fore, was reserved, and *The Country Wife*, written at the age of thirty-two, when his earlier plays began to appear on the stage, was produced with great success in 1675. Then came, in 1677, *The Plain Dealer* on the stage, and those were the four comedies of Wycherley, all produced in the reign of Charles II. He lived till 1715, but wrote no more plays. After the publication of this play, Wycherley was in a bookseller's shop at Tunbridge Wells with a friend, Mr. Fairbeard, when a rich, handsome young widow, the Countess of Drogheda, came into the shop and asked for "The Plain Dealer." "Madam," said Mr. Fairbeard, since you are for the Plain Dealer, there he is for you," and pushed Wycherley towards her. This introduction led to their marriage. The lady proved a fond and jealous wife. She died soon, leaving Wycherley her fortune; but his title to it was successfully disputed, he was ruined by law-suits, and spent the last years of the reign of Charles II. in a debtor's prison. James II., after witnessing a performance of "The Plain Dealer," rescued its author from prison by giving him a pension of £200 a year and offering to pay his debts. But Wycherley did not venture to name all his debts, and left enough unpaid to weigh him down in after life.

Wycherley was the first vigorous writer of what has been called our Prose Comedy of Manners. In the absence of all that poetry which lies in a perception of the deeper truths and harmonies of life, his plays resemble other comedies of the later Stuart drama. There was little of it even in the metrical heroic plays. But Wycherley's differ from other comedies of their time by blending with surface reflection of the manners of an evil time a larger, healthier sense of the humours of men, caught from enjoyment of Molière. Wycherley's best plays are founded upon Molière—*The Country Wife* upon *l'Ecole des Femmes*, and *The Plain Dealer* on *Le Misanthrope*. They are not translations; but in turns of plot and certain characters the direct and strong influence of Molière is evident. Dryden and others borrowed from Molière; Wycherley was, in a way, inspired by him. He had not Molière's rare genius, and could not reproduce the masterly simplicity and ease of dialogue that is witty, and wise, too, in every turn, while yet so natural as to show no trace of a strain for effect; that is nowhere fettered to a false conventionality, but so paints humours of life as to be good reading for ever, alike to the strong men and to girls and boys. Our English writers of the Prose Comedy of Manners

cannot claim readers, like Molière, from civilized Europe in all after time; but, as compared with other English dramatists of their own time, they did widen the range of character-painting—witness the widow Blackacre and her law-suit in *The Plain Dealer*—and they did take pains to put substance of wit into their dialogue. Four dramatists are the chiefs of this school of prose comedy—Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar. Of these Wycherley came first, and wrote his four plays in the reign of Charles II. His last play was acted sixteen years before the first of Congreve's. Congreve's plays were all produced in the reign of William III., and those of Vanbrugh and Farquhar in the reigns of William and of Queen Anne.

Thomas Southern, whom Dryden afterwards commended for his purity, was born in Dublin in 1660. He came to London in 1678, and at the age of eighteen entered the Middle Temple. He was but twenty-two when, in 1682, his tragedy of *The Loyal Brother; or, the Persian Prince*, was acted. The controversy over the succession of the king's brother then ran high, and Southern, taking the side of the court, meant his play, of which the plot was from a novel, "Tachmas, Prince of Persia," to be taken as a compliment to James, Duke of York. It was followed, in 1684, by a comedy, *The Disappointment; or, the Mother in Fashion*, which had a plot taken from the novel in "Don Quixote" of "The Curious Impertinent."

Thomas Brown, a witty and coarse writer of trifles, whose name afterwards as Tom Brown became very familiar in society, began his career towards the close of Charles II.'s reign. He was born in 1663, the son of a farmer, at Shiffnal, Shropshire; became a clever but discreditable student of Christchurch, Oxford; acquired skill in French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as Latin and Greek; was obliged by his irregularities to leave the University, and was schoolmaster for a time at Kingston-on-Thames. Then he came to London, lazy, low-minded, dissolute, and clever, to live as he could by his wit.

39. We now pass out of the reign of Charles II. with those writers who illustrate especially the course of events leading towards the Revolution.

Sir William Temple, born in 1628, the son of Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, studied under Cudworth (§ 22), at Cambridge, in the days of civil war. After two years at Emmanuel College, he left without a degree, travelled, became master of French and Spanish, married, and

towards the close of the Commonwealth lived with his father in Ireland. In 1663 he came to London with his wife, and attached himself to the rising fortunes of Lord Arlington, who sent him during the Dutch war as an English agent, with promise of subsidy, to our ally the Bishop of Munster. He was then made a baronet, and appointed Resident at the viceregal court of Brussels. There he developed his skill in diplomacy. At the time of the Peace of Breda, in July, 1667, which ended war with the Dutch, the ambition of Louis XIV., his lust of conquest, and his impersonation of his own maxim—"The state is myself" (*L'Etat c'est moi*)—caused France under his rule to take the place once occupied by Spain as a public enemy. After the death of Philip IV. of Spain, in 1665, Louis XIV. had claimed Brabant, Flanders, and all Spanish possessions in the Low Countries, by right of his queen, in accordance with a local custom, which placed daughters by a first wife above sons by a second, in questions of inheritance. In May, 1667, in pursuance of this claim, he sent Turenne with an army into Flanders, captured towns, and at the end of August made a three months' truce. Sir William Temple then got leave to make an unofficial tour in Holland. When at the Hague he called on the Grand Pensionary, John de Witt, the active mind of Holland at that time, said that his only business was to see what was worth seeing in Holland, and added, "I should execute my design very imperfectly if I went away without seeing you." Then Sir William Temple talked naturally with De Witt over the relations between England and Holland, and heard simply expressed the wish for a general coalition to save Flanders. Temple urged on unwilling ministers at home accord with this. Charles hoped to rule England by help of the King of France. But public opinion was strong, although he had done what he could towards the suppression of it. Although the fall of Clarendon, at the close of 1667, was forced by popular antagonism to his principles, the court was glad to get rid of him as a grave and steady man. "He had," says Evelyn, "enemies at court, especially the buffoons and ladies of pleasure, because he thwarted some of them and stood in their way." Pepys tells how Lady Castlemaine, whose aviary overlooked the Whitehall Gardens, rushed thither from her bed at noon, "And thither her woman brought her her night-gown, and she stood blessing herself at the old man's going away; and several of the gallants of Whitehall—of which there were

many staying to see the chancellor's return—did talk to her in her birdcage." George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was then Chief Minister for a time, with Arlington as Secretary of State; but the Parliament was still threatening, the foreign policy of the Government was being censured, and very soon after the fall of Clarendon the new ministers resolved to bid for popularity by authorising Sir William Temple to treat with De Witt. Temple then acted the part of Plain Dealer in the highest sense of the word, and in five days secured the Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, which could not have been obtained by the old diplomatic forms within five months. The result of this alliance was that Louis XIV., who had already sent his armies into Franche Comté, gave up that conquest and made peace. England thus won, for the first time in the reign of Charles II., respect in Europe; Englishmen of all parties at home were proud of the bloodless victory; and Sir William Temple, as its author, rose to fame as a great diplomatist and patriotic statesman. He became Ambassador at the Hague, and was there when the king, with help of the Cabal Ministry, resumed the livery of his French master.

40. Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury—Dryden's Achitophel—was born in 1621, son of Sir John Cooper and Anne, heiress of Sir Anthony Ashley, of Wimborne St. Giles, Dorsetshire. By the death of his father he became Sir Anthony at ten years old, and inherited the estates of his father and of Sir Anthony Ashley, which were very large. He went to study at Oxford in 1636; in 1638 became student of law at Lincoln's Inn; was member for Tewkesbury in 1640, did not sit in the Long Parliament, followed the king till 1643, and was then strong on the side of the Parliament. He raised a force in Dorsetshire, stormed Wareham, and reduced the surrounding country. Though suspected of some Royalism, Sir Anthony Cooper was a member of Cromwell's first Parliament, was appointed one of the Protector's Council of State, and often opposed his designs. In April, 1660, he was one of those appointed to draw up an invitation to the king, and one of the commissioners sent over to Breda. Monk made much use of his counsel. When Charles came over, Sir Anthony was made Governor of the Isle of Wight, colonel of a regiment of horse, Lord-Lieutenant of Dorset, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Privy Councillor. In 1661 he was made Baron Ashley, of Wimborne St. Giles, with acknowledgment that the Restoration

was due to "his wisdom in counsels in concert with General Monk." As Chancellor of the Exchequer, serving under Lord Treasurer the Earl of Southampton, his relation and intimate friend, Lord Ashley, who had an intensely active mind in a small body, managed affairs in his own way; but while Clarendon was in power he belonged to an opposition section of the Ministry. He resisted the Uniformity Bill, and other measures against Dissenters; opposed the French connection, the sale of Dunkirk, and the war with the Dutch. He spoke, says Clarendon, "with great sharpness of wit, and had a cadence in his words and pronunciation that drew attention." In May, 1667, the Lord Treasurer died. Ashley remained Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was made one of the commissioners for executing the office of Lord Treasurer. This was Lord Ashley's position when he brought John Locke into his house.

John Locke was born at Wrington, Somersetshire, on the 29th of August, 1632. His father served in the Parliamentary Wars under Colonel Popham, by whose advice Locke was sent to Westminster School. In 1651, he was elected student of Christchurch, Oxford, where he turned from the Aristotelian scholastic philosophy, read Bacon, and read also Descartes, through whom, by study of an opposing doctrine, he became more strongly animated with the spirit of Bacon's teaching. The new and growing interest in scientific studies caused Locke to find charm in experimental science. Having taken his degree in arts, he made physic his profession, and practised a little in Oxford. But Locke's health was delicate; and in 1664 he went abroad as secretary to Sir William Swan, then sent as envoy to some German princes. After a year's absence, he returned to Oxford, and was there when Lord Ashley was sent from London to drink mineral waters at Acton for an abscess in the breast. Lord Ashley wrote to ask Dr. Thomas, a physician at Oxford, to have the waters ready against his coming there. Dr. Thomas, being called away, asked his friend, Mr. Locke, to procure them. He employed somebody who disappointed him, and had to call upon Lord Ashley to make apologies. Lord Ashley kept him to supper, asked him to dinner next day, became fascinated by his liberal and thoughtful conversation, and, in 1667, asked him to stay at his house in London; he also followed Locke's advice in opening the abscess on his breast, a sore, probably scrofulous, which never healed. Shaftesbury urged upon Locke not to pursue medicine as a profession, beyond

using his skill among his friends, but to devote the powers of his mind to study of the great questions in politics. Locke did so, and was often consulted by a patron who was but an erratic follower of principles which Locke developed and maintained throughout his life with calm consistency. As one of those included in the grant of Carolina, Lord Ashley employed Locke to draw up a constitution for the new colony; he did so, and showed in it a strong regard for civil and religious liberty. In 1668 Locke became one of the Fellows of the Royal Society. Soon afterwards he went abroad with the Earl and Countess of Northumberland; but the earl died at Turin, in May, 1670. Locke returned to England, lived again with Lord Ashley, and was asked by him to undertake the education of his only son. About the same time he was present in Oxford at a lively discussion, where it seemed to him that the differences of opinion lay wholly in words. This thought first turned his mind in the direction of his Essay concerning Human Understanding.

41. In 1670, while Locke was at Turin, there were the negotiations at Dover which led to the secret agreement of Charles II. and his new Cabinet, the Cabal Ministry—Sir Thomas Clifford, Lord Ashley, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Arlington, and the Duke of Lauderdale—with Louis XIV. Charles agreed, for an annual subsidy of £120,000 during the war, to abandon his allies, join Louis in invading Holland, make a public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, and encourage it as much as possible in his dominions. If this led to rebellion in England, Louis promised to help Charles against England with men and money. **Sir William Temple** was summoned to London. De Witt doubted the aspect of affairs. Sir William Temple said, "I can answer only for myself. If a new system be adopted, I will never have a part in it. If I return you will know more; if not, you will guess more." Temple came home to be civilly slighted until June, 1671, when the secret treaty with France had been ratified, and open action was to follow. Temple was then formally dismissed from his ambassador's office, and retired into private life at Sheen, where he wrote an *Essay on Government*, and an *Account of the United Provinces*.

In 1670 the Act of 1664 against Conventicles was renewed with increase of severity. Under this Act, **William Penn** had been imprisoned. He was born in 1644, the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, educated at Christchurch, Oxford; and, having

turned Quaker, was twice turned out of doors by his father. Then he was tolerated, but not helped, at home, and no effort was made to release him when he was imprisoned for attendance at religious meetings. He began at the age of twenty-four (in 1668) to preach and write. For his second paper, *The Sandy Foundation*, he was imprisoned seven months in the Tower, and he wrote in prison, at the age of twenty-five, his most popular book, *No Cross no Crown.* He obtained release by a vindication called *Innocency with her Open Face.* In 1670 his father died, reconciled to him. Penn inherited his estate, then wrote, travelled, supported his religious faith, and in 1681, for his father's services and debts to him from the Crown, obtained a grant of New Netherlands, thenceforward called Pennsylvania. In 1682, having published his scheme in *A Brief Account of the Colony of Pennsylvania*, he embarked, and, in 1683, founded Philadelphia. In 1684, the last year of Charles II., Penn revisited England.

England and France declared war against Holland in March, 1672; and at the same time Charles obeyed that part of his secret instructions which bound him to aid the Catholics, by issuing, on his own royal authority, a Declaration of Indulgence in Religion, suspending the execution of all penal laws against Nonconformists and recusants. It was this that released **John Bunyan** from his long imprisonment in Bedford Jail (§ 20).

John Locke urged on his patron, who, in April, 1672, was made Earl of Shaftesbury, the tyranny involved in this claim of a dispensing power, the sole right to loosen implying also the sole right to bind. In November, Shaftesbury succeeded Sir Orlando Bridgman as Lord Chancellor, and made John Locke Secretary of Presentations under him. In June, 1673, he made him also secretary to a commission of the Board of Trade, over which Shaftesbury was president. Locke held the office in Chancery only while his friend was Chancellor. The secretaryship, which was worth £500 a year, he retained till the commission expired, in December, 1674. With little knowledge of law, and much disrespect for it, Shaftesbury sought, as Lord Chancellor, to decide honestly and promptly, in accordance with what seemed to him justice and good sense. But the lawyers taught him by incessant arguments upon notices of motion to discharge his orders. Dryden, in otherwise pitiless satire against Shaftesbury, inserted praise of him as a chancellor who strove,

"Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress,
Swift of dispatch, and easy of access."

The House of Commons meanwhile had compelled the king to retract his Declaration of Indulgence, and passed a Test Act, declaring all persons incapable of public employment who did not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. The Duke of York, who was honest in profession of his faith, had to resign his post of Lord High Admiral. Parliament was prorogued with a motion before it against the French alliance; the Cabal Ministry broke up; Shaftesbury, ceasing to be chancellor, in November, 1673, went into opposition; and there followed a long struggle between the King and the Commons. Charles met his Parliament of 1674—the year of Milton's death—with a direct falsehood. He denied that there was any secret treaty with the King of France. The Commons refused more supplies for the disgraceful war, and Sir William Temple was drawn from his retirement to negotiate a separate peace with Holland. This done, he went back as Ambassador to the Hague, and William of Orange rose equal to the occasion in the fight with France. Then it was found that Charles, in spite of the peace, had left troops with Monmouth to assist the French; but Charles's minister, Danby, smoothed the way with the bribery of members of Parliament that Andrew Marvell satirized (§ 35). Persecution of the Nonconformists was a source of petty plunder. Baxter tells how he was "being newly risen from extremity of pain, suddenly surprised in my house by a poor violent informer and many constables and officers, who rushed in and apprehended me, and served on me one warrant to seize on my person for coming within five miles of a corporation, and five more warrants to distrain for an hundred and ninety pounds, for five sermons." In such days one of the king's mistresses had in a single year £136,668 out of the Secret Service money. In November, 1675, Charles prorogued Parliament for fifteen months, and was paid by the King of France five hundred thousand crowns for that personal service to himself. He took, also, a pension, on condition of dissolving any Parliament that offered to force on him a treaty which had not received the assent of Louis XIV. At the end of December, 1675, the licenses of coffee-houses were withdrawn, and they were shut up, because of the talk in them on the condition of the country. Among others was Will's Coffee-house, kept by William Irwin,

at the house on the north side of Russell Street, at the end of Bow Street, which, through Dryden's use of it, had become the great resort of the wits of the time.

42. After private letters and occasional printed pamphlets of news, Mercuries of the Civil War had been the first active beginnings of the newspaper. **Marchmont Needham** had attacked Charles I. in the "Mercurius Britannicus," was imprisoned, pardoned, and set up a "Mercurius Pragmaticus" against the king's enemies. By the king's enemies Needham was imprisoned, pardoned, and then wrote for ten years "Mercurius Politicus" against the Royalists. Charles II. pardoned him, and he died in 1678. **Roger l'Estrange,** youngest son of Sir Hammond l'Estrange, born in Norfolk, in 1616, and educated at Cambridge, had been a friend of Charles I., and narrowly escaped execution in the Civil Wars. In 1663 he published a pamphlet entitled, *Considerations and Proposals in order to the Regulation of the Press; together with Diverse Instances of Treasonous and Seditious Pamphlets, proving the Necessity thereof.* This got him the post of Licenser, in succession to Sir John Birkenhead, and also "all the sole privilege of printing and publishing all narratives, advertisements, Mercuries, intelligencers, diurnals, and other books of public intelligence." He began business at the end of August, 1663, with *The Public Intelligencer*, and introduced it with this doctrine: "As to the point of printed intelligence, I do declare myself (as I hope I may in a matter left so absolutely indifferent, whether any or none) that supposing the press in order, the people in their right wits, and news or no news to be the question, a public Mercury should never have my vote; because I think it makes the multitude too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors, too pragmatical and censorious, and gives them not only an itch, but a kind of colourable right and license to be meddling with the government." Still he would do what he might to "redeem the vulgar from their former mistakes and illusions." As for reports of debates in Parliament, "I have observed," says L'Estrange, "very ill effects many times from the ordinary written papers of Parliament news"—such as Andrew Marvell supplied regularly to his constituents (§ 35)—"by making the coffee-houses and all the popular clubs judges of those councils and deliberations which they have nothing to do withall." In November, 1665, when the plague in London had driven the Court to Oxford, appeared No. 1 of *The Oxford*

Gazette. When the Court returned to London, it appeared, on the 5th of February, 1666, as *The London Gazette*, under which name it still exists. It was placed at once under Sir Joseph Williamson, Under-Secretary of State (from whom Addison, now born, had his Christian name), and his deputy writer of it was, for the first five years, Charles Perrot, M.A., of Oriel. L'Estrange set up, in November, 1675, the first commercial journal, *The City Mercury*, and in 1679, an *Observator*, in defence of the king's party. In April, 1680, the first literary journal appeared, as a weekly or fortnightly catalogue of new books, the *Mercurius Librarius*.

Roger l'Estrange was a busy man. He published, in 1678, an abstract of *Seneca's Morals*, and in 1680 a translation of *Tully's Offices*. James II. knighted him, and he published in 1687, in the king's interest, *A Brief History of the Times*, chiefly about what was called the Popish Plot.

