviction, if the error were not abjured, "suffer the pains of death, as in the case of felony, without benefit of clergy."

To Fairfax, also, Milton wrote his praise for victory; but in each sonnet the praise for prowess in battle is the prelude in the two quatrains to the essential thought in the terzettes. This is the essence of Milton's sonnet to Fairfax:

> "Oh, yet a noble task awaits thy hand,
> (For what can war but endless war still breed?)
> 'Till truth and right from violence be freed,
> And publick faith cleared from the shameful brand
> Of publick fraud. In vain doth Valour bleed,
> While Avarice and Rapine share the land."

70. We look back now with equal reverence to men of all opinion who have been true to the highest life within their souls. **Jeremy Taylor** (§ 61) was, early in 1644, a chaplain with

the Royal army in Wales. He was imprisoned for a time, after the defeat at Cardigan, then married a Welsh lady, Joanna Bridges, who had some property at Llangedock, in Carmarthenshire, and with two companions—William Nicholson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyatt, afterwards a Prebendary of Lincoln—Jeremy Taylor kept a school, Newton Hall, in Carmarthenshire, at Llanvihangel Aberbythyrch. It lies near Grongar Hill, and the great house of the neighbourhood is Golden Grove, where Lord and Lady Carbery were his warm friends. In this Welsh village Taylor wrote his best works, and first, in 1647, his *Liberty of Prophesying* (ch. vii. § 33), a plea for freedom to all in the interpretation of the Bible, with one simple standard of external authority, the Apostles' Creed. In this book Jeremy Taylor showed, of course, the natural bent of his mind towards authority in Church and State. He would have a church of every country contained within its political boundaries, and allowed the ruler more power to secure uniformity than would be practically consistent with his theory; but this represents only the form of thought which was as natural to him as his different form of thought to Milton. It was warmed in Jeremy Taylor with true fervour of devotion, and brought home to the sympathies of men by a pure spirit of Christian charity. The mischiefs of prevailing discord came, he said, "not from this, that all men are not of one mind, for that is neither necessary nor possible, but that every opinion is made an article of faith, every article is a ground of quarrel, every quarrel makes a faction, every faction is zealous, and all zeal pretends for God, and whatsoever is for God cannot be too much. We by this time are come to that pass, we think we love not God except we hate our brother." And these were the last words in the book: "I end with a story which I find in the Jews' books:—When Abraham sat at his tent door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain strangers, he espied an old man stooping and leaning on his staff, weary with age and travel, coming towards him, who was an hundred years of age; he received him kindly, washed his feet, provided supper, and caused him to sit down; but observing that the old man ate and prayed not, nor begged for a blessing on his meat, asked him why he did not worship the God of heaven. The old man told him that he worshipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other god; at which Abraham grew so zealously angry that he thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night

and an unguarded condition. When the old man was gone, God called to Abraham and asked him where the stranger was? He replied, 'I thrust him away because he did not worship thee.' God answered him, 'I have suffered him these hundred years, although he dishonoured me; and couldst thou not endure him one night, when he gave thee no trouble?' Upon this, saith the story, Abraham fetched him back again, and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction. 'Go thou and do likewise,' and thy charity will be rewarded by the God of Abraham."

CHAPTER IX.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

1. ON the 30th of January, 1649, in weather so cold that the Thames was frozen over, King Charles I., after trial by a High Court of Justice constituted by authority of the House of Commons, was publicly executed at Whitehall. On the 7th of February, the House of Commons abolished the office of King in this nation, and soon afterwards a Council of State was appointed, consisting of forty-one persons, of whom twenty-two, including Sir Henry Vane, refused to sign a document expressing their approval of the proceedings by which monarchy had been overthrown. It was agreed to let the past be, and take only a pledge of fidelity for the future. To this Council John Milton was appointed Secretary for Foreign Tongues.

With much weakness of character, through which he fell, the king had many merits, and he died asserting that his people mistook the nature of government, for that men were free under a government not by being sharers in it, but by due administration of its laws. He did not understand that form of government towards which England was now tending, as, with advance of civilisation, the old controversy on the limit of authority (ch. iii. § 11) advanced its ground. Some who condemned the king did so in cruelty of zeal; with others, trial, sentence, and execution of a king by his people, for the first time in the history of man, was a blow struck at the doctrine of an irresponsible monarchy. But thousands had taken the Parliament's side in the Civil Wars who would not have assented to this act. Dr. John Gauden published about a fortnight before the execution

his *Religious and Loyal Protestation against the present Declared Purposes and Proceedings of the Army and others, about the Trying and Destroying our Sovereign Lord the King. Sent to a Collonell to bee presented to the Lord Fairfax, and his Generall Councell of Officers, the fifth of January*, 1648 (New Style, 1649). This was "Printed for Richard Royston;" and Richard Royston was then printing another work of Gauden's, which was not issued until a few days after the execution, but its appearance at such a time made it a power. It was called "Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ" (Eikōn Basilikē, the Royal Image), *The Portraicture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings.* It was written in the first person professing to be the work of Charles himself, displaying his piety while it set forth an explanation of his policy. It was in 28 sections, as: 1. Upon His Majesties calling the last Parliament. 2. Upon the Earl of Strafford's Death; and so forth, usually giving, as from the king's own lips, a popular interpretation of his actions, and each section ending with a strain of prayer. One section, the 25th, consisted wholly of "Penitential Meditations and Vows in the King's Solitude at Holmby;" the 27th was fatherly counsel "To the Prince of Wales;" and the 28th closed the series with "Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His Majestie's closer Imprisonment in Carisbrook Castle." The writer of this book (except two of its sections) had, as John Gauden, B.D., preached before the Parliament, in November, 1640, to its great satisfaction, on *The Love of Truth and Peace.* He was chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, a Presbyterian leader, and afterwards held under the Parliament the living of Bocking, in Essex. When he was at work upon his book for the king, he showed his design to Anthony Walker, Rector of Fifield, who agreed with his strong desire to aid the king, but doubted the morality of personating him, to which Gauden replied, "Look on the title, 'tis *The Portraicture*, &c., and no man draws his own picture." Dr. Walker was with Gauden when he called on the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Duppa), left Gauden and the bishop to a private talk, and was told afterwards that the bishop had liked the work, but thought there should be sections added on 'The Ordinance against the Common Prayer Book," and "Their Denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains." As bishop and as chaplain to the king, Duppa felt strongly on these points, and he had agreed to write the sections upon them (16th and 24th in the printed book). The book being finished, a copy

of it was sent to King Charles by the hands of the Marquis of Hertford, when he went to the Isle of Wight. This was the copy found with corrections upon it in the king's handwriting. Time pressed, and it was thought the better course to publish at once, without waiting for His Majesty's permission. The press was corrected by Mr. Simmonds, a persecuted minister, and the last part of the manuscript was taken by Anthony Walker on its way to the printer's on the 23rd of December, 1648. The Marquis of Hertford afterwards told Mrs. Gauden that the king had wished the book to be issued not as his own, but as another's; but it was argued that Cromwell and others of the army having got a great reputation with the people for parts and piety, it would be best to be in the king's name, and His Majesty took time to consider of it. When the book appeared its authorship was known to the Marquis of Hertford, Lord Capel, Bishop Duppa, and Bishop Morley. After the Restoration, Dr. Gauden privately proved his claim to Charles II. and the Duke of York, and was made Bishop of Exeter before the end of 1660; had in a few months £20,000 in fines for the renewal of leases; thought himself poorly rewarded; pressed for Winchester, got Worcester, and died six months afterwards. Lord Clarendon, vexed by Gauden's importunities, wrote to him (March 13, 1661) when he was Bishop of Exeter: "The particular which you often renewed, I do confesse was imparted to me under secrecy, and of which I did not take myself to be at liberty to take notice; and truly when it ceases to be a secret, I know nobody will be gladd of it but Mr. Milton. I have very often wished I had never been trusted with it." In a sale of books of the Marquis of Anglesey, a private note was found in his copy of the "Eikon Basilike," saying that when in 1675 he was showing to the king and Duke of York the MS. of the work, with some corrections in their father's own handwriting, they assured the marquis "that this was none of the said king's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter."

This fact was known to not more than a dozen people when, a few days after the execution, "Eikon Basilike" appeared. Charles II. said to Gauden that if it had come out a week sooner it would have saved his father's life. It would not have done that; but it touched the religious feeling of the people, and excited a strong sympathy. At home and abroad fifty thousand copies were circulated in a twelvemonth. There were also appended to some of these copies His Majesty's Speeches, Prayers,

Messages for Peace, and Letters. A "Prayer in Time of Captivity," said to have been delivered to Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, immediately before the king's death, was an adaptation to his own case of Pamela's prayer, in Sidney's "Arcadia" (ch. vii. § 44). Charles, no doubt, read novels, rightly thought this prayer good and applicable to himself, adapted it, and used it. Dr. Juxon, who did not read novels, supposed it to be original. Nobody can have intended any fraud, for, as detection was inevitable, it would have been a mere asking for ridicule.

2. The strong feeling excited by the form given to the arguments of the "Eikon Basilike" had to be met, and on the 15th of March, John Milton was called upon by the Council of State to answer it. He had then already published his "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates," which appeared in February, when the answer to "Eikon Basilike" appeared, later in the same year, 1649, "Published by Authority," as "Εἰκονοκλαστὴς" (The Iconoclast). "The Author, I. M." In his preface Milton said, "I take it on me as a work assign'd rather than by me chosen or affected, which was the cause both of beginning it so late, and finishing it so leisurely in the midst of other employments and diversions." He treated the book as the king's, and said, "As to the author of these soliloquies, whether it were the late king, as is vulgarly believ'd, or any secret coadjutor, and some stick not to name him, it can add nothing, nor shall take anything from the weight, if any be, of reason which he brings." It was a time for forbearance, but if the king left this new appeal behind him to truth and the world, the adversaries of his cause were compelled "to meet the force of his reason in any field whatsoever, the force and equipage of whose arms they have so often met victoriously." Milton accordingly replied, section by section, to each of the twenty-eight parts of the "Eikon Basilike."

3. But the chief expression of Milton's thought upon the great event of the time is to be found in his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, which he began to write during the struggle between the Presbyterians and Independents. The Presbyterians brought Charles to the block, and the Independents executed him. The Presbyterians sought mastery over the Independents by separating themselves from the act. As a Royalist said, their grief was "that the head was not struck off to the best advantage and commodity of them that held it by the hair." Since the deed was done, Milton's desire was that it

should not have been done in vain, but that it should be held to signify what was for him the central truth of the great struggle, that the chief magistrate of a nation, whatever he be called, has no power to dispense with laws which are the birthright of the people; that he is bound to govern in accordance with them, is himself under them, and answerable for the breach of them. Milton sought to give to so momentous an act its true interpretation, as a violent expression of the principle towards which the question of the limit of authority was tending, the principle that, forty years later, was to be finally established at the Revolution. This principle, the essence of the struggle, was what Milton kept in mind, and for this, throughout his prose writing under the Commonwealth, he sought chiefly to win assent from wise and simple. He "wrote nothing," he said in a later book (his "Second Defence"), "respecting the regal jurisdiction, till the king, proclaimed an enemy by the Senate, and overcome in arms, was brought captive to his trial and condemned to suffer death. When, indeed, some of the Presbyterian leaders, lately the most inveterately hostile to Charles, but now irritated by the prevalence of the Independents in the nation and the Senate, and stung with resentment, not of the fact, but of their own want of power to commit it, exclaimed against the sentence of the Parliament upon the king, and raised what commotions they could by daring to assert that the doctrine of Protestant divines, and of all the Reformed churches, was strong in reprobation of this severity to kings, then at length I conceived it to be my duty publicly to oppose so much obvious and palpable falsehood. Neither did I then direct my argument or persuasion personally against Charles; but, by the testimony of many of the most eminent divines, I proved what course of conduct might lawfully be observed towards tyrants in general. . . . . This work was not published till after the death of the king; and was written rather to tranquillize the minds of men than to discuss any part of the question respecting Charles, a question the decision of which belonged to the magistrates and not to me, and which had now received its final determination."

Early in 1649, Milton also published *Observations on the Articles of Peace between the Earl of Ormond and the Irish*, in which comments of his upon a manifesto of the Presbytery of Belfast show very clearly the spirit of the relation between the Presbyterians and Milton as an Independent. The Indepen-

dents, then predominant, were charged, he said, with having broken the Covenant. "Let us hear wherein. 'In labouring,' say they, 'to establish by law a universal toleration of all religions.' This touches not the State; for certainly, were they so minded, they need not labour at but do it, having power in their hands; and we know of no Act as yet passed to that purpose. But suppose it done, wherein is the Covenant broke? The Covenant enjoins us to endeavour the extirpation first of popery and prelacy, then of heresy, schism, and profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness. And this we cease not to do by all effectual and proper means: but these divines might know that to extirpate all these things can be no work of the civil sword, but of the spiritual, which is the word of God" (ch. viii. § 54). "No man well in his wits, endeavouring to root up weeds out of his ground, instead of using the spade will take a mallet or beetle. Nor doth the Covenant any way engage us to extirpate or to prosecute the men, but the heresies and errors in them, which we tell these divines and the rest that understand not, belongs chiefly to their own function, in the diligent preaching and insisting upon sound doctrine, in the confuting, not the railing down, of errors . . . by the power of truth, not of persecution."

It was also in the first months of 1649 that Milton planned and began a *History of England*, which would have expressed his view of the life of the nation if his pen had not been called to the immediate service of his country, and so left it a fragment in six books, extending from the old fabulous times to the Conquest. This was not published until 1670, but four of the six books were written at the beginning of the Commonwealth.

4. When Milton was appointed Foreign Secretary to the Council, he removed, to be near his work, to lodgings, first at Charing Cross, by the opening into Spring Gardens, and afterwards in Scotland Yard. It was here that he wrote his first "Defence of the People of England." One of the foremost scholars of the time upon the Continent had accepted, with a hundred gold jacobuses, the commission to arraign England before the intelligence of Europe for the murder of her king. His book, with the Royal Arms of England on its title-page, appeared towards the end of 1649, in Latin, because addressed to readers throughout Europe, as Salmasius's "Royal Defence of Charles I., addressed to his legitimate heir Charles II."

(*Cl. Salmasii Defensio Regia pro Carolo I. Ad Serenissimum Magnæ Britanniæ Regem Carolum II., Filium natu majorem, Hæredem et successorem legitimum.*) Claude de Saumaise was about twelve years older than John Milton, whose age when he wrote his reply was forty-one. Saumaise was the son of a learned member of Parliament for Burgundy, who, in 1597, translated Dionysius of Alexandria into French verse. He was educated at home by his father, and, when ten years old, read Pindar and wrote Greek and Latin fluently. At sixteen he was sent to study at Paris, where the influence of Casaubon made him a Reformer. He went next to Heidelberg, there formally renounced Catholicism, worked hard, gave every third night to study, fell ill, went home and wrote books full of minute erudition. In 1622, at the age of twenty-six, he edited Tertullian on the Pallium, for the sake of producing a minute treatise upon the dress worn by the ancients. Milton began by studying man's inmost soul, Saumaise by studying the clothes outside the surface of his body. Saumaise worked at the "Polyhistor" of Solinus, because that gave him an opportunity for the display of various learning, and he enriched his exercitations with an appendix on Manna and Sugar. He studied Hebrew, Persian, and Arabic; was invited to Venice, Oxford, even Rome, although he had cast off the pope; but settled at Leyden, in 1632, with a public salary. In 1642 his father died, and he returned to France. Richelieu and, after Richelieu's death, in December, 1642, Mazarin pressed the famous scholar to remain in his own country, but he went back to Leyden, where he was applied to on behalf of Prince Charles, and wrote against the English people his Defence of Charles I. In 1650, while Milton was at work upon his answer, Saumaise went to the Court of Christina, of Sweden, then about twenty-five years old, who had said she could not be happy without him; and there he was in such high favour that the queen is said to have lighted his fire with her own hands when she came for confidential morning talks with him. Saumaise, under the assumed name of Wallo Messalinus, had attacked Episcopacy violently, in 1641, in a Latin book on "Presbyters and Bishops." Claude Sarrau, a devoted admirer of his genius, warned him after his "Royal Defence" appeared that he was contradicting doctrines which he had been honoured for maintaining with fidelity, and said, in reply to his excuses, "I am of opinion that even a king's advocate ought not, in his master's

cause, to speak in public differently from what he speaks and thinks in private. . . . But you wrote, you say, 'by command.' And was it possible for any commands to prevail on you to change your opinion? Your favourite Epictetus tells us that our opinion is one of those things in our power, and so far in our power that nothing can take it away from us without our consent." There is, of course, no parallel between the beneficent duty of an advocate before a court of justice, who gives to the worst criminal the right of a clear statement of whatever can be urged in his defence, and the act of an independent scholar, who for fame or money will affirm what he does not believe.

Milton was called upon by the Council of State to reply to Salmasius. His health was already weak, the sight of his left eye already gone, and he was told he would lose his eyesight altogether if he undertook this labour. But to maintain before Europe in Latin, as he had maintained before his countrymen in English, what was for him and, as he believed, for England the living truth involved in the great struggle, with all its passions and misdeeds, was the next duty in his intellectual war. Milton wrote his "Defence of the People of England against Claude Saumaise's 'Royal Defence'" (*Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Claudii Salmasii Defensionem Regiam*), and the sight of the remaining eye then gradually vanished. Yet he said, in a sonnet to his old pupil, Cyriac Skinner—for Milton loved alike those who had taught him and those whom he had taught:

> "Yet I argue not
> Against Heaven's hand or will, or bate a jot
> Of heart or hope; but still bear up and steer
> Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
> The conscience, friend, to have lost them overplied
> In liberty's defence, my noble task,
> Of which all Europe rings from side to side;
> This thought might lead me through the world's vain mask
> Content, though blind, had I no better guide."

Milton's reply to Saumaise first gave him European reputation. Queen Christina read his book, delighted in it, and told Saumaise that he was beaten; upon which Saumaise, whose health had been failing, found that the climate of Sweden disagreed with him. The common question was, "Who is this Milton?" Nicholas Heinsius, in Holland, had asked it of Isaac Voss, who was among the scholars then at the court of this daughter of Gustavus Adolphus; and Voss at last replied, "I know now about Milton

from my Uncle Junius, who is intimate with him (*qui cum eo familiaritatem colit*). He has told me that he serves the Parliament in foreign affairs; is skilled in many languages; that he is not indeed of noble, but, as they say, of gentle birth; a pupil of Patrick"—(mistake for Thomas)—"Young; kindly, affable and endowed with many other virtues" (*comem, affabilem, multisque aliis præditum virtutibus*").

5. The Francis Junius who gave this information was the son of a Francis Junius who took part in the great religious contest of the Netherlands (ch. vii. § 26). Milton's friend had come to England in 1620, and become librarian to that Earl of Arundel for whom Selden, with aid from Patrick Young, royal librarian, described the Arundel Marbles (ch. viii. § 68). Junius held that office for thirty years, and was known among scholars as an enthusiastic student of the early languages of Europe. For this reason, when Usher, among his searches for books, found a MS. of First English, which proved to be (and is to this day) the only known copy of the work of the "Anglo-Saxon Milton," "Cædmon's Paraphrase" (ch. ii. § 5), he gave it to Francis Junius, as the man most able to make proper use of it. Junius could show it to his friend Milton, who cared much for such things, tell him about it, describe to him notable passages in it, before he left England in 1650. After his departure, Junius printed "Cædmon's Paraphrase" at Amsterdam, in 1655. Certainly, therefore, Milton knew of "Cædmon's Paraphrase" before he began to write "Paradise Lost."