43. We return to the time when Charles sought to repress opinion by shutting coffee-houses. Parliament, that had been prorogued for fifteen months in 1675, met again on the 15th of February, 1677. When it met, Shaftesbury argued that it had been dissolved by long suspension. It was voted that he should beg the king's pardon on his knees at the bar. He refused, and was committed to the Tower. The Earl of Salisbury, Lord Wharton, and the Duke of Buckingham were committed also, but made submission in a few months. Shaftesbury held out for a year. In this year, 1677, William of Orange came to England, and on the 4th of November he was married to Mary, eldest daughter of James Duke of York. It was a marriage that Sir William Temple had been active in promoting. In October, 1678, Titus Oates, a man who had been in orders in the English Church, and who, in 1677, had pretended to go over to Rome, and so been admitted as a Jesuit, came back from among the Jesuits with his story of a Popish plot to kill King Charles, because he did not help Catholicism, and put at once on the throne his brother James, who was to produce such a return of England to the true faith as had not been known since the days of Mary. Oates made oath to his narrative before a zealous Protestant justice, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. A fortnight afterwards Godfrey was found murdered in a ditch near Primrose Hill. Public faith in Titus Oates and fury against the Catholics now rose to a height. Roger North, youngest son of Dudley, Lord North, was then a young man of twenty-eight, a

strong partisan of the Stuarts. He left behind him an "*Examen*, or Inquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a Pretended Compleat History of England." (By White Kennett, a Whig, who became, in 1718, Bishop of Peterborough.) This was not published till 1740. and his *Lives of his Three Brothers* were not published until 1742-4. These books of Roger North's abound in anecdote of his own time. He tells, among other things, that at the funeral of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey "there was all this while upheld among the common people an artificial fright, so as almost every man fancied a Popish knife at his throat. And at the sermon, besides the preacher, two other thumping divines stood upright in the pulpit, one on each side of him, to guard him from being killed while he was preaching, by the Papists." Parliament formally declared its faith in the plot after Oates had been examined before a committee. Then came the rule of this infamous man as a public accuser. In the midst of it all came an exposure in Parliament of some of the king's secret dealing with France. The minister suffered for the king, and Danby was impeached, but during its proceedings against him Parliament was dissolved. The new elections were against the Court. Before the next Parliament met, the Duke of York bent to the storm and consented to go abroad, after providing with his brother that no claims of the Duke of Monmouth should be allowed against him. Monmouth, born at Rotterdam in 1649, was supposed to be the eldest of the king's natural sons. He was a Protestant and a favourite son. He had been made Duke of Monmouth in 1663, was "to take place of all dukes," and was about the same time married to the Countess of Buccleuch. It was said by many that his mother, Lucy Waters, had been married to the king, and if so, Monmouth was true heir. The king, before his brother James left England, made a solemn affirmation to his Council that he never was married to any woman but his wife, Queen Catherine, then living. The new Parliament proceeded with Danby's impeachment; and the king's difficulties were now so great that he looked for essential support to **Sir William Temple**, in whom the people had most faith, and who had never been in active opposition to the king. Three times during the late troubles Sir William had declined to support the king's cause as a Secretary of State. He was now summoned to London, and proposed a new Privy Council of thirty members, half of them great officers of State, the other half independent English gentlemen of property. In accordance with advice from such

a council, the king was to pledge himself to govern without any reserve of a secret committee. Charles agreed. The people were content. The new Council was formed in April, 1679, with Shaftesbury for Lord President, placed there by the king, but not the less still leader of the Opposition. The new Council was a failure. Parliament had before it a Bill to exclude the Duke of York from the succession. The king, therefore, prorogued Parliament on the 26th of May, 1679, giving unwilling assent at the same time to its Habeas Corpus Act "for the better securing of the Liberty of the Subject." The prorogued Parliament was dissolved before it met again. Again a new Parliament met, on the 7th of October, 1679. It was still prorogued from time to time. The heat of discussion over, the Exclusion Bill led to invention of party names. The Irish being supporters of the succession of the king's Roman Catholic brother, the opponents of the Exclusion Bill were called Bog-trotters; then, says Roger North, "the word Tory was entertained, which signified the most despicable savages among the wild Irish." Their adversaries were called Whigs, that being Scottish for the acid whey that settles from sour cream, applied generally by Scottish Episcopalians to Presbyterians, and made familiar at that time by the insurrection of the Scottish Covenanters in 1679. In July, 1679, Charles was ill, and Monmouth near him. The Duke of York suddenly returned from Brussels to protect his rights. The rival candidates for the succession were then sent away, Monmouth to Flanders, James, as Lord High Commissioner, to Scotland. Shaftesbury, dismissed from the Presidency of the Council, promoted great popular demonstrations against Catholicism; and on the 28th of November Monmouth suddenly returned from Flanders. The king deprived him of his offices, and ordered him to quit the country. He remained. Parliament had been prorogued, as usual, and the people poured in petitions against further prorogation when it met. The king forbade petitioning against the known laws of the land.

It was in this year, 1679, that **John Oldham** wrote his satires on the Jesuits. He was born in 1653, son of a Nonconformist minister at Shipton, Gloucestershire. Oldham went to St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and returned home, after taking his B.A. degree, in 1674. He became usher in a school at Croydon. Verse written by him found its way to the Earls Rochester and Dorset and Sir Charles Sedley, who astonished the poor usher

by paying him a visit. He became tutor to two grandsons of Sir Edward Thurland, a judge living near Reigate, and then to the son of a Sir William Hickes, near London. This occupation over, he lived among the wits in London, was remembered as the poetical usher by Sedley and Dorset; was on affectionate terms with Dryden, and found a patron in the Earl of Kingston, with whom he was domesticated, at Holme Pierrepoint, when he died of small-pox, in December, 1683, aged thirty. His chief production was the set of four *Satyrs upon the Jesuits*, written in 1679, modelled variously on Persius, Horace, Buchanan's "Franciscan," (ch. vii. § 50), and the speech of Sylla's ghost at the opening of Ben Jonson's "Catiline." The vigour of his wit produced a bold piece of irory in an *Ode against Virtue* and its *Counterpart*, an ode in Virtue's praise, with many short satires and odes—one in high admiration of Ben Jonson—paraphrases, and translations. There is a ring of friendship in the opening of Dryden's lines upon young Oldham's death before time had added the full charm of an English style to the strength of wit in his verse :

> 'Farewell! too little and too lately known,
> Whom I began to think and call my own :
> For sure our souls were near ally'd, and thine
> Cast in the same poetic mould with mine."

On the 25th of June, 1680, the Earl of Shaftesbury, with others of the Lords and Commons, presented the Duke of York to the Grand Jury of Westminster as a Popish recusant. The Chief Justice averted the consequence of that by discharging the jury. Parliament met on the 21st of October, after seven prorogations. On the 2nd of November the Exclusion Bill was again brought in. Monmouth, called commonly the Protestant Duke, who had made in August a triumphal progress in the West of England, was the desired successor. The Exclusion Bill, passed by the Commons on the 15th of November, was carried by Lord Russell to the peers, and delivered with a mighty shout from two hundred members of the House of Commons, who went with it. It was rejected by the Lords. The Commons resolved to grant no supply until the Duke of York had been excluded from the succession. Parliament was dissolved on the 18th of January, 1681. King Charles made a treaty with Louis XIV., and held to the Catholic succession, for £50,000 a quarter—payment to begin at the end of June, 1681. On the 21st of March the next Parliament met at Oxford. Charles was

firm; at the end of a week he smuggled his rôbes with him into a sedan chair, and suddenly dissolved that Parliament also. He summoned no other during his reign. Having got rid of Parliament, and incidentally struck off the list of his privy councillors Sir William Temple—who now withdrew from public life—the king resolved to proceed boldly, and strike down the Earl of Shaftesbury. He was sent to the Tower on the 2nd of July, upon the testimony of two Irish witnesses, who swore that he had suborned them to bear false witness against the Queen, the Duke of York, and other personages. He was to be indicted for subornation and treason before a London grand jury, and if the grand jury did not ignore the bill of indictment, he would be tried by his peers in the Court of the High Steward, and condemned to death by judges of the king's selection.

44. That was the state of affairs when **John Dryden** supported the king's cause with a political pamphlet in verse, his satire of *Absalom and Achitophel.* Its aim was to assist in turning a current of opinion against Shaftesbury; to secure, as far as pamphlet could, the finding of a true bill against him. The satire appeared anonymously, on the 17th of November, 1681. The accident of a second poem has caused this to be known as the first part of "Absalom and Achitophel," but it is a complete work. Monmouth as Absalom and Shaftesbury as Achitophel had occurred before in the paper war; and the use of such allegory was an appeal to the religious feeling of a people among whom those most likely to follow Shaftesbury were those most likely to be persuaded by a Scripture parallel. Charles, therefore, was David; Cromwell, Saul; the Duke of Buckingham figured as Zimri; Titus Oates, as Corah; the Roman Catholics were Jebusites; the Dissenters Levites, and so forth. The argument of the poem was to this effect. The outcry over the asserted Popish plot gave heat to faction, and of this Shaftesbury took advantage. He reasoned thus and thus, to persuade Monmouth to rebellion; Monmouth, answering thus and thus, yielded to the persuasion. Who were the lesser associates in this rebellion, the sprouting heads of the hydra? Here followed sketches from life of other leaders of the opposition, and among them George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, as Zimri. Monmouth appealed thus and thus to the people. The rebellion grew. What friends had King Charles? Here followed sketches from life of some of the chief

friends of the king. Next came counsel of the king's friends; and then the poem ended with the king's own purpose, expressed in David's speech. "I have been," he said, "forgiving till they slight my clemency. 'Tis time to show I am not good by force."

"Oh, that my power to saving were confined!
Why am I forced like Heaven, against my mind
To make examples of another kind?
Must I at length the sword of justice draw?
Oh, curst effects of necessary law!
How ill my fear they by my mercy scan!
Beware the fury of a patient man.
Law they require: let law then show her face.
* * * * * *
He said: the Almighty, nodding, gave consent,
And peals of thunder shook the firmament.
Henceforth a series of new time began,
The mighty years in long procession ran;
Once more the godlike David was restored,
And willing nations knew their lawful lord."

The success of the satire as a poem was all it deserved to be. At once vigorous and highly finished, its characters of the chief men on either side, its lines and couplets, neatly fitted to express much that the king's party had to say, were quoted and parodied, praised and abused. Two dozen lines repaid Buckingham's rehearsal (§ 17) fifty-fold, if Dryden thought at all—as probably he did not—of a mere jest of the stage, when dealing with a vital question that seemed to have brought the nation once more to the verge of civil war, and writing what might help to send the chief opponent of Charles to the scaffold. The literary triumph was great, but that was all. The prophecy of the closing lines was not fulfilled. The poem was published on the 17th of November. On the 24th the indictment was presented to the grand jury at the Old Bailey, and returned ignored. There were great public rejoicings, and a medal was struck to commemorate the triumph.

45. Of the Whig replies to "Absalom and Achitophel," one, *Absalom Senior; or, Absalom and Achitophel Transprosed*, was by **Elkanah Settle**. Another, *Azaria and Hushai*, was by **Samuel Pordage**, son of the Rev. John Pordage, of Bradfield, in Berkshire, deprived of his living in 1654, on a charge of conversation with evil spirits. Pordage was a member of Lincoln's Inn, and had published in 1660, with notes, *The Troades*, from Seneca, and a volume of poems. He was the author, also, of two tragedies, *Herod and Mariamne*, in 1673.

and the *Siege of Babylon*, in 1678, and of a romance called *Eliana*. Samuel Pordage replied to Dryden's satire with a temperance rare in the controversies of that time. Unlike other opponents, he gave Dryden credit for his genius; and the only lines in the reply that have any resemblance to the usual coarseness of abuse are those which comment on the opening lines of Dryden's poem, which were meanly complaisant to the king's vices. Good Mr. Pordage, writing, like Dryden, without a name upon his title-page, said in his preface:—"I shall not go about either to excuse or justifie the publishing of this poem, for that would be much more an harder task than the writing of it. But, however, I shall say, in the words of the author of the incomparable 'Absalom and Achitophel,' that I am sure the design is honest. If wit and fool be the consequence of Whig and Tory, no doubt but knave and ass may be epithets plentifully bestowed upon me by the one party, whilst the other may grant me more favourable ones than perhaps I do deserve. But as very few are judges of wit, so, I think, much fewer of honesty; since interest and faction on either side prejudices and blinds the judgment, and the violence of passion makes neither discernible in an adversary. I know not whether my poem has a genius to force its way against prejudice. Opinion sways much in the world, and he that has once gained it writes securely. I speak not this anyways to lessen the merits of an author whose wit has deservedly gained the bays. . . . The ancients say that everything hath two handles. I have laid hold of that opposite to the author of 'Absalom.' As to truth, who has the better hold let the world judge; and it is no new thing for the same persons to be ill or well represented by several parties." Absalom was a rebel to his father; the author of this piece prefers to represent Monmouth through Azaria, who was a good son. Shaftesbury in this poem, therefore, is Hushai. The king is good Amazia, who,

> "Tho' he God did love,
> Had not cast out Baal's priests, and cut down every grove.

Former rulers had maintained strict laws against idolatry. Cromwell being Zabad, Charles in exile had been Amazia, who

> "Over Jordan fled,
> Till God had struck the tyrant Zabad dead;
> When all his subjects, who his fate did moan,
> With joyful hearts restored him to his throne:

Who then his father's murtherers destroy'd,
And a long, happy, peaceful reign enjoy'd,
Belov'd of all, for merciful was he,
Like God, in the superlative degree."

But the Chemarims (Jesuits) and Hell had hatched a plot—

" For the good Amazia being gone,
They had designed a Baalite for the throne.
Of all their hopes and plots, here lay the store:
For what encouragement could they have more,
When they beheld the king's own brother fall,
From his religion and to worship Baal."

Then Titus Oates revealed the plot.

" A Levite who had Baalite turn'd, and bin
One of the order of the Chemarim,
* * * *
Libni, I think, they call the Levite s name.

But the faithful Hushai boldly opposed the king's brother, Eliakim—

" To whom the king ev'n to excess was kind,
And tho' he had a son, for him the crown design'd."

The friends of Baal now encouraged jealousy of Azaria.

" If with wise Hushai they the prince did see,
They call'd their meeting a conspiracy,
And cry, that he was going to rebell:
Him Absalom they name, Hushai Achitophel."

Among the friends of Eliakim, Dryden is satirised as " Shimei, the poet-laureate of that age."

" Sweet was the muse that did his wit inspire,
Had he not let his hackney muse to hire.
But variously his knowing muse could sing,
Could Doeg praise, and could blaspheme the king:
The bad make good, good bad, and bad make worse,
Bless in heroicks, and in satyrs curse.
Shimei to Zabad's praise could tune his muse,
And princely Azaria could abuse.
Zimri, we know, he had no cause to praise,
Because he dub'd him with the name of Bayes."

The closing speech of David Samuel Pordage matched with a closing speech of Amazia, wherein he restored peace, and secured his throne by assenting to the wishes of his people.

In the second edition of Dryden's " Absalom and Achitophel," which appeared in December, 1681, the lines were inserted which praised Shaftesbury's conduct as Chancellor, and also the lines concerning Monmouth:

"But, oh! that yet he would repent and live!
How easy 'tis for parents to forgive!
With how few tears a pardon might be won
From Nature, pleading for a darling son!"

46. The medal struck to commemorate the rejection of the bill against Shaftesbury was the subject of Dryden's next piece in this series, *The Medal: a Satire against Sedition.—By the Author of "Absalom and Achitophel."* It was published early in March, 1682, with a prefatory "Epistle to the Whigs." It was invective against Shaftesbury, blended with expression of Dryden's faith in the unity maintained by holding firmly to a fixed succession, and believing the inherent right of kings. "If true succession from our isle should fail," the various religious sects, political parties, even individual men, would strive together.

"Thus inborn broils the factions would engage,
Or wars of exiled heirs, or foreign rage,
Till halting vengeance overtook our age,
And our wild labours, wearied into rest,
Reclined us on a rightful monarch's breast."

Again the only temperate reply was that of Samuel Pordage. Dryden had dwelt on Shaftesbury, whose image was upon the obverse of the medal. On the reverse side was the Tower, and Pordage took this for his text in *The Medal Revers'd: a Satyre against Persecution.—By the Author of "Azaria and Hushai."* To complete the parallel, this opened with an introductory epistle to the Tories. Dryden was still recognised as "Our Prince of Poets," and there was nothing harder said of him than that he was on the side of the strong with Cromwell, and is so again with Charles. He found on one side of the medal Sedition under a statesman's gown. Reverse the medal, and upon the other side there is an image of the Tower, badge of as bad a hag, Persecution:

"Let then his satyr with Sedition fight,
And ours the whilst shall Persecution bite:
Two hags they are, who parties seem to make:
'Tis time for satyrs them to undertake.
See her true badg, a prison or the Tower;
For Persecution ever sides with Power."

Very different in its character was Shadwell's answer, *The Medal of John Bayes: a Satyr against Folly and Knavery.* This also had its introductory epistle to the Tories, but not dealing at all with the great controversy before the nation, it was a savage personal attack on Dryden. As for the verses, in

some parts unutterably coarse, let their closing triplet indicate their tone:

> "Pied thing! half wit! half fool! and for a knave
> Few men than this a better mixture have:
> But thou canst add to that, coward and slave."

47. This brutal attack provoked a delicate revenge. In October, 1682, appeared *MacFlecknoe.—By the Author of "Absalom and Achitophel."* This was a mock heroic in rhymed couplets, setting forth how that aged prince, Richard Flecknoe, who

> "In prose and verse was owned without dispute
> Through all the realms of nonsense absolute,"

chose in his last days Shadwell for successor.

> "Shadwell alone of all my sons is he
> Who stands confirmed in full stupidity.
> The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,
> But Shadwell never deviates into sense."

The coronation of Shadwell was in the Nursery at Barbican, a theatre established in 1662 for the training of children to the stage; and there he swore "Ne'er to have peace with wit nor truce with sense." There he received the sceptre, and was crowned with poppies, and "on his left hand twelve reverend owls did fly." Then, in prophetic mood, Flecknoe blessed and counselled his successor, till he was, after the manner of Sir Formal Trifle, in Shadwell's "Vertuoso," let down through a trap-door while yet declaiming.

> "Sinking he left his drugget robe behind,
> Borne upwards by a subterranean wind.
> The mantle fell to the young prophet's part
> With double portion of his father's art."

Richard Flecknoe had been dead four years when this poem was written. He was an Irishman, and had been a Roman Catholic priest before the Restoration. His first writings were religious: *Hierothalamium; or, The Heavenly Nuptials with a Pious Soul*, in 1626; *The Affections of a Pious Soul* (1640); then came *Miscellanea; or, Poems of all Sorts* (1653); *A Relation of Ten Years' Travels in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America* (1654); *Love's Dominion: a Dramatic Piece* (1654); *The Diarium, or Journal divided in Twelve Jornadas, in Burlesque Rhyme or Drolling Verse* (1651); *Enigmaticall Characters, all taken to the Life, from several Persons, Humours, and Dispositions* (1658); *The Marriage of Oceanus and Bri-*

tannia (1659); *Heroick Poems* (1660); *Love's Kingdom: a Pastoral Tragi-Comedy, with a Short Treatise of the English Stage* (1664); *Erminia: a Tragi-Comedy* (1665); *The Damoiselles à la Mode: a Comedy* (1667); *Sir William Davenant's Voyage to the other World: a Poetical Fiction* (1668); *Epigrams of all Sorts* (1669); *Euterpe Revived; or, Epigrams made at Several Times in the Years* 1672, 1673, *and* 1674, *on Persons of great Honour and Quality, most of them now living: in Three Books* (1675); *A Treatise of the Sports of Wit* (1675). The catalogue describes the man.

48. In November, 1682, appeared the *Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel*, to which Dryden contributed only 200 lines (ll. 310 to 509), containing a few character sketches, among which by far the most prominent are Elkanah Settle as Doeg, and Shadwell as Og. The second title of Settle's "Absalom Senior, or Absalom and Achitophel transprosed"—a feeble echo from Marvell—was here satirised, together with these opening lines of his poem—

> "In gloomy times, when priestcraft bore the sway,
> And made heaven's gate a lock to their own key,"

which were thus treated by Dryden—

> "Instinct he follows, and no farther knows,
> For to write verse with him is to transprose;
> 'Twere pity treason at his door to lay,
> Who makes heaven's gate a lock to its own key."

A fairly whimsical misunderstanding of a clumsy sentence. Settle, poor fellow, meant that as the Roman Catholic priests had a key to heaven's gate which did not fit its lock, they made for the gate a new lock that would fit their key. Among other characters sketched or alluded to, Dryden, in this contribution to Tate's poem, passed lightly over Pordage in one line: "As lame Mephibosheth, the wizard's son."

Nahum Tate, the author of the rest of the Second Part of "Absalom and Achitophel" (though it had, no doubt, touches from Dryden's hand), was born in Dublin, in 1652, the son of Dr. Faithful Tate, and educated at Trinity College there. He came to London, published in 1677 a volume of *Poems*, and between that date and 1682 had produced the tragedies of *Brutus of Alba* and *The Loyal General; Richard II.; or, the Sicilian Usurper;* an altered version of Shakespeare's *King Lear;* and an application of "Coriolanus" to court politics of the day, as *The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth; or, The Fall*

of Coriolanus. Tate wrote three other plays before the Revolution. It was not till 1696 that he produced, with Dr. Nicholas Brady (b. 1659, d. 1726), also an Irishman, and then chaplain to William III., a *New Version of the Psalms of David*, and in 1707 one more tragedy of his was acted, *Injured Love; or, The Cruel Husband.*

49. In November, 1682, another poem by **Dryden** appeared, ("A Layman's Religion") *Religio Laici*, in the style of Horace's Epistles, being a letter written originally to a young man, Henry Dickenson, who had translated Father Simon's "Critical History of the Old Testament." This expression of Dryden's mind upon religion, in 1682, should be impartially compared with that in "The Hind and Panther," written five years later, when he became a Roman Catholic. "Religio Laici" was addressed to the translator of a Roman Catholic book on the Old Testament, which is described by Dryden as a "matchless author's work." In the preface and in the poem Dryden modestly dissented from the preface to the Athanasian Creed, which excluded the heathen from salvation. He took his place in the preface between the Roman Catholics as Papists and the Nonconformists, believing that there was continuous endeavour to restore the pope's authority over the King of England. His argument was solely against the pope's claim to dispense with the obedience of subjects to a heretic king. But that was also an article of the faith Dryden afterwards adopted. When he came to speak of the Nonconformists, he dwelt, in his preface to the *Religio Laici*, on the evil caused by the wresting of texts since the Bible had been translated. "How many heresies the first translation of Tyndal produced in a few years, let my Lord Herbert's 'History of Henry VIII.' inform you," and so forth. He quoted from Maimbourg, a Roman Catholic, that wherever Calvinism was planted, "rebellion, misery, and civil war attended it." And presently he said, "'Tis to be noted, by the way, that the doctrines of king-killing and deposing, which have been taken up only by the worst party of the Papists, the most frontless flatterers of the pope's authority, have been espoused, defended. and are still maintained by the whole body of Nonconformists and Republicans." In the poem so introduced, Dryden argued that Reason is but the dim light of moon and stars, which is lost when the sun rises:

> "So pale grows Reason at Religion's sight,
> So dies and so dissolves in supernatural light."

He argued that before revelation the best men had but imperfect notions of the highest good, that Deism had unconsciously borrowed from revelation that sense of the One God to be worshipped by praise and prayer, and of a future state, which it believed Reason to have discovered. He passed to the scheme of redemption expressed in the Bible, and, from objections of the Deist that "no supernatural worship can be true," and that millions have never heard the name of Christ, he took occasion to express his faith that

> "Those who followed Reason's dictates right,
> Lived up and lifted high their natural light,
> With Socrates may see their Maker's face,
> While thousand rubric-makers want a place."

He argued that no Church could be an omniscient interpreter of Scripture, and that the Scriptures themselves might be corrupted, but

> "Though not everywhere
> Free from corruption, or entire or clear,
> Are uncorrupt, sufficient, clear, entire
> In all things which our needful faith require."

He argued that it was for the learned to sift and discuss the doctrines drawn out of the Bible, but

> "The unlettered Christian who believes in gross
> Plods on to heaven, and ne'er is at a loss:
> For the strait gate would be made straiter yet
> Were none admitted there but men of wit."

If the Bible had been handed down from the past by the church of the Roman Catholics,

> "The welcome news is in the letter found;
> The carrier's not commissioned to expound."

Once the clergy had traded with it on the ignorance of the people; now the ignorance of the people had made it the common prey: it was misused with great zeal and little thought.

> "So all we make of Heaven's discovered will
> Is not to have it or to use it ill.
> The danger's much the same, on several shelves
> If others wreck us or we wreck ourselves."

What remained, then, but the middle way between those shoals?

> "In doubtful questions 'tis the safest way
> To learn what unsuspected ancients say:
> For 'tis not likely we should higher soar
> In search of heaven than all the Church before:

Nor can we be deceived unless we see
The Scripture and the fathers disagree.
* * * *
And after hearing what the Church can say,
If still our reason runs another way,
That private reason 'tis more just to curb
Than by disputes the public peace disturb.
For points obscure are of small use to learn:
But common quiet is mankind's concern."

So the poem ended with the desire for peace by resting on authority, and Dryden's "Religio Laici," instead of being an antagonist work, is a natural prelude to "The Hind and Panther." Under the tumult of the time the religious mind of Dryden was steadily on its way to the form of Catholicism in which he died.

50. In February, 1682, when Southern's first play, "The Loyal Brother" (§ 38), was acted, Dryden wrote prologue and epilogue to it. It was the beginning of a friendship. Dryden raised the price of his prologue on this occasion. "The players," he said, "have had my goods too cheap." In December of the same year, 1682, he produced his tragedy of *The Duke of Guise* written with Lee (§ 27). It was designed to apply the story of the French League to the English opposition of that day. With the same allusion he made a *Translation of Maimbourg's History of the League*, and published it in 1684. In 1683 he had contributed a Preface and a Life to a new translation of *Plutarch* by several hands.

51. In July, 1683, upon false accusation of complicity in the Rye House Plot, Lord William Russell was executed in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and, on the 7th of December, Algernon Sidney upon Tower Hill. **Algernon Sidney,** second son of Robert, second Earl of Leicester, and brother to Waller's "Sacharissa" (ch. viii. § 42), had shown throughout his career lively hostility to tyranny. He had been out of England in the earlier years of Charles II.'s reign, but in 1667 came home, at his father's death, and was detained by a Chancery suit. He was an Independent and Republican. For that he died, convicted of treason, says Evelyn, "on the single witness of that monster of a man, Lord Howard of Escrick, and some sheets of paper taken in Mr. Sidney's study, pretended to be written by him, but not fully proved." He left behind him a *Discourse Concerning Government*, first published in 1698.

52. **Dryden** suggested and edited, in 1684, a volume of *Miscellany Poems.—Containing a New Translation of Virgill's Eclogues, Ovid's Love Elegies, Odes of Horace and other*

Authors; with several Original Poems, by the most Eminent Hands. This revival of the old Elizabethan plan of gathering into one volume papers of verse from various hands was successful. The volume of 1684 was the first of a new series of such Miscellanies. In this volume itself the chief original poems were reprints—"MacFlecknoe," "Absalom and Achitophel," and "The Medal." The translations were by Dryden, Sedley, Lord Roscommon, the late Earl of Rochester, Otway, Rymer, Tate, Sir Carr Scrope, George Stepney, Thomas Creech, Richard Duke, Mr. Adams, Mr. Chetwood, Mr. Stafford, and Mr. Cooper

George Stepney (b. 1663, died 1707), wrote pleasant occasional verse. He was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, and owed his political employment after the Revolution to the warm friendship of a fellow-student, Charles Montague, afterwards Lord Halifax.

Thomas Creech, born in 1659, near Sherborne, Dorset, studied at Wadham College, Oxford, and got a fellowship for his translation of *Lucretius*, published in 1682. In 1684, the year of the first volume of Miscellany Poems, Creech published a verse translation of the Odes, Satires, and Epistles of Horace, which did not sustain his credit, though he applied the satires to his own times. The end of his life was that, in 1701, Wadham College presented him to the rectory of Welwyn, and he hanged himself in his study before going to reside there. **Richard Duke,** also a clergyman, was a friend of Otway's, and tutor to the Duke of Richmond.

In 1685, **Dryden** published, still with Tonson, *Sylvæ; or, The Second Part of Political Miscellanies.* It contained translations by himself from the "Æneid," and from Lucretius, and from Theocritus and Horace, with short pieces, original and translated by himself and others, including a Latin poem by his eldest son Charles, on Lord Arlington's gardens. Charles Dryden was hardly nineteen, and lately entered at Trinity College, Cambridge. Dryden's second son was at Westminster School, the third and youngest at the Charterhouse.

53. **John Locke** (§ 40, 41) had graduated as M.B. at Cambridge, and gone to Montpellier, where there was a great medical school, and also a southern climate, which his health required, for he was threatened with consumption. He was at work upon his Essay at Montpellier, but when, in 1679, his patron Shaftesbury became president of Sir William Temple's newly-devised Council, he sent for Locke, who returned to England, and was

by his friend's side in the ensuing time of peril. After his escape from the scaffold in 1682, Shaftesbury went to Holland, and died there in 1683. Locke remained in Holland. In November, 1684, by a special order from Charles II., he was deprived of his studentship at Christchurch. But Charles II. died on the 6th of February, 1685.

JAMES II.

54. **John Dryden,** who had been rehearsing at court an opera of *Albion and Albanius*, in honour of King Charles's triumph over opposition, paid laureate's homage to the deceased king with his imperial mourning song, *Threnodia Augustalis*, published in March. This ode heralds the rule of James II. as that of a warlike prince. He is to be a martial Ancus after Numa's peaceful reign. But James II. warred only on his people. He began by going openly to mass, and staying prosecutions for religion which then pressed only on the Roman Catholics who would not take the oath of supremacy, and on the Quakers, who would not take any oath at all. Some thousands of Roman Catholics and fourteen hundred Quakers were set free. The new king called, by a special letter to Scotland, for new penal laws against the Covenanters. It was made death to preach in-doors or out at a conventicle, and death to attend one in the open air. **Richard Baxter** (§ 21) was tried before Judge Jeffreys for seditious libel in complaint of the wrongs of Dissenters, in his *Paraphrase on the New Testament*, published in 1685. "Leave thee to thyself," said James's judge to the old man, whose friends thronged the court about him, "and I see thou wilt go on as thou hast begun; but, by the grace of God, I'll look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners waiting to see what will become of the mighty don, and a doctor of the party at your elbow; but, by the grace of Almighty God, I will crush you all." Baxter, unable to pay a fine of five hundred marks, was for the next eighteen months in prison. On the 14th of June the Duke of Monmouth landed from Holland, at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, with eighty-three followers. Next day he had 1,000 foot and 150 horse. Among those who hurried to his standard was Daniel De Foe, then about twenty-four years old.

55. **Daniel De Foe,** born in 1661, was the son of James Foe, a well-to-do butcher, in the parish of St. Giles's, Cripplegate. His father, a Dissenter, sent him to the school kept at

Newington Green by Charles Morton, a good scholar, who included English among school studies, and afterwards, when driven to America by persecution, became Vice-President of Harvard College. After a full training with Mr. Morton, Daniel Foe began the world in Freeman's Court, Cornhill, as an agent between manufacturers and retailers in the hosiery trade. His strong interest in public events had been shown already in the reign of Charles II., by a tract, *Presbytery Roughdrawn*, published in 1683. After the accession of James II. he was one of those citizens of London who, when they heard Monmouth had landed, rode away to join him. He was with Monmouth at Sedgmoor. Monmouth was executed on the 15th of July, 1685. Then followed the barbarous progress of Judge Jeffreys through the scenes of the rebellion in the West, after which he was made Lord Chancellor. In October of the same year Louis XIV. signed the decree known as the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. That edict, subscribed by Henry IV. in 1598, secured freedom of worship and equal rights to the French Protestants. They were now prohibited exercise of their religion in France, their places of worship were to be levelled, their ministers were exiled, but the congregations were forbidden to leave the country with their ministers, on pain of confiscation and condemnation to the galleys. They must conform, and thenceforth have their children baptised as Roman Catholics. The decree was carried out with cruelty, but could not stop the emigration. Many came to England, bringing their industries with them. Evelyn at this time noted in his diary a harangue of the Bishop of Valence, who said that this victory over heresy "was but what was wished in England; and that God seemed to raise the French king to this power and magnanimous action, that he might be in capacity to assist in doing the same here." The English Parliament met in November. The Commons protested feebly, the Lords more stoutly, against the king's violation of the Test Act as avowed in his opening speech. "Let no man," said James, "take exception that there are some officers in the army not qualified according to the late tests for their employments. The gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me, and . . . I think them now fit to be employed under me." Parliament was prorogued on the 20th of November, and no supplies had been voted; but at the outset of his reign James had secured to himself a vote for life of the chief imposts. Parliament was kept in abeyance, twice pro-

rogued in 1686, twice in 1687, and dissolved in July of that year. In 1686 James devised a plan for legalizing by collusion his claim of a right to dispense with the Test Act, which excluded Roman Catholics from civil and military offices. He had appointed a Roman Catholic, Sir Edward Hales, Governor of Dover Castle and colonel of a regiment. Having dismissed four judges and his Solicitor-General, who protested against his course, and secured to himself a servile court, he caused Sir Edward's servant to proceed against his master for not having taken the Sacrament as required by the Test Act. The defence was His Majesty's dispensing power, and this was allowed by a judgment which virtually abolished the Test Act; for, said the court, the king "could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties, and why could he not dispense with them?" Warrants were next issued authorising members of the Church of Rome to hold benefices in the Church of England. The English clergy were forbidden to preach upon any point of controversy with the Church of Rome. James licensed a king's printer for printing missals, lives of saints, and Roman Catholic tracts, and set up an Ecclesiastical Commission, with Jeffreys for president. At the end of 1686 he appointed a Roman Catholic to the deanery of Christchurch. In February, 1687, he required the University of Cambridge to confer the degree of M.A. on a Benedictine monk. The oaths being refused, the degree was refused. Vice-Chancellor and Senate were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and the Vice-Chancellor was suspended from his revenue as Master of Magdalene College. In April, 1687, James issued a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in England. By the exercise of the royal prerogative, all penal laws against Nonconformists were suspended; oaths and tests were abrogated. Baxter was thus released from prison. Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, were all free to worship as they would. Catholicism was also free from impediment; and there was the king ready to give to its professors the chief places in the Church and the great Universities. Many Dissenters did not see the drift of the king's liberality, or care to remember that the liberality, if wise and good, was in a form that set the English Parliament aside, and made the king absolute source of law.

Daniel Foe, after the battle lost at Sedgmoor, had left England. He had been to Spain and Portugal as a trader, but when the cruel search for Monmouth's followers had long been

over he returned, having picked up abroad the fancy for a "De" before his name, and now his voice was heard again in three pamphlets. One was *A Tract against the Proclamation for the Repeal of the Penal Laws*, then came *A Pamphlet against the Addresses to King James*, and yet again *A Tract upon the Dispensing Power*. These, all published in 1687, were De Foe's writings in the reign of James II.

56. It was in this year of troubles, 1687, that **Isaac Newton** published the great work which includes his demonstration of the theory of Gravitation (§ 30), commonly known as "Newton's Principia."

57. **John Dryden** obtained the licence for his *Hind and Panther*, a defence of the Roman Catholic religion, only a week after the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence. It was being read and talked of when the king, who had in case of need an army encamped on Hounslow Heath, received on the 3rd of July a Papal nuncio with great pomp at Windsor, and next day a proclamation in the *London Gazette* dissolved the prorogued Parliament. The publication of *The Hind and Panther* was deliberately timed to aid King James in his scheme of a Catholic reaction. It dealt as distinctly as "Absalom and Achitophel" did in its day with the essential question of the hour; but the point of view was honestly Dryden's. James was not liberal to Dryden. In the renewal of his offices of laureate and historiographer, the annual butt of canary had been subtracted from his pay, and the renewal of the pension of £100, that lapsed at the death of Charles, was neglected for twelve months after the new king's accession. There was no bribe, direct or indirect; and Dryden was the reverse of a time-server in staying by King James when nearly all his friends were leaving him, and prudently trimming their sails to meet the inevitable change of wind. But Dryden had his own convictions, and was true to them. He said in his preface to *The Hind and Panther*, "Some of the Dissenters, in their addresses to His Majesty, have said 'that he has restored God to His empire over conscience.' I confess I dare not stretch the figure to so great a boldness; but I may safely say that conscience is the royalty and prerogative of every private man." He had said as much in the "Religio Laici," and the spirit of charity in that poem remained unaltered in "The Hind and Panther." This argument for Catholicism is in three parts, and is the longest of Dryden's poems.

The milk-white Hind is the Church of Rome; the Panther is the Church of England, "fairest creature of the spotted kind."

> "A milk-white hind, immortal and unchanged,
> Fed on the lawns, and in the forest ranged;
> Without unspotted, innocent within,
> She feared no danger, for she knew no sin."

The other beasts had no good-will to her; and Independent, Presbyterian, Quaker, Freethinker, Anabaptist, Arian, are figured under bear, wolf, hare, ape, boar, fox. Then Dryden argues on with little heed to any fable, merely hindered by his clumsy animal machinery where his desire is for direct argument. When he speaks of the persecutions attendant on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he says:

> "Of all the tyrannies on human kind
> The worst is that which persecutes the mind.
> Let us but weigh at what offence we strike;
> 'Tis but because we cannot think alike.
> In punishing of this we overthrow
> The laws of nations and of nature too."

One evening the beasts came down to the common watering-place, and the Hind stood timidly aside, till, with an awful roar, the lion (James II.) bade her fear no more.

> "Encouraged thus, she brought her younglings nigh,
> Watching the motions of her patron's eye,
> And drank a sober draught; the rest, amazed,
> Stood mutely still, and on the stranger gazed;
> Surveyed her part by part, and sought to find
> The ten-horned monster in the harmless hind,
> Such as the wolf and panther had designed"

On nearer view they admired her; and when the rest of the herd had gone to their heaths and woods, the Panther

> "Made a mannerly excuse to stay,
> Proffering the hind to wait her half the way;
> That, since the sky was clear, an hour of talk
> Might help her to beguile the tedious walk.
> * * * * * *
> After some common talk, what rumours ran,
> The lady of the spotted muff began."