6. The "Defence of the People of England" is, above all things, Milton's argument for the responsibility of kings against the theory of their divine right to an absolute command over their subjects. Salmasius said, "As to the pretended pact between a king and his subjects, certainly there is none in kingdoms born of force of arms, as almost all existing kingdoms are," and he thought it simply ridiculous to say, as the English did, that a king was the minister and servant of his people, and waged not his own wars, but theirs. Milton wrote to convince the many and the few. To the thinkers the great body of argument was addressed; for them he appealed out of his own highest nature to their highest sense of right; but he satisfied he many, too, by blending with his answer vigorous combat of the kind that alone would win attention from the thoughtless. On another occasion he had said, "There cannot be a more proper object of indignation and scorn together than a false

prophet taken in the greatest, dearest, and most dangerous cheat —the cheat of souls—in the disclosing whereof, if it be harmful to be angry, and withal to cast a lowering smile, when the properest object calls for both, it will be long enough ere any be able to say why those two most rational faculties of human intellect, anger and laughter, were first seated in the breast of man." And now Milton had not only to cast back the contumelies of Salmasius against the English people, but scorned an advocacy that, upon a question of the welfare of humanity, was on a vital point not what the writer thought, but what he had agreed to say. He trusted still to the fair battle of thought. At the end of the preface to his reply he said, "And now I would entreat the illustrious States of Holland to take off their prohibition, and suffer the book to be publicly sold; for when I have detected the vanity, ignorance, and falsehood that it is full of, the farther it spreads the more effectually it will be suppressed." In the noble close to his Defence, Milton urged on the people of England that they must themselves refute their adversary, by a constant endeavour to outdo all men's bad words with their own good deeds. God had heard their prayers, but now, he said, you must show "as great justice, temperance, and moderation in the maintaining your liberty as you have shown courage in freeing yourselves from slavery."

7. In 1650, the year in which this Defence appeared, there was a son born to Milton, and lost in its infancy. In 1651 he left his lodgings for a pretty garden-house next to Lord Scudamore's, and opening into the Park, now No. 19, York Street, Westminster. In 1652 his third daughter, Deborah, was born there, and at the same time his wife died, on the 2nd of May. In the following year Milton reinstated his wife's family at Forest Hill, by recovering for them, with Christopher's help, part of the exorbitant fines levied on their land.

In the year of his wife's death appeared "The Cry of Royal Blood to Heaven against the English Parricides" (*Regii Sanguinis Clamor*), another Latin appeal to Europe. Saumaise had meant to reply to Milton, but his health was failing still. He died in 1653. The new attack upon the English was written by a Frenchman, Pierre Dumoulin, who wrote afterwards a treatise on Peace of Soul and Content of Mind, and was made a Prebendary of Canterbury; but its actual promoter and nominal author was Alexander More, a Protestant divine, born at Languedoc, where his father, a Scotchman, was principal of the

college. More had been professor of Greek at Geneva, but in 1649 disagreement with colleagues obliged him to leave, and he went to Middleburg, afterwards to Amsterdam and Paris. His personal character was notoriously worthless. Milton's "Second Defence of the People of England," published in 1654, was followed by a defence of himself. On the 16th of December, 1653, Cromwell had been made Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, and Milton's Second Defence, published in 1654, contains expression of the nation's faith in him as "father of his country," and earnestly admonishes him that his country has entrusted to his hands her freedom. In the duties before him there are, said Milton, difficulties to which those of war are child's play. He must not suffer that liberty for which he encountered so many perils to sustain any violence at his own hands, or any from those of others; and he must look for counsel to men who had shared his dangers, "men of the utmost moderation, integrity, and valour; not rendered savage or austere by the sight of so much bloodshed and of so many forms of death; but inclined to justice, to the reverence of the Deity, to a sympathy with human suffering, and animated for the preservation of liberty with a zeal strengthened by the hazards which for its sake they have encountered." Of his countrymen during the struggle they had gone through Milton says here, "No illusions of glory, no extravagant emulation of the ancients influenced them with a thirst for ideal liberty; but the rectitude of their lives and the sobriety of their habits taught them the only true and safe road to real liberty; and they took up arms only to defend the sanctity of the laws and the rights of conscience." Of himself he says, "No one ever knew me either soliciting anything myself or through my friends. I usually kept myself secluded at home, where my own property, part of which had been withheld during the civil commotions, and part of which had been absorbed in the oppressive contributions which I had to sustain, afforded me a scanty subsistence."

8. In 1654, gradual loss of sight in the remaining eye ended in Milton's complete blindness. Its cause was not in the eyes themselves, which remained unimpaired, but in the nerve of sight; it was a form of blindness then known, from a wrong theory of its cause, as gutta serena ("drop serene"), but now called amaurosis. Its predisposing cause in Milton was the gouty constitution which he must have inherited, and of which, at last, he died. Its exciting cause was exhaustion

of nervous power by excessive use of his eyes in study from childhood.

In 1654, then, Milton was blind, his wife had been dead two years, and when she died left him in charge of three little girls, of whom the eldest was but six years old, the youngest a new-born infant. But it was not until two years after his blindness became complete, or about four years after the death of his first wife, that Milton—the ages of his three motherless girls being then ten, nine, and four -- married again. His second wife was Catherine, daughter of Captain Woodcock, of Hackney. She died in a year, at birth of her first child, and the child followed her. How tenderly Milton had sought to bring into his home with this second wife a companion to himself, with womanly care for his little girls, his sonnet "on his deceased wife" shows. He had dreamt of her one night after her death as coming to him before he awoke to blindness, with veiled face—for he had never seen her :

> "Methought I saw my late espoused saint
> Brought to me like Alcestis from the grave.
> * * * * *
> And such as yet once more I trust to have
> Full sight of her in heaven without restraint —
> Came, vested all in white, pure as her mind:
> Her face was veil'd, yet to my fancied sight,
> Love, sweetness, goodness, in her person shined
> So clear, as in no face with more delight;
> But oh, as to embrace me she inclined,
> I waked, she fled, and day brought back my night!"

9. At this time Milton took reduced pay as Latin or Foreign Secretary, and was assisted in his work by **Andrew Marvell.** Andrew Marvell, born in November, 1620, was son of a clergyman, and master of the Grammar School at Kingston-upon-Hull. He was sent at fifteen to Trinity College, Cambridge. When he was still a youth his father was drowned by crossing the Humber in stormy weather with a young lady, who was resolved to return home after a christening at his house. She was the only daughter of a widow, who, considering how Mr. Marvell's life had been lost, took charge of his son, completed his education, and at her death left him her property. Andrew Marvell graduated as B.A. in 1638, and about 1642 went abroad, spending four years in foreign travel. After his return he was at Bilbrough, in Yorkshire, teaching languages to the only daughter of Lord Fairfax, and his first poems were upon the Hill and

Grove at Bilbrough and upon the House at Nun-Appleton, another seat of Fairfax's, in Yorkshire. In 1653, Milton recommended the appointment of Marvell as his assistant secretary, but at that time without success. He described him, both from report and "personal converse," as of "singular desert;" told that he had been four years abroad, in Holland, France, Italy, and Spain, knew these four languages, and was well read in Latin and Greek. With characteristic kindliness, Milton added to his recommendation of young Marvell, "This, my lord, I write sincerely, without any other end than to perform my duty to the public in helping them to an able servant; laying aside those jealousies and that emulation which mine own condition might suggest to me by bringing in such a coadjutor."

Milton sent, in 1654, his "Second Defence of the People of England" to Cromwell by Andrew Marvell's hand; and in 1657 Cromwell made Marvell tutor to young Mr. Denton, the son of an old friend who had died leaving the Protector his boy's guardian. Andrew Marvell's quality had now made itself known, and in the same year, 1657, he obtained the office of assistant-secretary to Milton for the foreign correspondence. What was written officially for foreigners was Latin; but unofficial correspondence and conversation in the chief languages of Europe would be required also, and for this Milton and Marvell were both qualified.

10. At the beginning of the Commonwealth there were among the young men born in the reign of Charles I., and from seventeen to twenty-one years old at the time of his execution, John Bunyan, George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, Robert Boyle, and Sir William Temple, all born in the year 1628; the divines of after years, Isaac Barrow and John Tillotson, both born in 1630; John Dryden, born in 1631; and John Locke, born in 1632. Isaac Newton, ten years younger, was a child of seven at the beginning of the Commonwealth.

Among men of the elder generations who died during the Commonwealth were the dramatists, John Webster and Thomas Heywood (date unknown); John Selden (1652); James Usher (1656), his last years being occupied in the production of his *Annals*, first in Latin (1650 and 1653), and then in an English translation of his own, published in 1658, as *Annals of the World deduced from the Origin of Time, and continued to the Destruction of the Temple, containing the History of the Old and New Testament.* John Taylor, the Water Poet, died in 1654;

John Hales in 1656; William Harvey in 1657; Richard Lovelace in 1658; John Cleveland in 1659. Among those born under the Commonwealth were no writers of higher mark than Jeremy Collier, John Oldham, and Thomas Otway.

A few plays by Elizabethan Stuart dramatists were printed under the Commonwealth, as, in 1656, Ford and Dekker's "Sun's Darling," and "The Old Law," by Massinger, Middleton, and Rowley; but that race of writers survived only in **James Shirley** (ch. viii. § 33), who had served the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Newcastle during the wars, and helped him to write plays. Under the Commonwealth, Shirley printed some of his old plays, but theatres being closed, he kept a prosperous school in Whitefriars, and wrote grammars. Shirley had among his friends in trouble **Thomas Stanley** (born 1624), son of Sir Thomas Stanley, of Hertfordshire, who lived in the Middle Temple, and produced under the Commonwealth, in 1655, *A History of Philosophy*, popular in its time, and translated into Latin and Dutch.

Dr. Jasper Mayne (ch. viii. § 36), during the Commonwealth, was chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire, where he was brought into the society of Thomas Hobbes, whom he did not like.