Then the two beasts talked theology, the Hind stating the case for Catholicism, and the Panther stating the objections to be met, until the Hind had reached her lonely cell, and

> "She thought good manner bound her to invite
> The stranger dame to be her guest that night."

The Panther assented, and the Hind wished she would dwell

with her, not for a night, but always. Then the talk went on after the Hind's hospitalities, and Dryden laboured to enliven it with a couple of tedious bird fables; one told by the Panther of swallows and martins, and one by the Hind of pigeons and a buzzard, after which the two beasts went to bed.

"The dame withdrew, and wishing to her guest
The peace of heaven, betook herself to rest.
Ten thousand angels on her slumbers wait,
With glorious visions of her future state"

58. While the town was reading this curious pamphlet, one of the best lay arguments for Catholicism, and, as a poem, full of good lines, but very clumsy in its structure as a whole, there suddenly appeared Mr. Bayes's old friends, Smith and Johnson, hearing Mr. Bayes express his delight at this his new achievement, in *The Hind and the Panther Transvers'd to the Story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse.* This caricature, in the manner of "The Rehearsal," was as lively as the piece it imitated. Mr. Bayes was now proud not of his play, but of his fable. "An apt contrivance, indeed," says Johnson. "What, do you make a fable of your religion?" *Bayes:* "Ay, I'gad, and without morals, too; for I tread in no man's steps; and to show you how far I can outdo anything that ever was writ in this kind, I have taken Horace's design, but, I'gad, have so outdone him, you shall be ashamed for your old friend. You remember in him the Story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse; what a plain, simple thing it is, it has no more life and spirit in it, I'gad, than a hobby-horse; and his mice talk so meanly, such common stuff, so like mere mice, that I wonder it has pleased the world so long. But now will I undeceive mankind, and teach 'em to heighten and elevate a fable. I'll bring you in the very same mice disputing the depth of philosophy, searching into the fundamentals of religion, quoting texts, fathers, councils, and all that; I'gad, as you shall see, either of 'em could easily make an ass of a country vicar. Now, whereas Horace keeps to the dry, naked story, I have more copiousness than to do that, I'gad. Here, I draw you general characters, and describe all the beasts of the creation; there, I launch out into long digressions, and leave my mice for twenty pages together; then I fall into raptures, and make the finest soliloquies, as would ravish you. Won't this do, think you?" *Johnson:* "Faith, sir, I don't well conceive you; all this about two mice?" *Bayes:* "Ay, why not? Is it

not great and heroical? But come, you'll understand it better when you hear it; and pray be as severe as you can; I'gad, I defy all criticks. Thus it begins:

> "'A milk-white mouse, immortal and unchang'd,
> Fed on soft cheese, and o'er the dairy rang'd.
> Without, unspotted; innocent within,
> So fear'd no danger, for she knew no ginn.'"

This new jest upon Dryden was by two young men who became afterwards famous, Charles Montague and Matthew Prior.

Charles Montague, born in April, 1661, was the fourth son of the Hon. George Montague, a younger son of the first Earl of Manchester. He was sent at fourteen to Westminster School, where he formed so intimate a friendship with George Stepney (§ 52) that he avoided a scholarship at Oxford, and got leave from his friends to join Stepney at Trinity College, Cambridge. At the death of Charles II., Montague contributed to the volume of condolences and congratulations for the new king that was put together according to custom. His poem, "On the Death of His Most Sacred Majesty King Charles II.," pleased Lord Dorset and Sir Charles Sedley so well that they invited Montague to town. The piece was a clever but unmeasured panegyric, opening with this bold couplet:

> "Farewell, great Charles, monarch of blest renown,
> The best good man that ever fill'd a throne."

Dorset and Sedley were on the popular side, in opposition to the king's designs, made more alarming by his setting up of a standing army for aid in suppressing possible resistance to them. At their suggestion, Montague joined Prior in reply to Dryden's "Hind and Panther."

Matthew Prior, born in 1664, lost his father when young, and came into the care of his uncle, Samuel Prior, who kept the "Rummer" Tavern, near Charing Cross. It was a house frequented by nobility and gentry; so it chanced that the Earl of Dorset found in it young Prior, who had been taught at Westminster School, reading Horace for his amusement. He talked to him, saw him to be clever, and paid the cost of sending him to St. John's College, Cambridge. Prior was then eighteen. He took his B.A. degree in 1686, returned to London, and took his place among the young wits of the Whig party by the brightness of the satire upon Dryden's "Hind and Panther." He made friends also by the good

quality of a poem on the Deity, written according to a practice of his college to send every year some poems upon sacred subjects to the Earl of Exeter in return for a benefaction by one of his ancestors.

59. On the 27th of April, 1688, James issued a repetition of his Declaration of Indulgence. By an Order in Council, on the 4th of May, he ordered it to be read in churches and chapels throughout the kingdom on two successive Sundays by ministers of all persuasions, the first reading to be in London on the 20th of May, and in the country on the 3rd of June. On the 18th of May a protest was signed on behalf of a great body of the clergy, by William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and six bishops—Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely; Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough; John Lake, Bishop of Chichester; William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; and Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol—who declared their loyalty, but pointed out that the Declaration was "founded upon such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament." Of these "seven lamps of the Church," **Thomas Ken** has a place in literature. He was born in 1637, the son of an attorney. His mother died when he was four years old, and his home was then at the haberdasher's shop in Fleet Street kept by Izaak Walton; for his eldest sister, who took charge of him, was Izaak Walton's second wife. Ken was seven when Izaak Walton retired from business; and his home was then in Walton's cottage by the banks of the Dove, in Staffordshire. **George Morley,** Bishop of Winchester, was Izaak Walton's son-in-law; and **Thomas Ken** was sent, at thirteen, to Winchester College. In 1656 he went to Oxford, and joined a musical society formed there, for, like his sister, Mrs. Walton, Ken had a delightful voice, and he played on the lute, viol, and organ. As a student also, Ken began an epic poem on Edmund, the East Anglian king martyred by the Danes. He became M.A. in 1663, and chaplain to Lord Maynard, with the rectory of Easton Parva, just outside Lord Maynard's park, in Essex. Then he became domestic chaplain to George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, in whose household Izaak Walton and his family were already domesticated. Then he obtained a fellowship of Winchester College, and lived in the Wykehamist house. The Bishop of Winchester gave him, in 1667, the living of Brightstone, in the Isle of Wight; and it was in the Isle of Wight, as Rector of Brightstone, that Ken wrote his

Morning and Evening Hymns, using them himself, and singing them to his lute when he rose and when he went to rest. In 1669 the Bishop of Winchester gave Ken other promotion, and he left the Isle of Wight. In 1675 he visited Rome with his nephew, young Izaak Walton. In 1681 he published his *Manual of Prayers for the Scholars of Winchester College.* In 1683, Ken went as chaplain-in-chief of the fleet sent to Tangier, and found, when he came home in April, that his brother-in-law, **Izaak Walton**, had died in December, 1683, aged ninety-one.

It had been in 1670 that Walton published in one volume the *Lives*—written from time to time—of Hooker, Sanderson, Wotton, Donne, and Herbert; and in 1676 that **Charles Cotton** (b. 1630, d. 1687), a translator of Corneille's "Les Horaces" and Montaigne's Essays, and author of a *Travestie of Virgil*, added the "*Second Part of the Complete Angler:* being Instructions how to Angle for Trout or Grayling in a Clear Stream."

In October, 1684, Ken was at the deathbed of his friend **George Morley**, whose writings had been collected in 1683 as "*Several Treatises written upon Several Occasions*, by the Right Reverend Father in God, George, Lord Bishop of Winton, both before and since the King's Restauration: wherein his judgment is fully made known concerning the Church of Rome, and most of those Doctrines which are controverted betwixt her and the Church of England." **Thomas Ken** then became chaplain to Charles II., and was made Bishop of Bath and Wells not many days before the king's death. Ken published a *Manual of Prayer*, *Seraphical Meditations*, and a poem called *Hymnotheo; or, the Penitent*, but his fame rests on the Morning and Evening Hymns, and on his place among the Seven Bishops.

60. By some means the petition of the bishops was printed and hawked about London. When the appointed Sunday came the Declaration was read only in four London churches. It was read by not more than 200 of the clergy in all England. On the 8th of June the seven bishops were committed to the Tower for seditious libel, but enlarged on recognizances before their trial. They were tried and acquitted. The shouts of popular rejoicing were echoed by the soldiers in the camp at Hounslow. On the 10th of June, two days after the bishops had been sent to the Tower, a son was born to James and his queen. This event might ensure a Roman Catholic succession to the throne, and

gave, therefore, the finishing blow to the king's cause. The passions of the time produced also a common false impression that the child was an imposture. But John Dryden, as laureate, hailed this event with *Britannia Rediviva: a Poem on the Birth of the Prince.* Of course there are in this poem of panegyric for the parents and hope for the child indications that Dryden knew as well as other men the dangers of the time:

"Nor yet conclude all fiery trials past,
For Heaven will exercise us to the last.
* * * * * * *
By living well let us secure his days;
Moderate in hopes and humble in our ways.
No force the free-born spirit can constrain,
But charity and great examples gain.
Forgiveness is our thanks for such a day;
'Tis god-like God in his own coin to pay."

On the 30th of June, the day of the acquittal of the seven bishops, a messenger was sent to invite William of Orange to enter England at the head of troops. On the 5th of November William's fleet entered Torbay, and William landed at Brixham. James found himself deserted. On the 19th of December the Prince of Orange held a court at St. James's. On the 13th of February, 1689, William and Mary became king and queen of England. Conditions and limitations of royal authority embodied in the Declaration of Rights and Liberties of the English People were joined to the offer of the throne. It was accepted presently with those limitations, and they were afterwards embodied in the Bill of Rights.

CHAPTER XI.

UNDER WILLIAM III. AND ANNE.

1. IN the course of English Literature after the Revolution, the old contest about the limit of authority (ch. iii. § 10) became less and less prominent. For a time the same parties continued the same battle; the upholders of supreme authority sought to reconquer ground that had been won by their antagonists. There were years even in which many doubted whether we had seen the last of civil war. But the limitation of the monarchy was maintained. The machinery of government was brought by degrees into good working order, and slow changes tended

constantly to the removal of undue restraints upon each life within the body of the people. Meanwhile, also, there was a slow rise in the average power of the unit in the population. We shall find, therefore, in the literature now to be described a gradual abatement of that strife of thought through which we won our liberties, and an increasing sense of the true use of freedom. A land is free when there is nothing to restrain and much to aid the full development of each one mind in it.

Not many years after the Revolution we shall begin to find encroachment upon the French influence over our literature, by writers who do not address the polite patron, but find readers enough in the main body of their countrymen. As the natural mind of the people acted upon the Elizabethan dramatists who had England fairly represented in the playhouse audience, we shall find it also using healthy influence upon those writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century who did not follow the doctrine expressed in the *Poétique* of La Mesnadière, that literature is only for kings, lords, and fine ladies, scholars and philosophers. As the many-headed monster learns to read, we come into the last of the Four Periods into which our literature falls (ch. iv. § 10), the *Period of Popular Influence.* This we shall find encroaching more and more on the French influence during many years of its decline. There will be, indeed, another form of French influence upon our literature, not of polite French on polite English, but of nation upon nation. Our political settlement of 1689, following that of the Dutch, influenced opinion in other countries. It was a starting-point of thought which in France, under conditions unlike ours, advanced during the next hundred years to the Revolution of 1789. Out of intense feeling and quick wit of the French came bold suggestion of social systems that were to solve all problems and go far beyond any results attained by our dull habit of accommodating ourselves to the possible. We should have been worth little as a people if our neighbours had not stirred us by their noble ardour to achieve, if it might be, a perfect reconstruction of society, based on a complete reconsideration of the rights and duties of the individual in relation to himself, his family, his country, and his Maker if he had one. That spirit of inquiry which we have seen gathering strength since Elizabeth's time, we shall find active still; bold in its testing of accepted facts and search after new truth in all the realms of knowledge. In some directions we shall find it quickened

and emboldened by this new influence of France. We shall find also the reaction against despotism connected throughout Europe with the rise of a strong spirit of nationality, strong in England, aiding the reaction against petty classicism and Latin-English, and bringing us, as a Teutonic race, to fellow-feeling with the kindred literature of the Germans at a time when that was vigorously representing the new impulse of thought. During all their contests against despotism, we have felt with our neighbours, but, without need of another revolution for ourselves, have plodded on, and have not been misguided by that quiet religious sense of duty which does keep us, with all our individual stupidities, from first to last as a nation, steady upon a road that cannot lead to ruin. We have now to trace in our literature the mind of England passing by natural sequence to a form of endeavour in our own times as distinctly marked as that of any one age in its earlier life; the form of endeavour towards which all past struggle tended, and which works towards results that five hundred years hence may be not half attained.

2. John Bunyan and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who differed only a few months in age, both died in 1688. Ralph Cudworth also died within the year before the accession of William and Mary. Edmund Waller, Henry More, and Sir William Petty had passed away within the last two years. Aphra Behn, Sir George Etherege, and Sydenham, the physician, died within the first year of the reign. The great living writers were John Dryden, who was in the first year of this reign fifty-eight years old; John Locke, fifty-seven; and Isaac Newton, forty-seven. The oldest living writer was William Prynne, eighty-nine, and he lived to be ninety-nine. John Wallis, the mathematician, and Sir Roger l'Estrange were seventy-three, and both lived through the reign; so did John Evelyn, who, at the beginning of the reign of William and Mary was sixty-nine, and Samuel Pepys, who was fifty-seven. Sir William Temple and Robert Boyle were sixty-one; John Howe and John Tillotson were fifty-nine. Robert South and Edward Stillingfleet were fifty-four; Gilbert Burnet, forty-six; William Sherlock about the same, and William Penn a year younger. The Earl of Dorset was fifty-two; Thomas Rymer was about fifty; the Earl of Mulgrave forty, and John Dennis, with fame to come as a critic, thirty-two. Of the dramatists, past and future, William Wycherley was forty-nine; John Vanbrugh, twenty-three; William Congreve, nineteen; and

George Farquhar, eleven. Thomas Shadwell was forty-nine; Elkanah Settle, forty-one; John Crowne, over forty; Sir Charles Sedley, about fifty; Thomas Southern, thirty; Colley Cibber, eighteen; Nicholas Rowe, fifteen. Jeremy Collier was thirty-nine; Richard Blackmore, thirty-six. Daniel Defoe and Charles Montague were twenty-eight; Francis Atterbury and Richard Bentley were twenty-seven; Matthew Prior was twenty-five; Samuel Garth, about twenty-five; George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, twenty-two: and among the young men and boys, with all their work before them, were Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, seventeen; Isaac Watts, fifteen; John Arbuthnot, fourteen; Henry St. John, eleven; Thomas Parnell, nine; Edward Young, five; Allan Ramsay, four; Pope and Gay, babies.

3. When the first Earl of Shaftesbury died, in 1683, **John Locke** (ch. x. § 53) remained in Holland. James II. demanded him of the States, on false suspicion of his having been concerned in Monmouth's invasion, and he was in concealment till the close of 1686. In 1687 he was in safe harbour at Amsterdam, where his chief friends were the leaders of the Arminian or Remonstrant school, which had its head-quarters there. Arminius himself (ch. viii. § 18) had once been pastor at Amsterdam; his successor, Simon Bisschop, born at Amsterdam in 1583, was, under the name of Episcopius, the man who first expressed, though not systematically, the doctrines of the Arminians or Remonstrants in various theological writings. When the persecution of the Remonstrants slackened, after the death, in 1625, of Stadtholder Maurice, Episcopius, who had been expatriated by the Synod of Dordrecht, settled at Amsterdam, opened there the Oratory of the Remonstrants, and took the chair of Theology in their seminary. Episcopius died in 1643; his successor was Etienne Courcelles, who collected his works in two volumes, published at Amsterdam in 1650 and 1663. The successor of Courcelles was Locke's Dutch friend, Philip van Limborch, nephew of Episcopius, whose life he wrote. Limborch was born at Amsterdam, and was within a year of the same age as Locke. In 1668 he had become pastor of the Remonstrants' church, and next year also Professor of Theology at the Remonstrants' seminary. He held those offices until his death, in 1712; and Locke, at Amsterdam, was a member of his congregation. There was also a philosophical society over which Limborch presided, and of which Locke and

Jean Leclerc were the most important members. The principles of Toleration maintained by Limborch were propagated by Leclerc. Limborch also wrote. His "Theologia Christiana," published in 1686, was the first complete system of Arminian theology; and in 1692 he published a "History of the Inquisition," which set forth the odiousness of its tyranny. Locke's strong friendship for Limborch was that of a fellow-combatant, and his first letter, *On Toleration*, published in Latin, at Gouda, in 1689—*Epistola de Tolerantia*—was dedicated "Ad clarissimum virum T.A.R.P., T.O., L., A., scripta a P.A., P.O.; J.L., A."—the letters meaning that the piece was addressed to the illustrious Professor of Theology among the Remonstrants, Hater of Tyranny, Limborch of Amsterdam (Theologiæ Apud Remonstrantes Professorem, Tyrannidis Osorem, Limburgum, Amstelodamensem); and written by the Friend of Peace, Hater of Persecution, John Locke, Englishman (Pacis Amico, Persecutionis Osore, Johanne Lockio, Anglo).

Locke's other friend, Jean Leclerc, born at Geneva, was a great-nephew of Courcelles, a man of about thirty, who had been turned by the writings of Episcopius from the Calvinism in which he had been bred; had made a stir in his church at the age of twenty-two by publishing theological letters, under the name of "Liberius a Sancto Amore;" and, after movements which included a short residence in London, settled at Amsterdam, where he was Professor of Philosophy, Belles Lettres, and Hebrew in the Remonstrants' college. He had an active mind, wrote much, and well. A few years before his death, in 1736, he lost his reason, continued to talk, write, and correct proofs, with the steadiness of a sane scholar, but without any sense or order in his thoughts. The papers over which he seemed to himself to be living as of old were burnt by his printer as they were received. In his early manhood, when he was among Locke's friends at Amsterdam, Leclerc was editing his "Bibliothèque Universelle," which extended to twenty-six volumes. Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* was finished among these friends at Amsterdam in 1687; and an outline of it, translated into French by Leclerc, appeared in the "Bibliothèque Universelle" for January, 1688. Other extracts from it afterwards appeared in the same journal. Locke's *New Method of making Common-place Books* was translated into English in 1697, from Leclerc's "Bibliothèque" for 1685.

The English Revolution having been accomplished, John

Locke came over to England in February, 1689, in the fleet that convoyed the Princess of Orange. He was made a Commissioner of Appeals, with a salary of £200 a year; and declined other preferment, including offer of the post of envoy to some court where the air might suit his inferior health. But he found a pleasant home at Oates, in Essex, with Sir Francis and Lady Masham. Lady Masham was Cudworth's only child (ch. x. § 22), and had been trained by her father to scholarship and liberal thought; she and her husband were, therefore, in strong intellectual sympathy with Locke, and established a room as his own in their country house at Oates. In 1691, Locke published *Some Considerations on the Lowering of Interest and Raising the Value of Money.* The practical tendency of his writings caused him to be made, in 1695, a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations; and he surprised merchants by showing them how a philosopher might have wider and clearer views of business than they had themselves. In 1700 he resigned his seat at the Board of Trade, and spent the rest of his life at Oates, in study of the Scriptures. He died there, on the 28th of October, 1704, aged seventy-three. In Locke's personal character there was the simplicity of genius. Living a pure life, with its whole labour given to the highest interests of men, Locke was naturally grave, but his was the gravity of unaffected thoughtfulness, which qualified him but the more for innocent enjoyment. He spoke and wrote plain English, gave himself no airs of artificial dignity, would laugh at those who laboured to look wise, and quote the maxim of Rochefoucauld, that gravity is a mystery of the body contrived to conceal faults of the mind.

4. Locke's most important writings came together with the new order of things in England, and expressed the spirit of the English Revolution. He dealt first with Religious Liberty, in *Three Letters concerning Toleration.* The first was in Latin, addressed, as we have seen, to Limborch, and printed at Gouda, in 1689, translated in the same year into Dutch and French, and then into English, by William Popple. Its argument is that toleration is the chief characteristic mark of the true Church. Antiquity, orthodoxy, and reformed discipline may be marks dwelt upon by men striving for power over one another; but charity, meekness, and goodwill to men are marks of the true Christian. Christianity is no matter of pomp and dominion; its power is over men's lives, to war against their lusts and vices, teach

them charity, and inspire them with a faith working by love. If persecution be a zeal for men's souls, why does it leave lusts of the flesh unattacked, and only compel men to profess what they do not believe in points of doctrine? It is the duty, Locke argued, of the civil magistrate to secure to every citizen the just possession of the things belonging to this life—his life itself, his liberty, health, and safe possession of his goods. It is not the duty of the civil magistrate to dictate religion to the people. God never gave such authority, and man cannot delegate to another the command over his soul. The power of the magistrate consists only in outward force, which cannot produce inward persuasion. He may argue, indeed, and so may other men; but in this he only is master who convinces. Nor if men's minds were changed would they be probably nearer heaven for adopting the opinions of the court. The Church only is concerned with souls of men, and a church Locke held to be "a voluntary society of men joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God in such manner as they judge acceptable to Him and effectual to the salvation of their souls." Each member must worship in accordance with his sense of truth; a man cannot inherit convictions as he inherits house and land. The Church being, therefore, a society of men who join together for the worship they believe will bring them nearest to their God, its laws, said Locke, must be of its own making; they cannot be imposed from without. Those who attach importance to the episcopal rule established by a long series of succession, are right in maintaining for themselves what they judge necessary, "provided I may have liberty at the same time to join myself to that society in which I am persuaded those things are to be found which are necessary to the salvation of my soul." The Gospel frequently declares that the disciples of Christ should suffer persecution, but nowhere that the Church of Christ should persecute; and to those who cried for the Church as the Ephesian silversmith cried for Diana, Locke argued that it might be advantageous to themselves "to require those things in order to ecclesiastical communion which Christ does not require in order to life eternal;" but he added, "how that can be called the Church of Christ which is established upon laws that are not His, and which excludes such persons from its communion as He will one day receive into the kingdom of heaven, I understand not." The end of a religious society, he said, is the *public*

worship of God, and by means thereof, the acquisition of eternal life. All discipline should therefore tend to that end, and the church has no control over the outward goods of its members. Force belongs wholly to the civil magistrate; the arms of a church are admonitions, exhortations, and advices. The utmost force of ecclesiastical power is to cut off a member from the society which he dishonours, and which refuses any longer to associate with him. After he has thus been cut off from his church, all its relation with him and, of course, all power over him is at an end. A church is free to decline fellowship with an obstinate offender against its laws, but this must be without rough usage or civil injury of any kind. "No private person has a right in any manner to prejudice another person in his civil enjoyments because he is of another church or religion." His civil rights are his as a man, Christian or Pagan. We are bound to be just; "nay, we must not content ourselves with the narrow measure of bare justice—charity, bounty, and liberality must be added to it. This the Gospel enjoins, this reason directs, and this that natural fellowship we are born into requires of us." What is true of private persons is equally true of particular churches, "which stand as it were in the same relation to each other as private persons among themselves; nor has any one of them any manner of jurisdiction over any other—no, not even when the civil magistrate (as it sometimes happens) comes to be of this or the other communion. For the civil government can give no new right to the church, nor the church to the civil government. So that whether the magistrate join himself to any church or separate from it, the church remains always as it was before—a free and voluntary society. It neither acquires the power of the sword by the magistrate's coming to it, nor does it lose the right of instruction and excommunication by his going from it. But in all churches the magistrate can forbid that to be done which is not lawful to be done anywhere, because it injures some member of the commonwealth in that which it is the business of the civil government to protect—his life or estate." And a church, Locke argued, that was against the civil rights of the community has no right to be tolerated by the magistrate. If it teach that no faith is to be kept with those who differ from it in religious doctrine, that kings excommunicated by it forfeit their crowns and kingdoms, that dominion is founded in grace—meaning that civil supremacy is vested in those who belong to their own religious society—"what," said Locke, "do all those

and the like doctrines signify but that they may and are ready upon any occasion to seize the government and possess themselves of the estates and fortunes of their fellow-subjects; and that they only ask leave to be tolerated by the magistrate so long until they find themselves strong enough to effect it." These are, in Locke's words, the chief principles discussed and maintained in his three letters concerning Toleration. In the first letter he set them forth, and met by anticipation some of the chief objections likely to be urged against them. Locke's second letter, published in 1690, and third, a work of some length, in 1692, both signed "Philanthropus," were replies to the objections actually raised by theologians of Queen's College, Oxford, in three letters, of which the first was entitled, *The Argument of the Letter concerning Toleration briefly Considered and Answered.*

5. Locke's argument for religious liberty, in 1689, was followed by his argument also for civil liberty. In 1689 and 1690 he published *Two Treatises of Government;* one opposed to the arguments of Sir Robert Filmer (ch. viii. § 67) in his *Patriarcha*, which had appeared in 1680, and was applauded by upholders of the absolute supremacy of kings; the other an essay concerning the true original, extent, and end of civil government. They were described by him as the beginning and end of a discourse concerning government, and he hoped "sufficient to establish the throne of our great restorer, our present King William; to make good his title, in the consent of the people, which being the only one of all lawful governments, he has more fully and clearly than any prince in Christendom; and to justify to the world the people of England, whose love of their just and natural rights, with their resolution to preserve them, saved the nation when it was on the very brink of slavery and ruin." He should not, he said, have replied to Sir Robert "were there not men amongst us who, by crying up his books and espousing his doctrine, save me from the reproach of writing against a dead adversary." Sir Robert based his plea for absolute monarchy upon the argument that men are not naturally free. They are born in subjection to their parents, and imperial authority is based on patriarchal. Absolute lordship was vested in Adam, inherited from him by the patriarchs. A son, a subject, and a servant or slave, were one and the same thing at first. It was God's ordinance that the supremacy should be unlimited in Adam, and as large as all the acts of his will; and as in him

so in all others that have supreme power. Locke, in reply to this, undertook to show: 1. That Adam had not, either by right of fatherhood, or by positive donation from God, any such authority over his children or dominion over the world as was pretended. 2. That if he had, his heirs yet had no right to it. 3. That if his heirs had, there being no law of nature nor positive law of God that determines which is the right heir in all cases that may arise, the right of succession, and, consequently, of bearing rule, could not have been certainly determined. 4. That even if that had been determined, yet the knowledge of which is the eldest line of Adam's posterity has been so long since utterly lost, that in the races of mankind and families of the world, there remains not to one above another the least pretence to be the oldest house, and to have right of inheritance. Wherefore it is impossible that the rulers now on earth should make any benefit or derive the least shadow of authority from that which Sir Robert Filmer and his followers held to be the foundation of all power, Adam's private dominion and paternal jurisdiction. Having disposed of this argument for absolutism in the first treatise, in the second Locke set forth what he believed to be the real basis of civil government. "Political power," he said, "is the right of making laws with penalties of death, and, consequently, all less penalties, for the regulating and preserving of property, and of employing the force of the community in the execution of such laws, and in the defence of the commonwealth from foreign injury, and all this only for the publick good." Men, he said, are by nature subject only to the laws of nature, born equal and free. Hooker's recognition of this (ch. vii. § 90) caused Locke from time to time to quote him, and always as "the judicious Hooker." The influence of this treatise has caused Locke's "judicious Hooker" to become as much a commonplace of speech as Chaucer's "moral Gower" (ch. iv. § 24). But the state of liberty is not a state of licence. Reason is one of the laws of nature, and it teaches that if men are all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions. Next to the preservation of himself, the natural law wills that each shall aid in the preservation of the rest of mankind; and into every man's hand is put the execution of such natural law on those who molest their neighbours, as far as reason allows that power may be used to prevent recurrence of offence or secure reparation for the injury. In this state of nature, Locke argued, all men are, until

by their own consents they make themselves members of some political society. The state of war is not, in Locke's system, the state of nature, but that which tends to destroy its first conditions. Thus, he who attempts to get another man into his absolute power, does thereby put himself in a state of war with him. To avoid this state of war is one great reason of men's putting themselves into society and quitting the state of nature. A man, not having the power of his own life, cannot by compact enslave himself to any one; nobody can give more power than he has himself. Slavery is nothing but the state of war continued between a lawful conqueror and a captive. Though the earth and its goods are common to all men, each man has a property in his person, and the labour of his body is his own. An apple gathered upon common ground belongs to him who has given labour to the gathering. If the water in the stream belongs to all, that in the pitcher is the property of him who drew it out. In this part of his treatise Locke is the first to point distinctly, as Hobbes had pointed more indistinctly, to labour as the source of wealth. But God gave the earth to man's use. When its natural fruits were the chief wealth, none had property in more than he could use—as much land as he could labour on, as much fruit as he could consume in his family distribute to others, or store for a future need. He had no right in reason to claim land that he could not cultivate, or gather fruit only to let it rot. But the invention of money, as a sign of value in itself not subject to decay, made it possible to accumulate the wealth derived from labour, and establish large properties, to which the first right was given by labour, and which grew by the heaping up of durable things; for the bounds of just property are exceeded not by the mere largeness of possession, but by the perishing of anything in it uselessly. Paternal power is the right and duty of guiding children till they reach maturity, because they are not as soon as born under the law of reason, and this has no analogy with the social compact. A civil society is formed when any number of men agree to form a government that shall maintain and execute laws for avoidance of those evils which lie in the state of nature, where every man is judge in his own case. Absolute monarchy, said Locke, is no form of civil government at all; for the end of civil society is to avoid the inconveniences of a state of nature, and that is not done by setting up a man who shall be always judge in his own case, and therefore himself in the state of nature in respect

of those under his dominion. For his subjects are exposed to all that can be suffered at the hands of one "who being in the unrestrained state of nature, is yet corrupted with flattery, and armed with power." Political societies, then, are formed by the consent of the majority, chiefly for protection of the property of those who are so united. Each society needs an established law, an impartial judge, and power to support and execute his sentence. Thus arise the Legislative and Executive powers of a state. The commonwealth may be ruled by the majority as a democracy; by a few select men as an oligarchy; or by one as a monarchy, hereditary or elective; or by any form compounded of these, as shall seem best to the community. The supreme power is the Legislative, bounded by the law of God and nature, bound, therefore, to maintain equal justice, to seek only the good of the people, whom it may not tax without their own consent, because then Government itself would deprive them of that which it exists for the purpose of defending. The Legislative is restrained also from transfer of the power of making laws to anybody else, or placing it anywhere but where the people placed it. Legislation need not be continuous, and is best put into the hands of divers persons, who then separate and become subject to the laws they have made. But Execution of the Laws must be continuous. Its power is always in being, and thus the Legislative and Executive power come often to be separated. Another power, the Federative, is that which represents the whole society as one in its relation to the rest of mankind; and an injury done to one member of the body engages the whole in the reparation of it. These two powers, the Executive, which administers laws of the society within itself, and the Federative, which manages the security and interest of the public without, though really distinct in themselves, are almost always united. Throughout, while the supreme power is with the Legislative, it holds this as a trust from the people, which can remove or alter the Legislative if it be found unfaithful to the trust reposed in it. If the Executive break trust by use of force upon the Legislative, it puts itself into a state of war with the people. The use of force without authority always puts him that uses it into a state of war, as the aggressor, and renders him liable to be treated accordingly. The power surrendered by each individual to the society cannot revert to him while he remains a member of it. So, also, when the society has placed the Legislative in any assembly of men, to continue in them and

their successors, with direction and authority for providing such successors, the Legislative can never revert to the people whilst that government lasts, unless they have set limits to its duration, or by the miscarriages of those in authority the supreme power is forfeited through breach of trust.

With such argument as this, John Locke gave philosophical expression to the principles established practically by the English Revolution.

6. Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, in Four Books, was first published complete in 1690. Its object was to lead men out of the way of vain contention by showing, through an inquiry into the nature of the human understanding, what are the bounds beyond which argument is vain. In his First Book he followed into a new field Bacon's principles, and maintained that man has no innate ideas, but is created with a receptive mind and reason, whereby he draws knowledge from the universe without. "The goodness of God," Locke said, "hath not been wanting to men without such original impressions of knowledg, or ideas stamp'd on the mind; since He hath furnish'd man with those faculties, which will serve for the sufficient discovery of all things requisite to the end of such a being. And I doubt not but to show that a man, by the right use of his natural abilities, may, without any innate principles, attain the knowiedg of a God, and other things that concern him. God having endu'd man with those faculties of knowing which he hath, was no more oblig'd by His goodness to implant those innate notions in his mind, than that having given him reason, hands, and materials, He should build him bridges or houses." "No innate sense of God himself is necessary," said Locke, "for the visible marks of extraordinary wisdom and power appear so plainly in all the works of the creation, that a rational creature who will but seriously reflect on them, cannot miss the discovery of a Deity." Thus it seemed stranger to him that men should want the notion of God than that they should be without any notion of numbers or of fire. In his Second Book, Locke traced the origin of our ideas from the world about us by sensation or reflection, and argued that our most complex thoughts are formed by various combinations of simple ideas derived from the world about us, suggested to the mind only by sensation and reflection, and the sole materials of all our knowledge. "It is not," said Locke, "in the power of the most exalted wit or enlarg'd understanding, by a quickness or vanity of thought, to invent or frame one new

simple idea in the mind, not taken in by the ways aforementioned; nor can any force of the understanding destroy those that are there." Locke then discussed in detail the forms of simple idea derived from sensation and reflection, the action of the mind upon them in perception, retention, discernment, naming, abstraction; and its manner of making complex ideas out of simple ones. He discussed the source and character of man's ideas of space, duration, number, and infinity, of pleasure and pain, the passions, his idea of power and of liberty, with argument upon the nature of free will. He explained by his own method the causes of obscurity in some ideas, and pointed out how, by the association of ideas, men are made unreasonable who have been trained from childhood to associate with certain words collections of ideas that do not properly belong to them. A musician used to any tune, when he hears part of it will have the ideas of its several notes following one another in his understanding without any act of his own. So whole societies of men are impeded in the fair pursuit of truth. "Some independent ideas, of no alliance to one another, are by education, custom, and the constant din of their party, so coupled in their minds, that they always appear there together; and they can no more separate them in their thoughts than if they were but one idea, and they operate as if they were so. This gives sense to jargon, demonstration to absurdities, and consistency to nonsense, and is the foundation of the greatest, I had almost said of all, the errors in the world; or if it does not reach so far, it is at least the most dangerous one, since so far as it obtains, it hinders men from seeing and examining." The Third Book was a distinct essay upon words as signs of ideas, and enforced the importance of assuring that, as far as possible, they shall be made to represent clearly the same impressions in the minds of those who use them, and of those to whom they are addressed. Thus two men might argue without end upon the question whether a bat be a bird, if they had no clear and equal notion of the collection of simple ideas forming the complex idea of a bat, whereby they could ascertain whether it contained all the simple ideas to which, combined together, they both give the name of bird. The Fourth Book of the Essay applied the whole argument to a consideration of the bounds of knowledge and opinion. Knowledge can extend no farther than we have ideas, and is the perception of the connection and agreement or disagreement and repugnancy of any of our ideas. Narrow as the bounds

may seem, our knowledge does not reach to them. Knowledge comes by the way of reason in comparing clear and distinct ideas definitely named. Knowledge is to be had only of visible and certain truth; where this fails we must use judgment, and regulate our degree of assent by reasoning upon the grounds of probability; the foundation of error lying here in wrong measures of probability, as it may lie also in wrong judgment upon matters of knowledge. The witness of God, who cannot err, makes an assured revelation highest certainty. Assurance that the testimony is indeed from God establishes "faith; which as absolutely determines our minds, and as perfectly excludes all wavering as our knowledge itself; and we may as well doubt of our own being, as we can whether any revelation from God be true." What is deducible from human experience God enabled us by reason to discover. What lies beyond our experience may be the subject of a revelation, which is above reason, but not against it. Locke ended with a threefold division of the objects of human knowledge—1, Study of nature, in the largest sense a man's contemplation of things themselves for the discovery of truth; 2, Practical applications, a man's contemplation of the things in his own power for the attainment of his ends; and, 3, Man's contemplation of the signs (chiefly words) that the mind makes use of, both in the one and the other, and the right ordering of them for its clearer information. "All which three," said Locke, "viz., *Things*, as they are in themselves knowable; *Actions*, as they depend on us in order to happiness; and the right use of *Signs* in order to knowledg, being *toto cælo* different, they seem'd to me to be the three great provinces of the intellectual world, wholly separate and distinct one from another." In this Essay, and in his two letters to Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, in the course of the controversy raised over it, the simple piety of Locke is very manifest. The reason of Locke caused him to maintain (Book IV., ch. x.) "that we more certainly know that there is a God than that there is anything else without us."

Locke had finished, in March, 1690, *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, published in 1693, a treatise wisely designed to bring experience and reason to aid in right training of the bodies and minds of children. It is very practical, beginning with the education that may form a healthy body, passing then to a consideration of the right methods of influencing and guiding the mind, the relation of parents to the children, who "must not be hinder'd from being children, or

from playing, or doing as children, but from doing ill;" relation of teachers to the young, development of character, subjects and methods of formal study, and the ordering of travel. The influence of Locke's treatise on education was direct and wholesome; and to this day, among sensible customs and traditional opinions that help to the well-being of an English home, there are generally some that may be traced back to the time when Locke's Treatise on Education was a new book with a living power over many of its readers.

In 1695 Locke published a book on *The Reasonableness of Christianity, as Delivered in the Scriptures*, the result of his endeavour to turn aside from contending systems of theology and betake himself to the sole reading of the Scripture for the understanding of the Christian religion. Out of the same spirit came his study of St. Paul in *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians. To which is prefix'd, An Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by consulting St. Paul himself.* This was published in 1705, the year after his death, for John Locke died early in Queen Anne's reign, in 1704. In 1706 appeared some posthumous works of his, the chief being an essay *Of the Conduct of the Understanding*, the self-education of the man in learning to make right use of his mind, which has its natural place between the Essay concerning Human Understanding and Locke's Thoughts on the Education of Children.