11. **Thomas Hobbes** (ch. viii. § 66) was active under the Commonwealth. In 1650 he published a treatise on *Human Nature; or, the Fundamental Elements of Policy*, and another, *De Corpore Politico; or, the Elements of Law, Moral and Politic.* In the following year, 1651, appeared his *Leviathan; or, the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil.* This book he caused to be written on vellum for presentation to Prince Charles; but the divines were in arms against Hobbes for opinions which they considered hostile to religion. Upholder as he was of the supremacy of kings, Charles naturally avoided him. No man can hurt religion by being as true as it is in his power to be; and that Hobbes was. Our judgment of a man ought never to depend upon whether or not we agree with him in opinion. Hobbes was an independent thinker, and retained his independence when he might have lapsed into the mere hanger-on of a noble house, or, by dwelling only on some part of his opinion, have looked for profit as a flatterer of royalty. At Chatsworth he gave his morning to exercise and paying respects to the family and its visitors; at noon he went to his study, ate his dinner alone without ceremony, shut himself in with ten or twelve pipes of tobacco, and gave his mind free play. Hobbes's

Leviathan, "occasioned," he says, "by the disorders of the present time." is in four parts, 1, Of Man; 2, Of Commonwealth; 3, Of a Christian Commonwealth; 4, Of the Kingdom of Darkness. Whatever can be compounded of parts Hobbes called a body; man, imitating nature, or the art by which God governs the world, creates "that great Leviathan called the Commonwealth or State, which is but an artificial man, though of greater stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended." In this huge body the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to all its parts. (1.) The matter and artificer of it is Man. Men are by nature equal, and their natural state is one of war, each being governed by his own reason, and with a right to everything that he can get. But he may agree to lay down this right, and be content with so much liberty against other men as he would like them to have against himself. Retaining certain natural rights of self-preservation, man makes a covenant which is the origin of government, and injustice then consists simply in breach of that covenant. (2.) For the particular security not to be had by the law of nature a covenant is made, which forms man into the Commonwealth, and is the basis of the rights and just power or authority of a sovereign, who becomes thenceforth as soul to the body. The subjects to a monarch thus constituted cannot without his leave throw off or transfer monarchy, because they are bound by their covenant. "And whereas," says Hobbes, "some men have pretended, for their disobedience to their own sovereign, a new covenant, made not with men but with God; this also is unjust: for there is no covenant with God but by mediation of somebody that representeth God's person; which none doth but God's lieutenant, who hath the sovereignty under God." (3.) Reason directs public worship of God, but since a Commonwealth is but as one person, it ought also to exhibit to God but one worship. There is no universal Church, because there is no power on earth to which all other Commonwealths are subject; but there are Christians in many states, each subject to the Commonwealth of which he is a member. It is the function of the constituted supreme power to determine what doctrines are fit for peace and to be taught the subjects. All pastors in a church exercise their office by Civil Right; the civil sovereign alone is pastor by Divine Right. The command of the civil sovereign, having Divine warrant, may be obeyed without forfeiture of life eternal; therefore not to obey is unjust. All that

is necessary to salvation is contained in Faith in Christ and Obedience to Laws. (4.) The "Rulers of the Darkness of this World" are the confederacy of deceivers that, to obtain dominion over men in this present world, endeavour by dark and erroneous doctrines to extinguish in them the light both of Nature and of the Gospel; and so to disprepare them for the kingdom of God to come.

Much of the detail in "Leviathan" and other writings led to a belief that the doctrines of Hobbes were destructive to Christianity and all religion. This was expressed by Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, in a book called *The Catching of Leviathan*, to which Hobbes wrote an answer. Hobbes published, in 1654, a treatise written in 1652, *Of Liberty and Necessity, wherein all Controversy concerning Predestination, Election, Free-will, Grace, Merits, Reprobation, &c., is fully Decided and Cleared.* Dr. Bramhall undertook to show him that on these points also he was to be by no means clear of controversy.

Sir Robert Filmer (ch. viii. § 67) published, in 1652, *Observations upon Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan, Mr. Milton against Salmasius, and H. Grotius De Jure Belli et Pacis, concerning the Originall of Government.* Filmer repudiated Hobbes's notion of authority established by a covenant among men naturally equal, his own faith being that authority was given by Divine appointment from the first.

12. The writings of **James Harrington** show from another point the energy with which the mind of our British Leviathan was now in debate within itself (ch. i. § 1). James Harrington, born in 1611, eldest son of Sir Sapcotes Harrington, was of a good Rutlandshire family. In 1629 he entered as a gentleman commoner of Trinity College, Oxford. His father died before he was of age. He went to Holland, Denmark, Germany, and France, and to Italy, where he became an admirer of the Venetian Republic. After his return he lived a studious life, and was generous in care for his younger brothers and sisters. At the beginning of 1647 he was appointed to wait on Charles I., after his surrender to the English Commissioners, went with him from Newcastle, and was one of his grooms of the chamber at Holmby House. The king preferred his company, talked with him of books and foreign parts, and was only a little impatient when Harrington, a philosophical republican, entertained His Majesty with a theory of an ideal Commonwealth. Harrington

was with Charles in the Isle of Wight, but was afterwards separated from him because he would not take an oath against connivance at the king's escape. After the king's execution Harrington worked out his view of government in the book which he called *The Commonwealth of Oceana.* Oceana was England, and he styled Scotland Marpesia, Ireland Panopæa, Henry VII. Panurgus, Henry VIII. Coraunus, Queen Elizabeth Parthenia, and so forth. Oceana being island, seems, said Harrington, like Venice, to have been designed by God for a Commonwealth; but Venice, because of its limited extent and want of arms, "can be no more than a Commonwealth for preservation: whereas this, reduced to the like government, is a Commonwealth for increase." At the foundation of Harrington's theory was the doctrine that empire follows the balance of property. He began with a sketch of the principles of government among the ancients and among the moderns, arguing throughout that dominion is property, and that, except in cities whose revenue is in trade, the form of empire is determined by the balance of dominion or property in land. If one man be, like the Grand Turk, sole landlord, or overbalance the people three parts in four, his empire is Absolute Monarchy. If the nobility be the landlords, or overbalance the people to the like proportion, that is the Gothic balance, and the empire is Mixed Monarchy, as that of Spain or Poland, and of Oceana, till "the Statute of Alienations broke the pillars by giving way to the nobility to sell their estates." If the whole people be landlords, or hold the lands so divided that no one man or small body of men overbalance them, the empire (unless force intervene) is a Commonwealth. Any possible attempt to maintain government in opposition to this principle leads, said Harrington, to disorder. Where a nobility holds half the property, and the people the other half, the one must eat out the other, as the people did the nobility in Athens, and the nobility the people in Rome. After illustrating this position, Harrington cited, under feigned names, nine of the most famous forms of legislation known in history; and out of what he took to be the good points of each, with additions and modifications of his own invention, he produced a Council of Legislators and a Model Commonwealth for his Oceana. Olphaus Megaletor (Oliver Cromwell), the most victorious captain and incomparable patriot, general of the army, was made by its suffrage Lord Archon of Oceana; fifty select persons sat as a Council to assist him. The materials

of a Commonwealth are the people ; these the Lord Archon and his Council divided into freemen or citizens, and servants. The servants were not to share in the government until able to live of themselves. The citizens were divided into youths (from eighteen to thirty) and elders ; also, according to their means, into horse and foot ; and, according to their habitations, into parishes, hundreds, and tribes. A thousand surveyors, each with a district assigned to him, "being every one furnish'd with a convenient proportion of urns, balls, and balloting-boxes (in the use whereof they had been formerly exercised), and now arriving each at his respective parishes, began with the people by teaching them their first lesson, which was the ballot; and though they found them in the beginning somewhat froward, as at toys, with which (while they were in expectation of greater matters from a Council of Legislators) they conceived themselves to be abused, they came within awhile to think them pretty sport, and at length such as might very soberly be used in good earnest." Then followed an account of the machinery of balloting in each parish for deputies, only the elders being the electors; of balloting also for the new pastor by the elders of the congregation in every parish church, with provision saving the rights of all Dissenters; and for the election of justices and high constables, captains and ensigns, coroners and jurymen, by ballot, among deputies of the parishes, and so throughout; "the ballot of Venice, as it is fitted by several alterations, to be the constant and only way of giving suffrage in this Commonwealth." The method of voting by ballot in the national Senate was illustrated by a picture. The full scheme of a Commonwealth was worked out in the "Oceana" with much detail. Harrington's manuscript was seized and carried to Whitehall, but pleasantly recovered by appeal to Cromwell through his daughter Lady Claypole, and published in 1656, inscribed "to His Highness, the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Like all books that represented the activity of independent thought on the great questions of the day, Harrington's "Oceana" produced pamphlets in attack and in defence. Its chief opponents were Dr. Henry Ferne, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and Matthew Wren, one of the votaries of experimental science, out of whose meetings the Royal Society was presently to spring, and of whom Harrington said they had "an excellent faculty of magnifying a Flea and diminishing a Commonwealth." Partly to

the opinions of Hobbes and partly to those of Harrington, Richard Baxter opposed his "Holy Commonwealth." Harrington published an abridgment of his political scheme in 1659, as *The Art of Lawgiving;* and established, in the latter days of the Commonwealth, a club called the *Rota*, which met at the "Turk's Head," kept by one Miles, in the New Palace Yard, Westminster, and sat round an oval table, with a passage cut in the middle of it by which Miles delivered his coffee. The Rota discussed principles of government, and voted by ballot. Its ballot-box was the first seen in England. Milton's old pupil, Cyriac Skinner, was one of the members of this Club, which was named from a doctrine of its supporters, that in the chief legislative body a third part of the members should rote out by ballot every year and be incapable for three years of re-election; by which principle of rotation Parliament would be completely renewed every ninth year. Magistrates also were to be chosen for only three years, and, of course, by ballot.

13. **Richard Baxter,** in his *Holy Commonwealth; or, Political Aphorisms, opening the true Principles of Government*, opposed his title to the heathenish Commonwealth of other theorists, and pleaded the cause of Monarchy. Baxter was born in 1615, at High Ercall, by the Wrekin, in Shropshire. After living ten years there with his grandfather, he went to Eaton Constantine, to his father, who had become very devout after loss of much of his estate by gambling. Richard Baxter's chief place of education was the free school at Wroxeter. From Wroxeter he went to be the one pupil of Mr. Wicksteed, chaplain of Ludlow Castle (ch. viii. § 53); then he taught in Wroxeter school for a few months, had cough with spitting of blood, and began the systematic study of theology. "My faults," said Baxter, "are no disgrace to any University, for I was of none; I have little but what I had out of books and inconsiderable helps of country tutors. Weakness and pain helped me to study how to die; that set me on studying how to live." In 1638 Baxter became head master of a free school just founded at Dudley, took orders, went to Bridgenorth, and was forced by Laud's Church policy into Nonconformity. In 1640 he settled in Kidderminster, whence he was driven after two years by Royalist opposition. His life and his thoughts were unsettled by the Civil War. He signed the Covenant, and afterwards repented. He was with the army of the Parliament as military Chaplain, and found there that "the most frequent and vehement

disputes were for liberty of conscience, as they called it—that is, that the civil magistrate had nothing to do to determine matters of religion by constraint and restraint." He battled against their opinions, and was unpopular, but towards the close of the Civil Wars Baxter had a severe illness, and it was during this illness that he wrote his *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, first published in 1650. Under the Commonwealth, Baxter was opposed to Cromwell, argued privately with him on his position in the State, and, as we have seen, supported Monarchy in the political discussions of the day.

John Howe, Cromwell's chaplain, was fifteen years younger than Baxter. He was born in 1630, at Loughborough, where his father was minister of the parish. When John Howe was about three years old, his father was suspended and condemned to fine, imprisonment, and recantation by the High Commission Court, for opposing "The Book of Sports," which offended Puritans by encouraging Sunday afternoon amusements, and for praying in his church "that God would preserve the prince in the true religion, which there was cause to fear." King James I.'s Declaration to his subjects concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays was published in 1618, and professed to have originated in the desire to take away a hindrance to the conversion of Roman Catholics by checking the Puritans in their endeavour to repress "lawfull recreation and exercise upon the Sundayes afternoone, after the ending of all diuine seruice." Charles I. re-issued this declaration in 1633, with an added command for the observance of wakes. The reprint of James's proclamation with the ratification of Charles added was that "Book of Sports" which Howe's father was punished for opposing. He escaped to Ireland, and was there till 1641, when he returned with his boy, and settled in Lancashire. In 1647, John Howe, aged seventeen, entered Christ's College, Cambridge, as a sizar. He took his degree of B.A. at Cambridge, and was at Oxford in the first years of the Commonwealth. He formed there his own system of theology, became M.A. in 1652, was ordained, and became, at two-and-twenty, pastor at Great Torrington, in Devonshire. The energy with which in these days the religious life of England was animating the great social changes may be illustrated by Howe's work for his flock on any one of the frequent fast-days. He began with them at nine a.m., prayed during a quarter of an hour for blessing upon the day's work, then read and explained a chapter for three-quarters of an hour, then prayed for

an hour, then preached for an hour and prayed again for half an hour, then retired for a quarter of an hour's refreshment—the people singing all the while—returned to his pulpit, prayed for another hour, preached for another hour, and finished at four p.m., with one half-hour more of prayer, doing it all singly, and with his whole soul in it all. In 1654 Howe married the daughter of an elder minister. In 1656 he happened to be in London on a Sunday, and went, out of curiosity, to Whitehall Chapel, to see the Lord Protector and his family. But the Lord Protector saw also the young divine in his clerical dress; sent for him after service, and asked him to preach on the following Sunday. He preached, was asked to preach again, and was at last urged by Cromwell to stay by him as his domestic chaplain. He took that office, and was made also lecturer at St. Margaret's, Westminster, the parish church of the House of Commons. In three months he was writing from Whitehall to Baxter, for counsel as to those duties of which it would be most useful for him to remind the rulers, and he was supporting at head-quarters a plan of Baxter's for producing a more open fellowship among Christians of hitherto contending sects. Zealous and fearless enough to preach before Cromwell against a point of the Protector's own faith, Howe was thoroughly tolerant. When Thomas Fuller had to satisfy the Triers—a board for examining ministers before they were inducted to a charge—he was hard pressed upon a particular point, and said to Howe, good-humouredly, "You may observe, sir, that I am a pretty corpulent man, and I have to go through a passage that is very strait; be so kind as to give me a shove and help me through." Howe got him through. John Howe was Cromwell's chaplain to the last, and remained in the same office during the nine months' rule of the Protector's son, Richard. The best of his many books, *The Living Temple*, appeared in two parts, in 1676 and 1702. Howe lived till 1705.

14. **Thomas Fuller** (ch. viii. § 59), who married, in 1654, a sister of Lord Baltinglasse, wrote during the Commonwealth his *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), an account of Palestine and its people, illustrative of Scripture; his *Abel Redivivus* (1651), being "Lives and Deaths of the Modern Divines, written by several able and learned men;" and (in 1656), in folio, *The Church History of Britain*, from the Birth of Christ to 1648, which was not the less a piece of sound, well-studied work for being quaint in style, good-humoured, and witty.

Jeremy Taylor (ch. viii. § 70) published, in 1649, *The*

Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life, according to the Christian Institution, described in the History of the Life and Death of Christ; in 1650, his *Holy Living*, with "Prayers for our Rulers," altered afterwards to "Prayers for the King;" in 1651, his *Holy Dying;* and the first volume for the "Summer Half-year" (the second, for the "Winter Half-year," followed in 1653) of *A Course of Sermons for all the Sundaies in the Year.* His friend, Lady Carbery, died in October, 1650, and Taylor preached her funeral sermon with the tender piety of friendship. Jeremy Taylor, when he wrote verse, failed as a poet. He was no master in that form of expression; but natural grace of mind, with a fine culture, liveliness of fancy, the unaffected purity of his own standard of life upon earth, and, in the midst of all the tumult of the time, "the strange evenness and untroubled passage" with which he was himself, as he said of Lady Carbery, "sliding towards his ocean of God and of infinity with a certain and silent motion," has filled his prose with the true poetry of life. In 1655 he applied the name of Lord Carbery's house to a book of devotion, *The Golden Grove; or, a Manual of Daily Prayers and Letanies fitted to the Dayes of the Week: also, Festival Hymns, according to the Manner of the Ancient Church.* Jeremy Taylor was imprisoned twice during the Commonwealth, and brought down on himself a controversy upon original sin, by his *Unum Necessarium; or, The Doctrine and Practice of Repentance.* In 1656 he lost two children by small-pox and fever, and had only one son left of the family by his second marriage. In 1657 he published a *Discourse on the Measures and Offices of Friendship*, addressed to Mrs. Catherine Philips, with whom we shall meet again as the first English-woman who earned good fame as a poetess. At this time Jeremy Taylor was preaching in London, and had John Evelyn among his friends. Lord Conway, who had a residence at Portmore, offered him the post of alternate lecturer at Lisburn, nine miles from his house. Taylor accepted it, and went to Ireland in the summer of 1658. Even then he was not left wholly in peace; "for," he wrote, "a Presbyterian and a mad-man have informed against me as a dangerous man to their religion, and for using the sign of the cross in baptism." He was taken to Dublin, but obtained easy acquittal.

15. **John Bunyan** was born in 1628, the son of a poor tinker, at Elstow, in Bedfordshire. He was sent to a free school for the poor, and then worked with his father. As a youth of

seventeen he was combatant in the Civil War. He was married, at nineteen, to a wife who helped him to recover the art of reading, over the only books she had—"The Practice of Piety" and "The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven." He went regularly to church, but joined in the sports after the Sunday afternoon's service, which had been a point of special defiance to the Puritans, by the proclamation of James I., in 1618, re-issued by Charles I. in 1633. Once Bunyan was arrested in his Sunday sport by the imagination of a voice from heaven. Presently he gave up swearing, bell-ringing, and games and dances on the green. Then came the time of what he looked upon as his conversion, brought about by hearing the conversation of some women as he stood near with his tinker's barrow. They referred him to their minister. He says that he was tempted to sell Christ, and heard, when in bed one morning, a voice that reiterated, "Sell Him, sell Him, sell Him." This condition was followed by illness which was mistaken for consumption; but Bunyan recovered, and became robust. In 1657 he was deacon of his church at Bedford, and his private exhortations caused him to be invited to take turns in village preaching. Country people came to him by hundreds. Only ordained ministers might preach. In 1658 complaint was lodged against Bunyan; but under the Commonwealth he was left unmolested.

16. **George Fox**, founder of the Society of Friends, was about four years older than Bunyan. He was born at Fenny Drayton, Leicestershire, in July, 1624, the son of a respectable weaver. He was taught reading and writing, and then placed with a shoemaker, who also kept sheep. Fox minded the sheep. His mind from childhood was fixed upon Bible study, he was true of word, and as he took the Scripture "Verily" for his most solemn form of assertion, it was understood that, "If George says 'Verily,' there is no moving him." At twenty, in obedience to words that seemed to answer prayer, he left his home, and, having means enough for simple life without a trade, spent about nine months in towns where he was unknown, and free to wander and reflect. He made himself a suit of leather clothes, that would last long without renewal, and gave himself up to intense religious meditation. He came home still unsettled, and again moved restlessly about, profoundly dwelling upon the relation of his soul to God. The result was uttermost rejection of all forms and ceremonies as a part of true religion. "God," he said to himself, "dwells not in temples made with