7. **John Dryden** (ch. x. § 60) remaining loyal to King James II., and to his adopted faith, was unable to obey the Act which required oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be taken by all holders of office before August 1, 1689. Dryden, therefore, suffered in his way, with the non-juring clergy, and lost his offices of poet-laureate and historiographer. **Lord Dorset**, who had aided the Revolution, and was now Lord Chamberlain, was liberal in private generosity to Dryden in this time of his need; but his vacation of the laureateship was inevitable, and, as a stout Whig, his old antagonist, **Thomas Shadwell**, was presented to William by Dorset himself as Dryden's successor. There was not another Dryden on the Whig side, and it must have been a source of grim content to Dryden when he saw that, all things considered, there really was not a man who had a better claim to be King William's laureate than MacFlecknoe. Wycherley (ch. x. § 38) was a better dramatist,

but in their own time they were paired. The Earl of Rochester wrote of them:

> "None seem to touch upon true comedy
> But hasty Shadwell and slow Wycherley;"

and said also of Shadwell, "If he had burnt all he wrote and printed all he spoke, he would have had more wit and humour than any other poet." **Gerard Langbaine**—son of a learned father of like name, who edited Longinus, and became keeper of the archives and Provost of Queen's College, Oxford—Gerard Langbaine, the younger, born at Oxford, in 1656, took lively interest in the stage. He became senior bedel of the University, and died in 1692. He wrote an appendix to a catalogue of graduates, a new catalogue of English plays, and published at Oxford, in 1691, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets; or, some Observations and Remarks on the Lives and Writings of all those that have published either Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Pastorals, Masques, Interludes, Farces, or Operas, in the English Tongue.* Langbaine spoke in this book of Wycherley as one whom he was proud to call his friend, and "a gentleman whom I may boldly reckon among poets of the first rank, no man that I know, except the excellent Jonson, having outdone him in comedy." Of Shadwell, Langbaine said, "I own I like his comedies better than Mr. Dryden's, as having more variety of characters, and those drawn from the life. . . . That Mr. Shadwell has preferred Ben Jonson for his model I am very certain of; and those who will read the preface to *The Humorists* may be sufficiently satisfied what a value he has for that great man; but how far he has succeeded in his design I shall leave to the reader's examination." Of Shadwell's play of *The Virtuoso*, printed in 1676, Langbaine said that the University of Oxford had applauded it, "and, as no man ever undertook to discover the frailties of such pretenders to this kind of knowledge before Mr. Shadwell, so none since Mr. Jonson's time ever drew so many different characters of humour, and with such success." Shadwell had written fourteen plays, and Wycherley his four. Shadwell did not wear his laurels long; he died in December, 1692. **Nahum Tate** (ch. x. § 48) succeeded him as laureate, and **Nicholas Brady** preached his funeral sermon. Tate, therefore, was laureate when the first edition of Tate and Brady's *New Version of the Psalms* appeared, in 1696, after the printing of some specimens in previous years. Tate, who was a friend

of Dryden, and had been chief writer of the second part of "Absalom and Achitophel," remained laureate during the rest of Dryden's life, and throughout Queen Anne's reign.

John Dryden, obliged to return to the stage as a source of income, produced in 1690 his tragedy of *Don Sebastian* in blank verse, with a little prose, and in the same year a comedy, *Amphitryon*, following Molière, with music by Henry Purcell, an excellent musician, and one of the organists of the Chapel Royal, who died of consumption in 1695, at the age of thirty-seven. Purcell also supplied the music for Dryden's *King Arthur; or, the British Worthy*, written in 1685, and produced as a dramatic opera in 1691. With a quiet touch of good-humoured satire, Dryden said in the preface to this attempt at what he called "the fairy way of writing:" "Not to offend the present times, nor a government which has hitherto protected me, I have been obliged so much to alter the first design and take away so many beauties from the writing, that it is now no more what it was formerly than the present ship of the *Royal Sovereign*, after so often taking down and altering, to the vessel it was at the first building;" and to deserved praise of the genius of Purcell, he added, "In reason my art on this occasion ought to be subservient to his." In May, 1692, Dryden produced his tragedy of *Cleomenes; or, the Spartan Hero*, finished for him by his friend **Thomas Southern.** Southern's best plays, both tragedies, were produced in the reign of William III.; *The Fatal Marriage*, in 1694, and *Oroonoko*, founded on Mrs. Behn's novel (ch. x. § 28), in 1696. The play added new strength to the protest of the novel against slavery. Southern was an amiable man and a good economist. By his commissions in the army, which he entered early in James II.'s reign, his good business management as a dramatist, and careful investment of his money, he became rich, and lived to be a well-to-do, white-haired old gentleman, who died at the age of eighty-six in the year 1746. He was the introducer of the author's second and third night, which raised his profit from the players, and he was not above active soliciting, which brought in money from bountiful patrons of the theatre to whom he sold his tickets. He contrived even to make a bookseller pay £150 for the right of publishing one of his plays. When Dryden once asked him how much he made by a play, he owned, to Dryden's great astonishment, that by his last play he had made £700. Dryden himself had been often content to earn a hundred. In 1694

Dryden produced his last play, *Love Triumphant*, a tragi-comedy, which was a failure. In its prologue and epilogue he took leave of the stage, for he had now resolved to devote himself to a translation of Virgil. While writing these later plays, Dryden had received, in 1692, a fee of five hundred guineas for a poem—*Eleonora*—in memory of the Countess of Abingdon, and had written a *Life of Polybius* to precede a translation by Sir Henry Shere, with a preliminary Essay on Satire, a translation of *The Satires of Juvenal and Persius*, translating himself Satires 1, 3, 6, 10, and 16 of Juvenal, and all Persius. He edited also, for Tonson, in 1693, a third volume of Miscellanies (ch. x. § 52), *Examen Poeticum: being the Third Part of Miscellany Poems. Containing Variety of New Translations of the Ancient Poets; together with many Original Poems by the Most Eminent Hands.* This was a substantial volume, with an appendix of seventy-eight pages, separately paged, containing a translation by Tate of a famous poem by Fracastorius, upon a subject that all readers might not wish to find included in the volume. It opened with Dryden's translation of the First Book of "Ovid's Metamorphoses," included verse by Congreve and Prior, much verse by **Thomas Yalden**, of Magdalene College, Oxford, then aged twenty-two, and a fellow-student of Addison's; a translation of Virgil's first Georgic, dedicated to Dryden by Henry Sacheverell, another of Addison's college friends; and the first published writing of **Joseph Addison** himself, *To Mr. Dryden: by Mr. Jo. Addison;* dated from Magdalene College, Oxford, June 2, 1693. Addison, aged twenty-one, here exalted Dryden as a translator from the Latin poets. "Thy copy," he said—

> "Thy copy casts a fairer light on all,
> And still outshines the bright original."

Dryden's old publisher, Henry Herringman, had by twenty years of industry made fortune enough to retire upon; and had for some time been living, says his tombstone, "handsomely and hospitably," at Carshalton, where he and his wife Alice, after fifty-eight years of wedded life, died, within six weeks and two days of each other, in 1703. Jacob Tonson had begun business as a bookseller in 1678, with a capital of only £100, cheerfulness, honesty, and industry. Herringman had already set up his house at Carshalton, and withdrawn much personal attention from his business. Young Tonson, aged twenty-three, short, stout, and pushing, had his way to make, and sought the good-

will of the poets. Otway and Tate came to him, and with help of a partner in the venture, he raised £20 to pay Dryden for the copy of his play of *Troilus and Cressida*, with which he began business relations with the great poet in 1679. Jacob Tonson, thenceforth Dryden's publisher, had produced the Miscellanies, wished to make them annual, and in the next year, 1694, appeared the fourth and last of Dryden's series, as *The Annual Miscellany: for the Year* 1694. *Being the Fourth Part of Miscellany Poems; Containing Great Variety of New Translations and Original Copies, by the Most Eminent Hands.* Again there was a good deal from Yalden, through whom probably Addison obtained his introduction to the Miscellany, and there was now more from young Addison. The volume, much thinner than its predecessor, opened with the "Third Book of Virgil's Georgicks, Englished by Mr. Dryden," and that was immediately followed by *A Translation of all Virgil's 4th Georgick, except the Story of Aristeus. By Mr. Jo. Addison, of Magdalene College, Oxon.* On other pages were, from the same hand, *A Song for St. Cecilia's Day, at Oxford*, and the *Story of Salmacis*, from the Fourth Book of "Ovid's Metamorphoses;" and the book closed with *An Account of the Greatest English Poets, To Mr. H. S., Apr. 3d.*, 1694. *By Mr. Joseph Addison.* "H. S." stood for Henry Sacheverell.

8. **Joseph Addison** was born on May-day, 1672, in his father's parsonage, at Milston, Wiltshire, and was named Joseph, after Joseph Williamson (ch. x. § 42), the patron who had given that small living. Addison was son and grandson to a clergyman. His mother was a clergyman's daughter, and one of his uncles became Bishop of Bristol. Addison's father, Lancelot, was the son of a poor Westmoreland clergyman, who had begun the world at the Restoration as chaplain to the garrison at Dunkirk, and then held for eight years as poor a position at Tangier. When he lost that office, the small living of Milston, given to him by Mr. Joseph, afterwards Sir Joseph, Williamson, enabled Lancelot Addison to marry; and he had been made one of the king's chaplains when his son Joseph appeared as the firstborn of a family that came to consist of three sons and three daughters. Joseph Addison's father had also turned to account his experiences in Tangier, and earned credit by a little book, on *West Barbary; or, a Short Narrative of the Revolutions of the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. With an Account of the Present Customs, Sacred, Civil, and Domestic*, published in

1671, and dedicated as "An Unfeigned Testimony of my Respect and Affection" to the patron after whom the son presently born was named. Lancelot Addison published also a *Life of Mahomet*, and an account of the Jews. About 1677 the Rev. Lancelot Addison became Archdeacon of Salisbury, and his son Joseph then went to a school at Salisbury. In 1683, Lancelot Addison became Dean of Lichfield; and Joseph, aged eleven, then went to school at Lichfield until 1685, when he was sent. a dean's son, as a private pupil to the Charterhouse. There he found, among the boys on the foundation, one of his own age, Richard Steele, who had been sent to the school a few months earlier, in 1684. Between Addison and Steele, as boys at the Charterhouse, an enduring friendship was established.

Richard Steele was not two months older than Addison. He was baptized on the 12th of March, 1672 (old style, 1671, see note on p. 106), as the son of Richard Steele, an attorney in Dublin. His father died when he was not quite five years old, and he was in his thirteenth year when, on the nomination of the first Duke of Ormond, he was received as a foundation boy at the Charterhouse. Steele went home at holiday time with his friend Addison to the Lichfield Deanery, where he was on brotherly terms with the children of the household, and where the father gave his blessing to the friendship between his son Joseph and Richard Steele. **Addison** was only about two years at the Charterhouse. He went to Oxford in 1687. Steele did not leave the Charterhouse for Oxford until March, 1689, the year in which Addison, who had entered Queen's College, was elected a Demy of Magdalene. Steele went to Christchurch; and thus, at the beginning of the reign of William and Mary, their schoolboy friendship was being renewed by Steele and Addison as students at Oxford. Addison's lines in the "Miscellany" for 1694, which addressed to Henry Sacheverell, at his request,

> "A short account of all the Muse-possest
> That down from Chaucer's days to Dryden's times
> Have spunt their noble rage in Brittish rhimes,"

were the work of a young man with a bent for criticism, though not yet a critic. He echoed opinions of the French school, and followed the polite taste of the day. Of Chaucer he said that he was "a merry bard,"

> "But age has rusted what the poet writ,
> Worn out his language, and obscur'd his wit:

In vain he jests in his unpolish'd strain,
And tries to make his readers laugh in vain.
Old Spencer next, warm'd with poetick rage
In antick tales amus'd a barb'rous age;
* * * * *
But now the mystick tale, that pleas'd of yore,
Can charm an understanding age no more;
The long-spun allegories fulsom grow,
While the dull moral lies too plain below."

Shakespeare was simply left out of Addison's list. His next heroes were Cowley and Sprat—Great Cowley, whose "fault is only wit in its excess."

" Blest man! who's spotless life and charming lays
Employ'd the tuneful prelate in thy praise:
Blest man! who now shall be for ever known,
In Sprat's successful labours and thy own.
But Milton next, with high and haughty stalks
Unfetter'd in majestick numbers walks.
* * * * *
Whate'er his pen describes I more than see,
Whilst ev'ry verse, array'd in majesty,
Bold and sublime, my whole attention draws,
And seems above the critic's nicer laws."

A genuine admiration of Milton, who did not appeal in vain to young Addison's religious feeling, is the most interesting feature of these lines, which went on from Milton to Waller, Roscommon, Denham, Dryden, Congreve, Montague, and Dorset, in the manner of one who was being educated in "an understanding age," trained by polite France in a shallow self-sufficiency. This "understanding age," however, was not quite ignorant of Spenser. There had appeared, in 1687, *Spenser Redivivus: containing the First Book of the Fairy Queen, His Essential Design preserv'd, but his Obsolete Language and Manner of Verse totally laid aside. Deliver'd in Heroick Numbers, by a Person of Quality.* All the old music, with its sweet variety of number, was fled. There were no more sonnets; they took flight out of our literature at the coming in of the French influence. Narrative was to be after the manner of France, in rhymed couplets; our old "riding rhyme," so called because it was the rhyme that described the Canterbury pilgrims, was now dubbed "heroic verse," and the predominance of this metre had now become one characteristic of the outward form of English poetry.

Richard Steele wrote his earliest published verse a few months after the appearance of Addison's Account of the Poets. But Steele's interest was above all things in life itself, and then

in literature as the expression of it. He showed his interest in men by writing a comedy at college, and was content to burn it when a fellow-student thought it bad. His first printed verse was on the death of Queen Mary, by small-pox, in the Christmas week of 1694; and Steele used more than once one of its opening lines, expressing his sense of the earnest under-tone of life—"Pleasure itself has something that's severe." Since the throne was not vacant, Parliament still sat, and for the first time a procession of the two Houses of Lords and Commons joined in the funeral pomp of an English sovereign. Steele's poem, of about 150 lines, was called *The Procession.*

9. When Mary and her husband had been proclaimed King and Queen of England, Mary sent to ask William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, for his blessing, and had for answer, "Tell the princess to ask her father's; without that I doubt mine would not be heard in heaven." He would not transfer to William the oaths he had sworn to James, and was suspended on the 1st of August, 1689, but not deprived till 1690, when four more of the seven bishops whom King James had sent to the Tower—namely, Turner, White, Locke, and Ken—besides Lloyd of Norwich and Frampton of Gloucester, were deprived as Non-jurors. About four hundred clergymen and members of the Universities suffered with them, and many who took the oaths had no sympathy with the Revolution. **Thomas Ken** (ch. x. § 59), when deprived, at the age of fifty-three, had £700 and his books, and was presently housed by an old college friend, Thomas Thynne, Lord Weymouth, in a suite of rooms in his mansion of Longleate, in Wiltshire. Lord Weymouth took Ken's £700, and paid him an annuity of £80 a year. From Longleate he paid occasional visits to friends, went abroad at first on his old white horse, and, when that was worn out, on foot, preaching, and collecting subscriptions for distressed Non-jurors and their families. At Longleate House he died, in March, 1711.

Among the non-jurors was **William Sherlock**, a divine then high in repute, born in 1641, educated at Eton and Peterhouse, Cambridge; in 1669 Rector of St. George's, Botolph Lane, and Prebendary of St. Paul's; then Master of the Temple, an active preacher and writer against the Roman Catholics. At the time of his deprivation, Sherlock published, in 1689, the most popular of his books, *Practical Discourse concerning Death.* His deprivation was soon followed by his acceptance

of the established authority in 1691, when he was restored to his office of Master of the Temple, and made Dean of St. Paul's. In 1692 appeared his *Practical Discourse concerning Future Judgment;* and he was involved in a long and bitter controversy with **Robert South,** a learned, zealous, and good-natured divine, upon the Trinity. Sherlock died in 1707; South, who had conformed to all Governments of his time, died in 1716, aged eighty-three. The amiable **John Tillotson,** who took in 1691 the archbishopric of which Sancroft had been deprived, lived only until 1694, and his funeral sermon was preached by **Gilbert Burnet,** who had been regarded by the Stuarts as an enemy since 1682, when he showed his sympathy with Lord William Russell during his trial and before his execution. Burnet was abroad, and much with the Prince and Princess of Orange during the reign of James II. He came over with William as his chaplain. In 1690 he was made Bishop of Salisbury. He had published, in 1686, at Amsterdam, *Some Letters containing an Account of what seemed Most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy,* &c. They are five letters addressed to the Hon. Robert Boyle. The information in them is compactly given, and their tone is very strongly Protestant. Burnet published, in 1692, *A Life of William Bedell, D.D., Lord Bishop of Kilmore, in Ireland, with his Letters,* and *A Discourse of the Pastoral Care.* **William Penn** (ch. x. § 41) published, in 1694, *A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers,* and an *Account of his Travels in Holland and Germany in* 1677, *for the Service of the Gospel of Christ, by way of Journal.* Fox (ch. ix. § 16) and Barclay (ch. x. § 21) had been Penn's companions on that journey. The *Journal* of **George Fox,** who died in 1690, was published in 1694.

10. **John Strype,** born at Stepney in 1643, was educated at St. Paul's School and Jesus College, Cambridge. In 1669 he was presented to the living of Theydon Boys, which he resigned for that of Low Leyton, in Essex. He lived to the age of ninety-four, and was incumbent of Low Leyton for sixty years. He was an accurate student of Church history and biography, and began, in 1694, with a folio of *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer.* In 1698 appeared his *Life of Sir Thomas Smith* (ch. vii. § 24), and in 1701 his *Life and Actions of John Aylmer, Bishop of London* (ch. vii. § 32).

Humphrey Prideaux was born in 1648, at Padstow, in

Cornwall; was educated at Westminster School and Christchurch, Oxford. In 1676 he wrote an account of the Arundel Marbles. Then he obtained the living of St. Clement's, Oxford, and in 1681 a prebend at Norwich. In 1697 he published a *Life of Mahomet*, and in 1702 was made Dean of Norwich.

11. **Sir George Mackenzie,** of Rosehaugh, who died in 1691, aged fifty-five, was a good friend to English writers of his time, and himself a good writer. He was born at Dundee, of a known family, in 1636, studied Civil Law at Bourges, in 1659 began life as an advocate, and next year published *Aretine; or, The Serious Romance.* Then he became justice depute, afterwards was knighted. In 1667 his *Moral Gallantry* established moral duties as the principles of honour. He was one of the men most active in establishing the Advocates' Library, founded at Edinburgh in 1682, and had a high literary and social reputation when he died, in the reign of William and Mary.