hands, but in the hearts of His obedient people." The Church of Christ was, he felt, a living church; and he became zealous against reverence paid to churches of brick and stone, which he denied to be churches, and thenceforth called steeple-houses. He not only set himself against those parts of ceremonial which had been a source of contest from the days of Cranmer to the days of Laud, but utterly against all ceremonial, in Church and State. He realised to his own mind a Christian commonwealth in which the civil power is obeyed as far as conscience permits, and, if disobeyed, never resisted; in which the great religious bond of love makes all men equal before God, by teaching man to be the Friend of man. In such a community there should be no untrue forms of ceremonial, no reverence by using the plural pronoun, and addressing one as if he were two, by scraping the foot, or uncovering the head. In all things the simple word or truth was to be all-sufficient, so that Christians would swear not at all, but their word would be simply Yea or Nay. He would have a church of souls with no paid minister, no formal minister of any kind, no formal prayers, and no formal preaching. At the meetings of such a church there should none speak unless it were borne in upon any one that there was something to say fresh from the heart, but in that case each man or woman was free to address the assembled friends. It was in 1647 that Fox began to spread his opinions, and gather friends. Some of their first meetings were held at Dukinfield and Manchester. The protest against formalism was so complete and so unflinching, that it brought the followers of Fox into constant collision with the usages and laws, or supposed laws, of society. If an oath had to be taken it was refused, because it was an oath, and the penalty was borne of the refusal. The hat not removed in church, or in a court of justice, or by a son in presence of his father; the courteous "you" transformed to "thou" in days when "thou," as now in Germany, was used only to an inferior or to an equal friend—offences such as these against the established forms led, Fox says, to "great rage, blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments." Fox was imprisoned first at Nottingham, in 1649, because the spire of the great church had caused him to "go and cry against yonder great idol and the worshippers therein." He stopped the preacher with contradiction in the middle of his sermon, and was imprisoned for interruption of the service; but his religious fervour won the heart of one of the sheriffs, and he was quickly released. But

in 1650 he was arrested at Derby for telling "plain and homely truths" at a gathering summoned by Presbyterian preachers, was taken before the magistrates, and suffered much from Justice Gervas Bennet. It was this justice who first gave to Fox and his friends in derision the name of Quakers, because Fox bade him tremble and quake before the power of the Lord. At Derby, Fox was imprisoned for twelve months in the common gaol on a charge of blasphemy, while his religious life answered the charge, and he, as a guiltless man, refused either to go through the form of being bound to good behaviour, or to allow any one to be surety for him. At last he was released unconditionally. He then preached and drew followers to his cause in Yorkshire and Westmoreland; was charged with blasphemy at Lancaster; imprisoned, in 1653, at Carlisle, and released when the case was brought before Cromwell's first Parliament. In his home at Drayton, in 1654, he disputed with the clergy, was arrested on suspicion of holding or encouraging seditious meetings, and was sent to Cromwell, who heard him at length while he was dressing, took his hand as he left, and said, with tears in his eyes, "Come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour a day together, we should be nearer one to the other." Fox was free again, but he and his followers were still persecuted. The character of other interviews shows clearly that Cromwell recognised a true man in George Fox. His intense religious fervour led to acts of seeming insanity, when a sudden impulse, biblical in its form, was taken with simple faith for a Divine prompting, and acted upon straightway. The body also, both in John Bunyan and in George Fox, was sometimes fevered by the intensity of spiritual life. George Fox's followers were unflinching in their protest. In 1659 two thousand of them had suffered more or less in the foul gaols; and 164 of the Friends offered themselves in place of that number of their fellow-worshippers whom they found to be in danger of death from continuance of their imprisonment. Fox wrote letters, of which many were collected, and about 150 doctrinal pieces. He lived until 1690, and his *Journal of his Life, Travels, Sufferings, &c.*, was published in 1694.

17. Everywhere there was in those days the quickened spirit of inquiry. It entered into politics; and patriotic thinkers, representing many forms of mind, active in fresh examination of the framework of society, sought to find their way to the first principles on which established forms of government are

founded, and part false from true. It entered into religion; and devout men, also representing many forms of mind, went straight to the Bible as the source of revealed truth, seeking to find their way to the first principles on which established forms of faith are founded, and part false from true. It entered into science; and followers of Bacon, hoping to draw wisdom from the work of the All-wise, went straight to Nature as the source of all our material knowledge, and sought, by putting aside previous impressions where they interfered with a new search for truth, to find their way to the first principles upon which a true science is built.

18. These men of science, who were drawn together in the time of Civil War, were active still under the Commonwealth. There was **Robert Boyle** (ch. viii. § 64), with a special turn for chemical investigation, and an ever-present sense of God in nature. During the Commonwealth it was chiefly at Boyle's house, in Oxford, with his sister, Lady Ranelagh, for hostess, that the knot of associated men of science had their meetings. There was **Samuel Hartlib** (ch. viii. § 63), one of the first to suggest fellowship in the pursuit of knowledge, a foreigner who spent his whole fortune for the well-being of England, and was still at work under the Commonwealth, issuing practical books that taught the English farmer to improve his crops. Hartlib's services were recognised by Cromwell with a pension of £300 a year. This ceased at the Restoration, and Hartlib died poor and neglected. There was **John Wallis,** Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford (ch. viii. § 64), who prepared the way for Newton. Newton's binomial theorem was a corollary of the results of Wallis on the quadrature of curves. Wallis published, in 1655, his chief mathematical work, *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, with a prefixed treatise on Conic Sections. **Thomas Hobbes,** who swam out of his depth in mathematics, supposed himself to have squared the circle. Wallis commented on this in his *Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ.* Hobbes, who never took contradiction well, retorted with *Six Lessons to the Professor of Mathematics at Oxford.* Wallis replied, in 1656, with *Due Correction for Mr. Hobbes; or, School Discipline for not saying his Lesson right.* Hobbes rejoined with *Stigmas; or, The Marks of the Absurd Geometry, &c., of Dr. Wallis:* and the controversy went on for some time, Wallis being in the right, and also cleverer than Hobbes in conduct of the controversy. The best of his retorts was *Hobbius Heautontimoroumenos.*

(named from one of the comedies of Terence, Hobbes, the Self-Tormentor), published in 1663. Wallis lived till 1703. Another of these comrades in science was **John Evelyn**, born in 1620, the son of Richard Evelyn, of Wotton, Surrey. Evelyn loved art and nature, had ample means, left England because of the Civil War, and travelled in France and Italy; came home in 1651 with his fair and clever wife, and amused himself with the laying out of his famous gardens at Sayes Court, quietly holding stout Royalist opinions, and avoiding a pledge to the Covenant. In 1659 he sketched a plan of a philosophical college, and published also an *Apology for the Royal Party*. There was also, as Evelyn calls him, that most obliging and universally curious **Dr. Wilkins** (ch. viii. § 59, 64), who had wonderful transparent apiaries; a hollow statue which spoke through a concealed tube; also "a variety of shadows, dyals, perspectives, and many other artificial, mathematical, and magical curiosities, ... most of them of his own and that prodigious young scholar, Mr. Chr. Wren." Young Christopher Wren, nephew of the Bishop of Ely, was also in fellowship among these followers of science. There was **William Petty** (knighted in 1661), born in 1623, son of a clothier at Romsey, educated at the Romsey Grammar School, and Caen, in Normandy. He began active life with some experience in the navy, then, after 1643, was in France and the Netherlands for three years, and studied medicine and anatomy. In 1648 he published *The Advice of W. P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib for the Advancement of some Particular Parts of Learning*, that is, the extension of education to objects more connected with the business of life. He went to Oxford, taught anatomy and chemistry, became in 1649 M.D. and Fellow of Brazenose. Some of the first scientific gatherings were in his rooms. In 1652 he was physician to the army in Ireland; in 1654 obtained a contract for the accurate survey of lands forfeited by the rebellion of 1641, by which he made £10,000 while instituting the first scientific survey of Ireland. Having surveyed the forfeited lands, Petty was a commissioner for parting them among the soldiery, and he enriched himself by profitable purchases. At the end of the Commonwealth his personal dealing with Irish lands was brought in question by Sir Hierom Sankey, but the Commonwealth and the inquiry into Dr. Petty's dealings came to an abrupt end together.

19. The garden and museum at Lambeth of John Tradescant the son, founded by John Tradescant the father, traveller in

Europe, Asia, Africa, and afterwards gardener to Charles I., was one of the scientific curiosities of London under the Commonwealth. Tradescant published, in 1656, a catalogue of the collection, the *Museum Tradescantium.* A great friend of his was **Elias Ashmole** (born 1617, died 1692), who under the Commonwealth studied alchemy; published, in 1652, a *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, containing several Poetical Pieces of our famous Philosophers who have written the Hermetique Mysteries in their own Ancient Language;* in 1654, a *Fasciculus Chemicus;* and, in 1658, *The Way to Bliss*, which expressed faith as it is in the Philosopher's Stone. Ashmole published in 1672 a *History of the Garter.*

When John Tradescant the younger died, in 1662, he left his museum to Ashmole, and the widow contested his right unsuccessfully. Ashmole acquired the museum and gave it to Oxford, where, with his own books and papers afterwards added to the gift, it is now known as the Ashmolean Museum.

Ashmole's taste for the marvellous in nature was shared by **Sir Kenelm Digby.** An Everard Digby, who died in 1592, wrote curious books; his son, Sir Everard, knighted by James I., was hanged, drawn, and quartered for giving £1,500 towards expenses of the Gunpowder Plot. The eldest son of that Sir Everard was Sir Kenelm Digby, born in 1603, and educated at Oxford. He travelled in Spain, discovered, as he supposed, a sympathetic powder for cure of wounds, was knighted in 1623, was sent with a fleet into the Mediterranean in 1628, and returned to the faith of his fathers as a Roman Catholic in 1636. In the Civil Wars he helped the king among the Roman Catholics, and was then exile in France until Cromwell's supremacy gave him liberty to revisit England; but he returned to France. He published, in 1644, a mystical interpretation of *The 22nd Stanza in the 9th Canto of the 2nd Book of Spenser's Faerie Queene;* in 1645, *Two Treatises on the Nature of Bodies and of Man's Soule;* took lively interest in Palingenesis; wrote *Observations upon Sir T. Browne's Religio Medici*, and was ingenious in the pursuit of forms of learning which have proved to be more curious than true. He died in 1665.

William Dugdale, the antiquary, born in 1605 at Coleshill, Warwickshire, was educated at Coventry Free School, and by his father. In 1644 he was made Chester Herald, and was with Charles I. throughout the Civil Wars. Under the Commonwealth, he produced in 1655, with Roger Dodsworth, the first of

the three folio volumes (the others followed in 1661 and 1673) of his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, giving chiefly the foundation charters of the English monasteries. Many Puritans saw in the book a first attempt towards the re-introduction of Catholicism. In 1656, Dugdale published the result of twenty years' research in a learned, accurate, and honest account of his native county, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, the best of our old county histories. This was followed, in 1658, by the *History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, from its Foundation until these Times*. Dugdale was knighted after the Restoration, and made Garter King at Arms. He died in 1686.

John Rushworth, born in Northumberland, in 1607, and educated at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, was an expert shorthand writer, employed to take down the most important debates in Parliament and in high courts of justice. In 1640 he was one of the clerks of the House of Commons, and afterwards secretary to Fairfax. In 1658 he was member for Berwick. In was in 1659 that he issued, dedicated to Richard, Lord Protector, the first of the seven folios (the last appeared in 1701) of his *Historical Collections of Private Matters of State, Weighty Matters in Law, Remarkable Proceedings in Five Parliaments, from* 1618 *to* 1648. *The Tryall of Thomas, Earl of Strafford*, forming an eighth volume, appeared in 1680. From Rushworth to light literature is a stride.

20. **Sir Richard Fanshawe,** a firm Royalist, and secretary to Charles Prince of Wales, to whom he had dedicated, in 1647, his *Translation of the Pastor Fido of Guarini*, published in 1655 a translation of the national epic of the Portuguese, *The Lusiad* of Camoens. **Sir Thomas Urquhart** published, in 1653, a translation of Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. Translations of the French romances of Magdeleine de Scuderi, Calprenède, and others, appeared throughout the Commonwealth, and an attempt was made at an original imitation of them by **Roger Boyle** (ch. viii. § 64) in his *Parthenissa*. But **Nathaniel Ingelo,** D.D., who looked upon the writing and reading of romances as "impertinencies of mankind," and poetry and romances as "pitiful things," produced, in 1660, an antidote, in form of a romance, called *Bentivoglio and Urania*, wherein Bentivoglio, or Goodwill, born in the higher Theoprepia, or a state worthy of God, is enamoured of Urania, who represents Heavenly Light or Divine Wisdom, and has allegorical experience in divers godly and ungodly states.

21. **Izaak Walton**, born in 1593 at Stafford, was a hosier in the Royal Exchange, and afterwards in Fleet Street, near Chancery Lane, making money enough to retire upon and take life easily. In 1636 he married a descendant of Cranmer. He was left a widower in 1640. In 1647 he married a sister of Bishop Ken, and he had children by each of his wives. He was a hearty Royalist and churchman, who loved God and Nature with simplicity of mind, and greatly relished a day's fishing. In 1653 he gave to his countrymen the first edition of *The Compleat Angler; or, the Contemplative Man's Recreation: being a Discourse of Fish and Fishing*, in form of dialogue, with pictures of the trout, pike, carp, tench, perch, and barbel. In 1655 a second edition appeared, almost rewritten, much enlarged, with three speakers, Piscator, Venator (taking the place of Viator), and Auceps; Fisher, Hunter, and Birdcatcher; and with four more plates of fish.

22. We now turn to the poets. **Abraham Cowley** (ch. viii. § 48) remained in France till 1656, and then returned to England, was taken prisoner by messengers in search for another man, and released upon security given for him by a friend. He remained quietly in London till the death of Cromwell, published in 1656, in folio, the first edition of his *Works*, declaring in the preface that his desire had been for some days past, and did still very vehemently continue, to retire himself to some of the American plantations, and forsake this world for ever. In 1657 he was made M.D. of Oxford, and with a poet's sense of the charm of science, he devoted himself to the study of botany. Dr. Cowley took a lively interest in the fellowship of men of science, and the best way of advancing scientific knowledge. At the death of Cromwell he returned to France.

23. **Sir William Davenant** (ch. viii. § 36) was living with Lord Jermyn in the Louvre, when, in January, 1650, he dated the *Discourse upon Gondibert, an Heroic Poem*, addressed to Thomas Hobbes, who had been reading the poem as it was written. It occurred to him to go to the loyal colony of Virginia with a body of workmen, but the vessel in which he sailed was taken by one of the ships of the Parliament, and Davenant carried to the Isle of Wight, where he was imprisoned in Cowes Castle. There he continued "Gondibert" to the middle of the third book, and as that was half the poem—for his plan was to have five books answering to five acts of a play, with cantos answering to scenes—he wrote a "Postscript to the

Reader," dated "Cowes Castle, October 22, 1650," and sent it to the press. With its prefatory discourse and postscript this half of the poem, which was left a fragment, appeared in 1651. Of the two books written at the date of the preface "to his much Honour'd Friend, Mr. Hobbes," Davenant said, "I delay the publication of any part of the poem till I can send it you from America, whither I now speedily prepare; having the folly to hope that when I am in another world (though not in the common sense of dying) I shall find my readers, even the poets of the present age, as temperate and benign as we are all to the dead whose remote excellence cannot hinder our reputation." In the Postscript to the Reader, written at Cowes Castle, Davenant believed that he should, in the common sense, speak from another world, and said, "'Tis high time to strike sail and cast anchor, though I have but run half my course, when at the helm I am threatened with Death, who, though he can visit us but once, seems troublesome; and even in the innocent can beget such a gravity as disturbs the music of verse." Davenant was brought to London for trial, and his life was saved, some say by two Aldermen of York, some say by Milton. He was detained a prisoner for two years, but treated with indulgence. Davenant and his "Gondibert" were laughed at, in 1653, by four writers of *Certain Verses written by several of the Author's Friends, to be Reprinted in the Second Edition of Gondibert*, and these critics were not "temperate and benign." But the book has interest for the student. The long, grave, half-philosophical preface, prosing about rhyming, marks very distinctly that influence of France upon our literature of which the grounds were then fully established, and which came in with the Restoration. As to metre, the use in a heroic poem of what Davenant called his "interwoven stanza of four" was preferred, he said, "because he believed it would be more pleasant to the reader, in a work of length, to give this respite or pause between every stanza (having endeavoured that each should contain a period) than to run him out of breath with continued couplets. Nor doth alternate rhyme by any lowliness of cadence make the sound less heroick, but rather adapt it to a plain and stately composing of musick; and the brevity of the stanza renders it less subtle to the composer and more easy to the singer, which, in *stilo recitativo*, when the story is long, is chiefly requisite." He adds that he was chiefly influenced by hope that the cantos of his poem might really be sung at village feasts Dryden for

a time followed Davenant's adoption of this measure as the heroic stanza, which Davenant found ready perfected in Sir John Davies's *Nosce Teipsum* (ch. vii. § 81). In its design, the poem blends something of the political philosophy of Hobbes with the keen interest in Nature quickened by Bacon, and seeks to build on them a song of love and war, designed, as Davenant said of it in his Postscript, "to strip Nature naked, and clothe her again in the perfect shape of virtue." The Lombard Aribert rules in Verona; his only child is a daughter, Rhodalind. Either Prince Oswald or Duke Gondibert, both mighty in war, might wed the damsel, and succeed to empire. Oswald is brilliant and ambitious of rule; Gondibert has ambition of a higher kind. Each has his camp and faction. There is a hunting of Gondibert's, leading to an ambush of Oswald's, and a duel, in which Gondibert is wounded, Oswald slain. Then, at the close of the first book, Gondibert is taken, by advice of the aged Ulfin, to the house of Astragon, the wise and wealthy.

"Though cautious Nature, check'd by Destiny,
Has many secrets she would ne'er impart;
This famed philosopher is Nature's spie,
And hireless gives th' intelligence to Art."

In the next book, after four cantos of events at Verona, the seat of empire, where Rhodalind can give supreme rule with her hand, we find Gondibert in the house of Astragon, which is more full of signs of deep inquiry into Nature than John Evelyn found the lodgings of "the most obliging and universally curious Dr. Wilkins." Over one gate is written, "Great Nature's Office," where old busy men are labouring as Nature's registrars; there is a garden, "Nature's Nursery;" a skeleton room, called "The Cabinet of Death:"

"Which some the Monument of Bodies name;
The Arke, which saves from graves all dying kindes:
This to a structure led, long known to Fame,
And call'd the Monument of Vanish'd Minds.

"Where, when they thought they saw in well-sought books,
Th' assembled soules of all that Men hold wise,
It bred such awfull rev'rence in their looks,
As if they saw the bury'd writers rise."

There is also a triple Temple, dedicate "To Days of Praise, and Penitence, and Prayer." In this half mythical house of Astragon there is Birtha, daughter of Astragon, who tends Gondibert's wounds, and whose womanhood is partly an ideal of the simple

beauty and beneficence of Nature. Her Gondibert loves, though Aribert had destined him for Rhodalind. When Gondibert seeks Astragon's assent to this love, he has to give an account of himself to the lady's father, and expresses much of the main thought of the poem by telling in what way he is ambitious. He has vanquished the Huns, he would conquer the world, but only because division of interest is the main cause of discord (here Thomas Hobbes approved the writer's principles), and Gondibert wished to bring the universe, for its own peace, under a single monarchy. A great warlike ambition; but, he says:

"But let not what so needfully was done,
Though still pursued, make you ambition feare;
For could I force all monarchys to one,
That universal crown I would not weare.

"He who does blindly soar at Rhodalind,
Mounts like seeld Doves, still higher from his case;
And in the lust of empire he may finde,
High hope does better than fruition please.

"The victor's solid recompence is rest;
And 'tis unjust that chiefs who pleasure shunn,
Toyling in youth, should be in age opprest
With greater toyles, by ruling what they wonn.

"Here all reward of conquest I would finde;
Leave shining thrones for Birtha in a shade;
With Nature's quiet wonders fill my minde,
And praise her most because she Birtha made."

Davenant is artificial in his praise of Nature, but there is true dignity in many passages of "Gondibert," with frequent felicity of expression; there is such aim at ingenuity as we find in the later Euphuists, modified by the new influence of the French critical school. Its chance of a good reception was not improved by Hobbes's declaration, made in its behalf, that "Gondibert" deserved to last as long as the Æneid or Iliad. The jest was ready against a book not serious enough for one-half of the public and too serious for the other, that said, laughing:

"Room for the best of poets heroic,
If you'll believe two wits and a stoic.
Down go the Iliads, down go the Æneidos:
All must give place to the Gondiberteidos."