12. **John Evelyn** (ch. ix. § 18) was appointed one of the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital when William III., after the death of Mary, actively carried out her wish to found a home for old sailors, and made this hospital, of which Evelyn became treasurer, the noblest monument to her memory. When the Czar Peter came to England, in 1698, he lived at Sayes Court, to be near the Deptford Dockyard. In 1699, John Evelyn succeeded to the paternal estate, by the death of his elder brother; and in May, 1700, he left Sayes Court for Wotton. Evelyn's famous garden at Sayes Court was described in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society. Among his numerous writings were "*The French Gardiner:* Instructing how to Cultivate all Sorts of Fruit Trees and Herbs for the Garden" (1658); "*Fumifugium;* or, the Aer and Smoak of London Dissipated" (1661); "*Sculptura;* or, the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper" (1662); "*Kaleńdarium Hortense;* or, the Gardiner's Almanac" (1664); "*Sylva*" (1664), a Treatise on Forest Trees, the first book printed for the Royal Society, and the book with which his name is most associated; "*Terra*" (1675), also printed for the Royal Society; "*Navigation and Commerce*: their History and Progress" (1672), this being an introduction to the History of the Dutch War, written at the request of Charles II.; *Public Employment and an Active Life preferred to Solitude and all its Appanages* (1667), an answer to one of Sir George Mackenzie's books, which was a "Moral Essay preferring Solitude to Public

Employment." Under William III., Evelyn produced, in 1690, a satire on the frippery of ladies, *Mundus Muliebris; or, the Ladies' Dressing Room Unlock'd, and her Toilette Spread. In Burlesque. Together with the Fop Dictionary, Compil'd for the Use of the Fair Sex.* In 1697, Evelyn published *Numismata: a Discourse of Medals;* with a digression concerning Physiognomy; and in 1699, *Acetaria: a Discourse of Sallets.*

13. **John Ray** was the chief botanist of the time. He was a blacksmith's son, born in 1628 at Black Notley, near Braintree, Essex. He was sent from Braintree School to Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship of Trinity; in 1651 was Greek Lecturer of his college, and afterwards Mathematical Reader. In 1660 he published a Latin Catalogue of Plants growing about Cambridge, and then made a botanical tour through Great Britain. His Latin *Catalogue of the Plants of England and the Adjacent Isles* first appeared in 1670. Ray took orders at the Restoration, but refused subscription, and resigned. In 1663 he spent three years with a pupil, Mr. F. Willoughby, on the Continent, and published an account of his travels in 1673, as *Observations made in a Journey through Part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and France, with a Catalogue of Plants not Natives of England.* Ray married, in 1673, a lady twenty-four years younger than himself; educated the children of his friend Mr. Willoughby, who had died in 1672; and finally, in 1679, he settled in his native place, and lived there till his death, in 1705. Among his chief books was *A Collection of English Proverbs, with Short Annotations*, first published in 1670; and in the reign of William III. he produced, in 1691, *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Creation;* in 1692, *Miscellaneous Discourses concerning the Dissolution and Changes of the World;* in 1693, *Three Physico-Theological Discourses concerning Chaos, the Deluge, and the Dissolution of the World;* and in 1700, *A Persuasive to a Holy Life.* Ray was one of Nature's naturalists—wise, modest, and unassuming—with the sense of God that comes of a full study and enjoyment of His works. The mathematical works of **John Wallis**—*Opera Mathematica et Miscellanea*—were published in three folios between 1693 and 1699. Wallis died in 1703, aged eighty-eight. **Ray's** *Physico-Theological Discourses* belong to a course of scientific speculation on the Cosmos, which formed part of the new energy of scientific research, and received impulse in 1681 from the "Sacred Theory of the Earth" (*Telluris Theoria*

Sacra), by **Thomas Burnet**, who, in 1685, was made Master of the Charterhouse. Thomas Burnet discussed the natural history of our planet, in its origin, its changes, and its consummation, and the four books contain—(1) The Theory of the Deluge by Dissolution of the Outer Crust of the Earth, its Subsidence in the Great Abyss, and the Forming of the Earth as it now Exists; (2) Of the First Created Earth and Paradise; (3) Of the Conflagration of the World; and (4) Of the New Heaven and the New Earth. This new attempt made by a Doctor of Divinity to blend large scientific generalization with study of Scripture, more imaginative than scientific, stirred many fancies, and was much read and discussed. But under William III., Thomas Burnet's speculations in his *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ Libri Duo* drew on him strong theological censure; and he was called an infidel by many because he read the Fall of Adam as an allegory. This not only destroyed his chance of high promotion in the Church, but caused him to be removed from the office of Clerk of the Closet to the king, and he died at a good old age, in 1715, still Master of the Charterhouse. **William Whiston**, who was thirty years or more younger than Thomas Burnet, was chaplain to a bishop when, in 1696, he published *A New Theory of the Earth, from its Original to the Consummation of all Things.* This fed the new appetite for cosmical theories with fresh speculation. In Burnet's system, fire, in Whiston's, water, played chief part as the great agent of change. In 1698 Whiston became Vicar of Lowestoft, and in 1700 he lectured at Cambridge, as deputy to Newton, whom he succeeded in the Lucasian Professorship. Whiston lived till the middle of the eighteenth century. In Queen Anne's reign his search for a primitive Christianity affected his theology, and brought on him loss of his means of life in the Church and University. He taught science; lived, as a poor man, a long and blameless life, until his death, in 1752; and in his writings blended love of nature with the love of God.

14. **William Congreve**, thirty-two years younger than William Wycherley, wrote all his plays in the reign of William III. His first play, *The Old Bachelor*, appeared in 1693, sixteen years after Wycherley's last play, "The Plain Dealer." Congreve was born at Bardsey, Yorkshire, in February, 1670; was educated at Kilkenny and at Trinity College, Dublin; entered the Middle Temple; in 1693, at the age of

twenty-three, produced a novel *Incognita; or, Love and Duty Reconciled*, and at Drury Lane his play of *The Ola Bachelor*, which he professed to have written several years before "to amuse himself in a slow recovery from sickness." The success of the play was great, and it caused Charles Montague, then a Lord of the Treasury, to make Congreve a commissioner for licensing hackney coaches. In the following year, 1694 Congreve produced, with much less success, *The Double Dealer*. The two theatres at Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn had joined their forces about 1682, and there was then only one great theatre, that at Drury Lane, with Thomas Betterton the greatest of its actors. Irritated by the patentees at Drury Lane, Betterton, then a veteran actor, sixty years old, seceded. He carried other good players with him, as well as the new dramatist, and obtained a patent for a new theatre, which opened in Lincoln's Inn Fields, in 1695, with William Congreve's comedy of *Love for Love*. This had a brilliant success, and the company gave Congreve a share in the new house, on condition of his writing them a play a year if his health allowed. His next play appeared in 1697. It was his only tragedy, *The Mourning Bride*, the most successful of his pieces. In the same year **John Vanbrugh** (b. 1666, d. 1726) produced at Drury Lane his first play, *The Relapse;* and the first play of **George Farquhar** (b. 1678, d. 1707), *Love and a Bottle*, was acted in the following year, 1698. **Vanbrugh** was of a family that had lived near Ghent before the persecutions by the Duke of Alva. His grandfather came to England, and his father acquired wealth as a sugar-baker. After a liberal education, finished in France, John Vanbrugh was for a time in the army, and in 1695 he was nominated by John Evelyn as secretary to the Commission for endowing Greenwich Hospital. His *Relapse* was followed by *The Provoked Wife*, produced in 1698 at Lincoln's Inn Fields. **George Farquhar,** the son of a poor clergyman, was born at Londonderry. He left Trinity College, Dublin, to turn actor for a short time on the Dublin stage, came young to London, and got a commission in a regiment under Lord Orrery's command in Ireland. Young Captain Farquhar was but twenty when his first play, *Love and a Bottle*, won success. Congreve's plays were the wittiest produced by writers of the new comedy of manners, but their keenness and fine polish were least relieved by any sense of right. Vanbrugh's styie was less artificial and his plots were simpler, but his ready wit and

coarse strength were as far as Congreve's finer work from touching the essentials of life. Farquhar had a generosity of character that humanized the persons of his drama with many traces of good feeling. Vanbrugh's "Relapse" was a sequel to *Love's Last Shift; or, The Fool in Fashion*, produced in 1696 by **Colley Cibber** (b. 1671, d. 1757), the son of Caius Gabriel Cibber, a sculptor from Holstein, sculptor of the bas-relief on the Monument by which the fire of London was commemorated. After education at Grantham Free School, Colley Cibber took to the stage within a year after the Revolution; first giving his services as an actor for the privilege of seeing plays, then rising to twenty shillings a week, and marrying upon that, with £20 a year from his father. His first play, *Love's Last Shift*, had not advanced him as an actor; but when Vanbrugh, in 1697, made his own first play a sequel to Cibber's, he secured Cibber as actor of its leading part, Sir Novelty Fashion, newly created Lord Foppington.

15. In March, 1698, **Jeremy Collier** (b. 1650, d. 1726) published *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage: Together with the Sense of Antiquity upon the Argument.* It spoke clearly and sharply the minds of many, passed through several editions within the year, and raised a controversy in which the wits were worsted. Jeremy Collier, a divine educated at Cambridge, who had been Rector of Ampton, Suffolk, and then Lecturer at Gray's Inn, was one of the Non-jurors at the Revolution, and had been imprisoned in Newgate for maintaining the cause of James II. He had earned credit by writing *Essays upon Several Subjects*—Pride, Clothes, Duelling, General Kindness, Fame, Music, &c.—when he made his plain-spoken but intemperate attack on the immodesty and profaneness of the stage of his own time, with evidence drawn from Dryden, and from the last new plays of **Congreve** and **Vanbrugh.** Vanbrugh's *Provoked Wife* appeared at Lincoln's Inn Fields early in 1698. Later in the year, he produced at Drury Lane, without success, the moral *Æsop*, from the French of Boursault, with a second part wholly his own. In 1700, Congreve's wittiest comedy, the *Way of the World*, was produced, without success, at Drury Lane; and **Farquhar** produced there, with success, his *Constant Couple*, which he followed up next year with its sequel, *Sir Harry Wildair*.

16. **John Dryden** published, in July, 1697, his *Translation*

of Virgil, the subscription and Jacob Tonson's payment giving him about £1,200 for the work. In September, 1697, he wrote *Alexander's Feast*, that "Ode for St. Cecilia's day" which was at once received as the best poem of its kind. It was written at request of the stewards of the Musical Meeting which had for some years celebrated St. Cecilia's day, and it was first set to music by Jeremiah Clarke, one of the stewards of the festival. Early in 1698 Dryden prepared a new edition of Virgil, and was beginning to translate the "Iliad." In March, 1700, in fulfilment of a contract to give Tonson 10,000 verses for 250 guineas, appeared Dryden's *Fables*. These were modernized versions from Chaucer of "The Knight's Tale," "The Nun's Priest's Tale" (with the Fox a Puritan), and "The Wife of Bath's Tale," "The Flower and the Leaf," and "The Character of a Good Parson," adapted to Bishop Ken; versions from Bocaccio of "Sigismonda and Guiscardo," "Theodore and Honoria," and "Cymon and Iphigenia," with much translation from Ovid, and Dryden's version of the First Book of the "Iliad." Referring, in his preface, to attacks upon the immorality of his plays, Dryden spoke severely of the impertinences of Sir Richard Blackmore; but of Jeremy Collier he wrote, "I shall say the less, because in many things he has taxed me justly; and I have pleaded guilty to all thoughts and expressions of mine which can be truly argued of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality, and retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph; if he be my friend, as I have given him no personal occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in the defence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it for a good one." But of Collier's style Dryden added, "I will not say, 'The zeal of God's house has eaten him up;' but I am sure it has devoured some part of his good manners and civility." Dryden, afflicted with painful disease, was working to keep house, when his eldest son, Charles, who was at Rome, chamberlain of the household of Innocent XII., was obliged in 1698 to return to England invalided. Dryden, labouring to meet the new expense thus caused, wrote to Tonson, "If it please God that I die of over-study, I cannot spend my life better than in preserving his." Early in 1700, when Vanbrugh revised Fletcher's comedy of "The Pilgrims" for Drury Lane, the profits of the third night were secured for his son, Charles, by Dryden's addition to the piece of a Prologue and Epilogue, and a *Secular Masque* on the Close of the Seven-

teenth Century. Twenty days after the writing of the Prologue and Epilogue, Dryden died, on the 1st of May, 1700.

17. **Sir Richard Blackmore** (b. about 1650, d. 1729) was educated at Westminster School, and Edmund Hall, Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1676; graduated in medicine at Padua, and became a prosperous physician in Cheapside. In 1695 he published *Prince Arthur*, an epic poem in ten books. In his preface Blackmore attacked the abuse of wit upon the stage, said that in its other departments the poetry of the day had become impure; and that for this reason, among others, he had, in the intervals of business, written "Prince Arthur." "I was willing," he said, "to make one effort towards the rescuing of the Muses out of the hands of those ravishers, and to restore them to their sweet and chaste mansions, and to engage them in an employment suitable to their dignity." He then prosed upon epic poetry, of which, he said, the purpose was "to give men right and just conceptions of religion and virtue;" and told his public that he had endeavoured to form himself on Virgil's model, substituting Christian for pagan machinery—that is to say, he used Lucifer, Raphael, Uriel, &c., instead of heathen deities. His Arthur sailed to the Saxon coast; devils and angels affected the weather; but at last he and his people landed on Hoel's shore of Albion, where

> "Rich wine of Burgundy and choice champagne
> Relieve the toil they suffered on the main;
> But what more cheered them than their meats and wine
> Was wise instruction and discourse divine
> From godlike Arthur's mouth."

The Fury Persecution stirred Hoel; but an angel sent him to Arthur, from whom he heard a sermon. In Book III., Hoel asked for more, and Arthur preached him another sermon. In Book IV., Lucius, at a supper of Hoel's, being asked to tell Prince Arthur's story, began in Virgilian style,

> "How sad a task do your commands impose,
> Which must renew insufferable woes."

Finally, an Ethelina and a kingdom awaited the result of single combat between Prince Arthur and King Tollo, and the poem closed thus:

> "So by Prince Arthur's arms King Tollo slain
> Fell down, and lay extended on the plain."

Blackmore became a butt of the wits whom he attacked. He

was a common-place man with an amiable faith in himself, and without intellect to distinguish between good and bad in poetry. His religious purpose was sincere, and it gave dignity to his work in the eyes even of Locke and Addison. Blackmore's *King Arthur*, in twelve books, appeared in 1697, the year in which he was knighted and made one of the physicians to King William. In 1700 appeared Blackmore's *Paraphrase on the Book of Job, the Songs of Moses, Deborah, and David, and on Four Select Psalms, some Chapters of Isaiah, and the Third Chapter of Habakkuk;* and in the same year he defied his satirists, and continued his attack upon immoral verse with a *Satire on Wit.*

18. **Samuel Garth,** born of a good Yorkshire family about 1660, became M.D. of Cambridge in 1691, and Fellow of the London College of Physicians in 1693. He was a very kindly man, who throve both as wit and as physician, and he acquired fame by a mock heroic poem, *The Dispensary*, first published in 1699. The College of Physicians had, in 1687, required all its fellows and licentiates to give gratuitous advice to the poor. The high price of medicine was still an obstacle to charity; and after a long battle within the profession, the physicians raised, in 1696, a subscription among themselves for the establishment of a Dispensary within the college, at which only the first cost of medicines would be charged to the poor for making up gratuitous prescriptions. The squabble raised over this scheme, chiefly between physicians and apothecaries, Garth, who was one of its promoters, celebrated in his clever mock-heroic poem. It was suggested to him, as he admitted, by Boileau's mock-heroic, *Le Lutrin*, first published in 1674, which had for its theme a hot dispute between the treasurer and precentor of the Sainte Chapelle at Paris over the treasurer's wish to change the position of a pulpit. Garth, a good Whig, was knighted on the accession of George I., and made one of the physicians in ordinary to the king. He wrote other verse, and died in 1719.

19. **John Pomfret,** who died in 1703, aged thirty-six, was Rector of Malden, and son of the Rector of Luton, both in Bedfordshire. His *Poems* appeared in 1699, the chief of them a smooth picture of happy life, *The Choice*, first published as "by a Person of Quality." As one part of "The Choice" was "I'd have no Wife," it was promptly replied to with *The Virtuous Wife; a Poem.* **William Walsh** (b. 1663, d. 1708), whom Dryden, and afterwards Pope, honoured as friend and critic,

was the son of a gentleman of Worcestershire. He wrote verse, liked poets, was a man of fashion, and sat for his own county in several Parliaments. He published, in 1691, a prose *Dialogue concerning Women, being a Defence of the Sex, written to Eugenia.* **William King** (b. 1663, d. 1712) was born in London to a good estate, graduated at Oxford, became D.C.L. in 1692, and an advocate at Doctors' Commons. He acquired under William III. and Queen Anne the reputation of a witty poet, who idly wasted high abilities and good aids to advancement in the world. In 1699 he published a *Journey to London*, as a jest upon Dr. Martin Lister's *Journey to Paris.* In 1700 he satirised Sir Hans Sloane, then President of the Royal Society, in two dialogues called *The Transactioner.* At the end of William's reign, Dr. King obtained good appointments in Ireland. **Thomas Brown** (b. 1663, d. 1704), a Shropshire man, after an Oxford training, became a schoolmaster at Kingston-on-Thames, and left his vocation for that of a licentious wit in London. He wrote satires, two plays, dialogues, essays, declamations, letters from the dead to the living, translations, &c. **George Granville** (b. 1667, d. 1735), second son of Bernard Granville and nephew to the first Earl of Bath, went early to Cambridge, wrote verse as an undergraduate, was at the Revolution a young man of twenty-one, loyal to the cause of King James. Under William III. he lived in retirement and wrote plays—*The She Gallants* (1696); a revision of Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice," as *The Jew of Venice* (1698), with Shylock turned into a comic character; and *Heroic Love*, a tragedy upon "Agamemnon and Chryseis." George Granville was made Lord Lansdowne, Baron Bideford, in 1711, when the Tories came into power. **John Oldmixon** (b. 1673, d. 1724), of a Somersetshire family, who became a violent Whig writer and a narrow-minded literary critic, was little more than a boy at the date of the Revolution. In 1698 he published a translation of Tasso's *Amyntas*, and in 1700 produced *The Grove; or, Love's Paradise*, an opera. **John Dennis** (b. 1657, d. 1733), son of a London saddler, after education at Harrow and at Caius College, Cambridge, travelled in France and Italy, and began his career as a writer in the reign of William III., with *The Passion of Byblis* in 1692, and in the same year "*The Impartial Critick;* or, some Observations on Mr. Rymer's late Book, entitled a Short View of Tragedy." In 1693 Dennis published "Miscellanies in Verse and Prose."

In 1695 he published a poem, *The Court of Death*, on the death of Queen Mary; and in 1696, *Letters on Milton and Congreve*, and *Letters upon Several Occasions, Written by and between Mr. Wycherley, Mr. Dryden, Mr. Moyle, Mr. Congreve, and Mr. Dennis*, also adverse "Remarks" on Blackmore's "Prince Arthur." In 1697 he published *Miscellaneous Poems;* in 1698 *The Usefulness of the Stage to the Happiness of Mankind, to Government, and to Religion, occasioned by a late Book written by Jeremy Collier, M.A.;* in 1701 a little treatise on the *Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry;* and in 1702 an *Essay on the Navy*, a tract against Sacheverell's party, *Priestcraft dangerous to Religion and Government*, a volume of collected *Works*, and, on the death of William III., a poem sacred to his memory, *The Monument.* There was a vein of good sense and liberality of thought in Dennis's writing; and he was a good critic to the extent of his moderate ability. He produced plays also, poor ones: *A Plot and No Plot*, in 1697; *Rinaldo and Armida*, in 1699; in 1702, *Iphigenia*, and *The Comical Gallant; or, the Amours of Sir John Falstaff, with an Essay on Taste in Poetry.* Thus Dennis's literary industry had earned him a foremost position among critics by the time of Queen Anne's accession. He was then forty-five years old.