24. **John Dryden,** born August 9th, 1631, at Aldwincle, in Northamptonshire, of good family, was educated at Westminster School, where he wrote some euphuistic verse, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree of B.A. in 1654.

the year of his father's death. He seems to have come to London in the summer of 1657, and was at first in the home of his cousin, and Cromwell's friend, Sir Gilbert Pickering. He was in his twenty-eighth year when Cromwell died, on the 3rd of September, 1658, and he wrote, after the funeral, one of the many tributes to his memory, *Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell*, using the measure of "Gondibert." With customary strain to be ingenious, there was a simple close.

George Wither (ch. viii. § 39) and **Andrew Marvell** (§ 8) had followed Cromwell's career with their verse. George Wither had published, in 1655, a poem called *The Protector*, upon Cromwell's acceptance of that office. Andrew Marvell had written loyally on the first anniversary of his government, and he was now among the mourners.

25. The fabric held together by the might of Cromwell fell after his death. His amiable son Richard called a Parliament which vanished before the power of the army, and Richard Cromwell passed from the Protectorate to private life. He lived to see the Revolution, and he died a country gentleman, in 1712. The attempt to revive the Long Parliament as a central authority failed also to restrain the army. George Monk marched out of Scotland to subdue, as he said, the military tyranny in England, but it was soon evident that there was no hopeful way out of the discord but a Restoration of the Monarchy.

In these days **John Milton**, first fearing predominance of the Presbyterians, had addressed to the Parliament called by Richard Cromwell *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, showing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of religion. To the revived Long Parliament, which succeeded the short-lived Parliament called by Richard Cromwell, Milton addressed *Considerations touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church*, in which he argued that each pastor should be maintained by his own flock. On the 20th of October, 1659, Milton wrote a letter to a friend *On the Ruptures of the Commonwealth*, and addressed a brief letter to Monk on *The Present Means and Brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth, easy to be put in Practice and without Delay.* A few months later he published a pamphlet called *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, and the Excellence thereof, compared with the Inconveniences and Dangers of Re-admitting Kingship in this Nation.* His main suggestion was: "Being now in anarchy, without a counselling

and governing power, and the army, I suppose, finding themselves insufficient to discharge at once both military and civil affairs, the first thing to be found out with all speed, without which no Commonwealth can subsist, must be a Senate, or General Council of State, in whom must be the power, first, to preserve the public peace; next, the commerce with foreign nations; and, lastly, to raise monies for the management of those affairs: this must either be the Parliament re-admitted to sit, or a Council of State allowed of by the army, since they only now have the power. The terms to be stood on are, liberty of conscience to all professing Scripture to be their rule of faith and worship; and the abjuration of a single person." He urged to the last moment of hope the first principles of what he said is not called amiss "the good old cause;" adding, "Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I was sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones; and had none to cry to but with the prophet, 'O Earth, Earth, Earth!' to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which Thou suffer not who didst create mankind free, nor Thou next who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last words of our expiring liberty."

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE COMMONWEALTH TO THE REVOLUTION.

CHARLES II.

1. THE second of the Four Periods into which, with reference to outward fashion only, English Literature is divided, was now passing away, and the third—*the Period of French Influence*—came in rapidly after the accession of Charles II. We should have felt it sooner if we had been less intent upon our own affairs during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth, for the foundations of it were laid while Charles I. was our king. The English Royalists who lived in France after the failure of the king's cause were there being educated in its fashions.

Italian influence in France, blended as elsewhere with influence of Spain, had produced forms answering to English Euphuism; but they were of a lower kind, because there was not then in France, as in England, a time of special literary energy. There was a taste for long stories, blending the Spanish

chivalrous romance with the pastoral (ch. vi. § 39, 40), a more marked classicism, a delight in sounding phrases. In the time of our Elizabeth, Ronsard (b. 1524, d. 1585) was extending the use of the ten-syllabled line, rhymed in couplets, which became to the French what blank verse has become to us. Our poets were then experimenting, with various success, in the enrichment of the language with new words from Greek and Latin. Ronsard carried this far, tried Latin signs of comparison—*docte*, *doctieur*, *doctime*—and made a verse of three of the words that he wished he might use—"*ocymore*, *dyspotme*, *oligochronien*." Malherbe (b. 1555, d. 1628) followed Ronsard with finer taste, and was, during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the most determined champion of the verbal purity of French. He was known as the tyrant of words and syllables. "This doctor in the vulgar tongue," wrote his friend Balzac, "used to say that for so many years he had been trying to de-Gasconise the Court, and that he could not do it. Death surprised him when rounding a period." "An hour before his death," says his disciple Racan, "Malherbe woke up with a start to correct his nurse for use of a word that was not good French; and when his confessor reprimanded him for that, he said that he could not help himself, and that he would defend to the death the purity of the French language." We only understand, but Malherbe felt, the need of earnest critical attention to the unsettled language of his country as France rose in power. Deliberation in the choice of words made him a slow writer. He spent three years in the composition of an ode intended to console the President of Verdun for the loss of a wife. When the ode was finished, the president had consoled himself by marrying another.

Sidney's *Arcadia* (ch. vii. § 44), which first blended the heroic with the pastoral in a long romance of adventure, had in England no direct imitators; but in France books of this kind established themselves as the prose fiction of their day, and the best of them, as we have seen (ch. ix. § 20) were translated into English during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth. Their line began with the *Astrée* of Honoré d'Urfé (b. 1567, d. 1625), first appearing in 1608, 10, 19, in three parts. His secretary, Baro, published the rest, completed in 1627. Our version appeared in 1657, as *Astrea: A Romance written in French, by Messere Honoré d'Urfe, and Translated by a Person of Quality*. Its primitive Arcadia was placed in the valley of the Loire; and its variety of

excellent discourses and extraordinary sententiousness caused Richelieu to say that "He was not to be admitted into the Academy of Wit who had not been well read in 'Astrea.'"

In the year 1600, Catherine de Vivonne de Pisani married, at the age of sixteen, the Marquis de Rambouillet, Grand Master of the Royal Wardrobe. In the polite society gathered about her at the Hôtel Rambouillet ladies predominated; and they occupied themselves so much with the maintenance of a high standard of refinement in speech, that they and their imitators were called, in all gravity, and in their own fine phrase, *Les Précieuses.* French was unsettled. North and south of the Loire the difference of dialect was almost difference of language. The court dialect of Henry IV. and his Béarnois shocked all the polite Parisians; the king's oaths shocked the ladies. In those days polite people were reading the polite dialogue of "Astrée," *Malherbe* was upholding purity of French, *Vaugelas* (b. 1585, d. 1650) was giving his mind to a refined study of the language, and the blossom-time of French literature was not far distant. But of what use to have a literature where the language is unsettled, and a hundred years hence its changes will defeat an author's hope of outliving his body in his books? The ladies of Paris began the movement of reform by exercising social influence; and the Marquise de Rambouillet, reinforced by four daughters, was still living at the accession of Charles II. Many English "persons of quality" in Paris during the Commonwealth would be among her guests. The doings of the *Précieuses*, though blended with weakness and affectation, had importance for the history of literature during the first thirty or forty years of the seventeenth century. Receiving company while on her bed, after a fashion of the time and the manner of the whole community of the *Précieuses*, who followed in her steps—so giving to fashion the phrase "courir les ruelles"—and in winter denying fire as perilous to the complexion of herself and of her delicate guests in chamber, corridor, or alcove, the Marquise de Rambouillet welcomed princes and wits at her weekly feasts of verbal criticism. Before her circle Pierre Corneille read his tragedies, and the youth Bossuet first displayed the genius of the preacher. Purity of speech was demanded of all who frequented the Hôtel Rambouillet. There was to be no unclean word, and much that was common it pleased the particular genius of the house to call unclean. The marchioness disdaining her own common name of Catherine, Malherbe tortured his wit and produced for her

instead of it Arthénice, its anagram. Vaugelas, the grammarian, ranked above princes at the Hôtel Rambouillet. "If the word *féliciter* is not yet French," wrote Balzac, "it will be so next year; M. de Vaugelas has given me his word not to oppose it." Over-familiar words, if tolerated by the French at large, were replaced at the head-quarters of polite speech by delicately-conceited phrases. As the marchioness saw company in her night-cap, and the idea Night-cap might have to be expressed in conversation, while the word was too coarse for choice lips, its association with sleep and dreams suggested that it might be referred to as "the innocent accomplice of falsehood." Laughter was clownish, but if mentioned it might be described as loss of seriousness. Literature itself was not to be debased into a pleasure for the vulgar; it was not to be national, it was to be all polite. In 1629, gatherings allied to these became habitual at the house of Valentine Conrart, one of the king's secretaries, who had a turn for books; and out of these meetings came Richelieu's suggestion that Conrart and his fellow-workers should proceed systematically, following a fashion common in Italy, but chiefly imitating the Academia della Crusca, founded in 1582, and rule over French, under royal letters-patent, as a *French Academy*, with forty members. The formation of this academy was completed in 1636. It was to meet once a week, to labour with all possible care and diligence to give fixed rules to the language, and to make it more eloquent and fitter for the treatment of the arts and sciences. It was to produce a dictionary. Only words in the dictionary of the Academy were to be esteemed good French. It was to produce also a grammar, a treatise on rhetoric, and a treatise of poetry, establishing its laws for the politest literature of all kinds. The great question of choice of words, and criticism about verse and prose, now occupied many minds; and as Regnier said of the critics of this school, all they did was to prose about rhyme and rhyme about prose.

"S'ils font quelque chose,
C'est proser de la rime, et rimer de la prose."

Poets were small and romancers long-winded. The diffuse pastoral romances dealt only with the love and heroism of royal personages. The chief writers of those romances, all born about the beginning of the seventeenth century, were *Marin le Roy de Gomberville*, who wrote "Polexandre," "Cytherée," and "La Jeune Alcidiane;" *Gautier de Costes Seigneur de la Calprenède*,