20. **Matthew Prior,** joint author with Charles Montague of *The Town and Country Mouse* (ch. x. § 58), obtained in 1690, through the influence of the Earl of Dorset and Mr. Fleetwood Shephard, the appointment of Secretary to the Embassy at the Congress held at the Hague, and opened by King William in January, 1691. In September, 1688, Louis XIV., instigated by his minister Louvois, declared causeless war against the Emperor, claimed permanent sovereignty of France on the left bank of the Rhine, and sent an army over the Rhine to live upon and devastate the country. This left the way more open for the establishment of William III. as King of England. In November William's fleet arrived at Torbay. England and Holland became allied under one chief. Louis presently was condemning to flames Ladenburg, Heidelberg, Mannheim, Speyer, Worms, Oppenheim, Frankenthal, Bingen, and many helpless villages, driving a hundred thousand people from their homes. By June, 1690, the Grand Alliance was complete which banded the German Empire, Holland, Spain, and England against Louis XIV. To raise war money, Louis struck to the heart of commerce and agriculture, ground his people with taxa-

tion, sent to the melting-pot works of art fifty times more precious than the metal in which they were executed, sold revived offices of royal barber, periwig-maker, and the like. "Every time," said his finance minister, Pontchartrain, "your Majesty creates an office, God creates a fool to purchase it." While in France, as Voltaire said, the people were "perishing to the sound of Te Deums," the war between Louis and the Grand Alliance lasted till the Peace of Ryswick, in 1697. After the resolve of the Conference at the Hague, which ended in March, 1691, not to make peace until all grievances were redressed, in April Louis took Mons; at the beginning of 1692 he had in army and navy more than half a million in arms, and, with some hope of a counter revolution, was planning invasion of England. This attempt cost France, at the beginning of June, the disaster of La Hogue. At the end of June, 1692, after a memorable siege, the French completed the capture of Namur and its forts. Boileau then celebrated the glory of Louis XIV. in a Pindaric ode, which served the purpose also of a shot at Perrault in the Battle of the Ancients and the Moderns. **Matthew Prior** afterwards returned Boileau's fire with a laughing comment upon his ode, which he followed stanza for stanza, in *An English Ballad on the Taking of Namur by the King of Great Britain*, 1695; for in that year there was another siege of Namur, and, on the 31st of August, William III. took the citadel by open assault in daytime, and in presence of Villeroi's army of a hundred thousand that would not risk battle.

21. **Joseph Addison** (§ 8), aged twenty-three, addressed to King William from Oxford a paper of verses on the capture of Namur. They united evidence of ability with declaration of Whig principles, and were sent through Sir John Somers, a lawyer and patron of letters, who had been counsel for the seven bishops, under James II. Somers was William's first Solicitor-General, had become Lord Keeper, and was made in 1695 Lord Chancellor and a peer. Addison, then destined for the Church, sought, as was usual, to advance his fortunes by the way of patronage; and it was not without effect that, in lines sent with the poem, he credited Somers with "immortal strains"; spoke of Britain advanced "by Somers' counsels, and by Nassau's sword;" and sought the Lord Keeper's good word—"For next to what you write is what you praise." Thus Addison secured one patron. He had already, in 1694, aimed a shaft of compliment,

in his Account of the Poets, at the noble Montague "for wit, for humour, and for judgment famed." In 1697 he addressed to Montague, who was a good Latin scholar, and then Chancellor of the Exchequer, some patriotic Latin verses on the Peace of Ryswick (*Pax Guglielmi Auspiciis Europæ Reddita*, 1697). Thus he completed the capture of another patron. At the negotiations for the Peace of Ryswick, **Matthew Prior** was again employed as Secretary of Embassy. **Charles Montague** (ch. x. § 58), himself brought into public life by the good offices of the Earl of Dorset, had, after the publication of the *Town and Country Mouse*, been one of those who invited William of Orange to England. Under the new king, the Earl of Dorset was Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and procured Montague a pension of £500 a year from the Privy Purse. In a year or two Charles Montague's ability had made him prominent in the House of Commons. The Earl of Dorset then secured his appointment to a vacant office of Commissioner of the Treasury, by virtue of which he became a Privy Councillor, and had such good opportunity of showing his value to the Government that he was rewarded, in 1694, with the office of Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer. Then it was that Addison praised the noble Montague.

> "For wit, for humour, and for judgment fam'd,
> To Dorset he directs his artful muse,
> In numbers such as Dorset's self might use."

Montague and Somers, who were fast friends, now urged on King William the policy of calling in and re-coining the clipped silver money. This was opposed by Robert Harley and others, on the plea of inconvenience in war time; but more strongly supported, as necessary to maintain the credit of England abroad, and save the wasting of supplies voted for the army, by a rate of exchange heavily against us. Montague carried not only that measure, but went on also to provide security for the public debt by a sinking fund; saved from ruin the Bank of England, which had just been established by the energy of William Paterson—it only began business January 1st, 1695—and in other ways Charles Montague economised and increased the resources of England. William made him First Commissioner of the Treasury; then, during his own absence, in 1698, and again in 1699, one of the Lords Justices of England; and in 1700 raised him to the peerage, as Baron Halifax.

Joseph Addison was induced by Somers and Montague to

give up thoughts of taking priests' orders, and accept a pension of £300 a year while travelling to prepare himself for diplomatic life. Before starting, Addison brought out at Oxford, in 1699, dedicated to Montague, a second volume of *Musæ Anglicanæ*, Latin poems by members of the University. The first volume appeared in 1692. Eight Latin poems of his own were in Addison's collection; one of them on *Machinæ Gesticulantes (Anglicè, a Puppet Show)*, another on the "Bowling Green." In the summer of 1699 Addison left Oxford for Paris, stayed some weeks there, then lived for a year at Blois to learn French, and, among other studies, work at Latin authors, with especial reference to Latin geography, before he passed on into Italy. When he returned to Paris from Blois, Addison was introduced to Boileau, of whom he wrote to a correspondent: "He is old, and a little deaf, but talks incomparably well in his own calling. He heartily hates an ill poet, and throws himself into a passion when he talks of any one that has not a high respect for Homer and Virgil." In December, 1700, Addison left Marseilles for Genoa, in company with Mr. Edward Wortley Montague. He spent a year in Italy, and was at Geneva by December, 1701, after what he called "a very troublesome journey over the Alps. My head is still giddy with mountains and precipices; and you can't imagine how much I am pleased with the sight of a plain." It was during this troublesome journey that Addison addressed to Charles Montague, then become Lord Halifax, his metrical *Letter from Italy*, with his patriotic apostrophe to liberty and British thunder. King Louis, he wrote, strives in vain

> "To conquer or divide,
> Whom Nassau's arms defend and counsels guide."

Addison, aged thirty, was waiting at Geneva for a coming appointment as secretary for King William with the army in Italy under Prince Eugene, when he received news of the king's death on the 8th of March, 1702. With the life of the sovereign Addison's pension dropped; his friends were out of office.

22. **Richard Steele** (§ 8) did not seek advancement in life by the way of patronage. Enthusiasm for the Revolution caused him to quit Oxford, and enlist as a private in the Duke of Ormond's regiment of Coldstream Guards. He said lightly afterwards that when he mounted a war-horse, with a great sword in his hand, and planted himself behind King William III. against Louis XIV., he lost the succession to a very good

estate in the county of Wexford, in Ireland, from the same humour which he has preserved ever since, of preferring the state of his mind to that of his fortune. Lord Cutts, the colonel of the regiment, who was writer of verse as well as soldier, distinguished Steele, made him his secretary, got him an ensign's commission, and afterwards the rank of captain in Lord Lucas's regiment of Fusiliers. While ensign in the Guards, Steele wrote *The Christian Hero*, as he afterwards said, "with a design principally to fix upon his mind a strong impression of virtue and religion, in opposition to a stronger propensity to unwarrantable pleasures." It was in four parts :—(1) Of the Heroism of the Ancient World ; (2) of the Bible Story as a Link between Man and his Creator ; (3) of the Life a Christian should lead, as set forth by St. Paul ; (4) of the Common Motives of Human Action, best used and improved when blended with Religion. There was a closing eulogy of William III., as a great captain, and, still better, "a sincere and honest man." *The Christian Hero*, dedicated to Lord Cutts, published in April, 1701, was so well received that by 1711 it was in a fifth edition. Steele's next work was a comedy, *The Funeral ; or, Grief à la Mode*, first acted in 1702. It was—with satire against undertakers and dishonesties of law—a comedy of a lord whose death was but a lethargy, from which he recovered in the presence of a trusty servant, who, for good reasons, persuaded him to wait awhile, and watch unobserved what went on in the house of mourning. The wit of the comedy was free from profanity ; it was emphatically moral in its tone, and Steele's warmth of patriotic feeling also found expression in it.

23. **Jonathan Swift** was born in Dublin, November 30, 1667. His grandfather, a Herefordshire vicar, married an aunt of Dryden's, and left six sons, of whom two were Godwin and Jonathan. Jonathan, who married a Miss Abigail Erick, of Leicester, had one daughter, and then died a few months before the birth of his one son. His income had been from law agencies, and he left little to his widow, who returned to Leicester about two years after her husband's death, leaving the two children in charge of their uncle, Godwin. By him young Jonathan was sent to school at Kilkenny, and then to Trinity College, Dublin, where he failed when he first went up for his B.A. degree, and obtained it afterwards "by special grace," a phrase implying, at Trinity College, Dublin, special disgrace. In the year of the Revolution, Swift's uncle, Godwin, failed in

intellect, lost speech and memory, and was unable to do more for his nephew. Jonathan Swift went therefore to his mother, at Leicester, and by her advice presented himself to **Sir William Temple** (ch. x. § 39), whose wife was distantly related to her. Sir William became young Swift's friend, enabled him to study at Oxford, where he was admitted at once to the degree obtained at Dublin, and where he graduated as M.A. He then lived with Sir William, at Moor Park, near Farnham, in Surrey. After about two years with Sir William, **Swift** had a long and serious illness. It left him subject to fits of giddiness, first symptoms of the disease of brain that modified his character, and towards the close of life destroyed his reason. He went for change of air to Ireland, and then returned to Sir William, who had left Moor Park for Sheen.

About this time Sir William was taking lively interest in an argument over the Epistles ascribed to Phalaris, who was Tyrant of Agrigentum, B.C. 565. **Richard Bentley,** born in 1662, the son of a small farmer near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, had become a foremost scholar, and was king's librarian when, in 1695, the **Hon. Charles Boyle,** then an undergraduate of Christchurch, Oxford, second son of Roger Boyle, and nephew to Robert Boyle, made a pettish reference to him in the preface to an edition of the Epistles of Phalaris. **William Wotton,** in 1694, had published *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning.* To a second edition of that book Bentley added, in 1697, an attack on the authenticity of the letters ascribed to Phalaris. Charles Boyle being no great scholar, other Christchurch men, chief of them **Francis Atterbury** (b. 1662, d. 1732) answered Bentley in his name, and published, in 1698, *Dr. Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris, and the Fables of Æsop Examined.* Then followed a famous battle of books. Sir W. Temple took interest in the quarrel; and **Swift** began to write his "Battle of the Books." In 1699 **Bentley** published an enlarged *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris,* and won his battle.

At Sheen, King William sometimes paid unceremonious visits to Sir William Temple. In one conversation, the king offered to make young **Swift** a captain of horse. But Swift took orders, and went to Ireland, where Lord Capel, on Sir W. Temple's recommendation, gave him a prebend worth £100 a year, which he gave up to return to Sheen. Sir William would use interest to get him something better, and

Swift's heart was touched by the wit and kindness of Hester Johnson, daughter of Sir William's steward. Sir William died in 1700, leaving £1,000 to Hester Johnson, and a legacy also to Swift, who was made his literary executor. Swift dedicated Sir W. Temple's works to the king, and went to Ireland as secretary to the Earl of Berkeley, who had been appointed one of the two Lords Justices of Ireland. His office of secretary Swift did not long hold, but he obtained from Lord Berkeley the livings of Laracor and Rathbeggan, together worth about £260 a year. He went at once to Laracor, and invited Hester Johnson with a female friend, named Dingley, to make her home in the same village. She did so; and while Swift had the society of the woman he loved, he took care that they should never be alone together. He was violently angry when his sister married, about this time. He would not marry himself; and when at last he did go through a private ceremony of marriage with Hester Johnson, whom he called "Stella," marriage was only a form. Their relations with each other remained as before, and they lived on opposite banks of the Liffey. Uncharitable reasons have been given for this. One reason, that Swift could hardly proclaim to the world, was sufficient. The seeds of insanity were in him; that terrible disease can be inherited. He died as his Uncle Godwin died. Might not Swift feel that he and his sister had no right to marry? And, for himself, if he thought so he was surely right, whatever unsoundness of judgment he may have shown in the way he took, nevertheless, to satisfy his best affections.

Swift's first publication was at the close of William's reign. When Tory reaction then caused the House of Commons to impeach John, Lord Somers, Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, the Earl of Orford, and the Earl of Portland, Swift published, in 1701, with covert reference to the political situation, *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome.* In this pamphlet Lord Somers figured as Aristides, Halifax as Pericles. The Earl of Orford was Themistocles, and the Earl of Portland Phocion.

24. **Daniel Defoe** (ch. x. § 55) in those last days aided King William with his doggerel poem of the *True-born Englishman.* Defoe, under William III., had married—he married twice in his life. His family had been ruined by a venture; and, to escape the prison threatened by one rigid creditor, he withdrew

for two years to Bristol. There he wrote his *Essay on Projects*, which was published two or three years afterwards, in 1697. It suggested many things—improvement in roads, reforms in banking, a savings bank for the poor, insurance offices, an academy like that of France, a military college, abolition of the press-gang, and a college for the higher education of women. "A woman," said Defoe, "well-bred and well-taught, furnished with the additional accomplishments of knowledge and behaviour, is a creature without comparison. Her society is the emblem of sublimer enjoyments; she is all softness and sweetness, love, wit, and delight." One project, also, was for improvement of the law of debtor and creditor. When he had compounded with his creditors, and thus secured for himself liberty to work, he returned to London, and worked on till he had paid voluntarily beyond the composition the last penny of his debts. His patriotic suggestions of projects for raising war-money caused Defoe to be employed from 1694 to 1699 as accountant to the Commissioners of the Glass Duty.

To the cry raised by the Opposition that King William was no true-born Englishman, especially represented by the bad poem of one Tutchin, called *The Foreigners*, Defoe replied, in 1701, with his satire on *The True-born Englishman*, rhymes of which 80,000 copies were sold in the streets. Among their home-truths are vigorous assertions of the claims of the people against persecution in the Church or despotism in the State. In these he finds as dangerous a thing

> "A ruling priesthood, as a priest-rid king;
> And of all plagues with which mankind are curst,
> Ecclesiastic tyranny's the worst."

While of the kings false to their trust he says:

> "When kings the sword of justice first lay down,
> They are no kings, though they possess the crown.
> Titles are shadows, crowns are empty things,
> The good of subjects is the end of kings."

Then came to the throne Queen Anne (1702—1714), and hard words hailed on the Dissenters. A substantial blow was aimed in a bill that was to disqualify them from all civil employments. It passed the Commons, but failed with the Lords. Sacheverell, preaching at Oxford, had denounced him as no true son of the Church who did not raise against Dissent "the bloody flag and banner of defiance." But, in 1702, Defoe spoke boldly on behalf of liberty of conscience, in his pamphlet called *The Shortest Way*

with the Dissenters. He wrote, as in all his controversial pieces, to maintain a principle and not a party. He began his satire with a quotation from Roger l'Estrange's Fables. A cock at roost in a stable, having dropped from his perch, and finding himself in much danger among restless heels, had a fair proposal to make to the horses—that we shall all of us keep our legs quiet. This fable Defoe applied to the Dissenters, who were then asking for equal treatment, although they had been intolerant enough themselves not long since, when they had the upper hand. Professing, in his assumed character of a bigoted High Churchman of the day, to show the vice of Dissent before teaching its cure, he dealt, in the first place, a fair blow to his own side for past intolerance. The Dissenters ought not, perhaps, to have been blind to the irony of the second half of the pamphlet; but in the first half the irony is not all against ecclesiastical intolerance. Defoe was against all intolerance, and to the bigotry of his own party Defoe gave the first hit. The succeeding satire, since it could not easily surpass the actual extravagance of party spirit, had in it nothing but the delicate, sustained sharpness of ironical suggestion to reveal the author's purpose to the multitude. Several reasons, he said, are urged on behalf of the Dissenters, "why we should continue and tolerate them among us," as, "They are very numerous, they say; they are a great part of the nation, and we cannot suppress them. To this may be answered, They are not so numerous as the Protestants in France, and yet the French king effectually cleared the nation of them at once, and we don't find he misses them at home." Besides, "the more numerous the more dangerous, and therefore the more need to suppress them; and if we are to allow them only because we cannot suppress them, then it ought to be tried whether we can or no." It is said, also, that their aid is wanted against the common enemy. This, argues Defoe, is but the same argument of inconvenience of war-time that was urged against suppressing the old money; and the hazard, after all, proved to be small. "We can never enjoy a settled uninterrupted union and tranquillity in this nation till the spirit of Whiggism, faction, and schism is melted down like the old money." The gist of the pamphlet, the scheme set forth on the title-page as the Shortest Way with the Dissenters is propounded in this passage:—"If one severe law were made, and punctually executed, that whoever was

found at a conventicle should be banished the nation, and the preacher be hanged, we should soon see an end of the tale; they would all come to church, and one age would make us one again. To talk of five shillings a month for not coming to the sacrament, and one shilling a week for not coming to church—this is a such a way of converting people as never was known, this is selling them a liberty to transgress for so much money. If it be not a crime, why don't we give them full licence? And if it be, no price ought to compound for the committing it; for that is selling a liberty to people to sin against God and the Government. . . . . We hang men for trifles, and banish them for things not worth naming; but an offence against God and the Church, against the welfare of the world and the dignity of religion, shall be bought off for five shillings. This is such a shame to a Christian Government that 'tis with regret I transmit it to posterity."

The pamphlet delighted men of the Sacheverell school. A Cambridge Fellow thanked his bookseller for having sent him so excellent a treatise—next to the Holy Bible and the Sacred Comments, the most valuable he had ever seen. Great was the reaction of wrath when the pamphlet was found to be a Dissenter's satire; nevertheless, the Dissenters held by their first outcry against the author. Defoe, aged forty-two, paid for this service to the English people in the pillory, and as a prisoner in Newgate. But his *Hymn to the Pillory*, which appeared on the first of the three days of the shame of the Government in his exposure, July 29, 30, and 31, in the year 1703, turned the course of popular opinion against the men who placed him there—men, as his rhyme said, scandals to the times, who

> "Are at a loss to find his guilt,
> And can't commit his crimes."

Defoe returned from the pillory to Newgate, whence he was not released till August, 1704. It was in Newgate, therefore, that he began his career as the first critical and independent journalist, by producing his *Review*. This was begun on the 19th of February, 1704, came out on Saturdays and Tuesdays until 1705, and then three times a week till May, 1713.

25. Defoe's *Review* was established in the year of the battle of Blenheim. Before the death of childless Charles II. of Spain, there had been negotiations in Europe, and two Treaties of Partition, to reconcile rival interests and maintain "balance

of power," before the King of Spain died in November, 1700, leaving a will that made the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, his heir. Louis XIV. having to choose between the share allotted to him by Treaty of Partition and a throne for his grandson, chose the throne, and his grandson entered Madrid, as King Philip V., in January, 1701. In the following September James II. died, and Louis openly named James's son, James Edward, King of England. In all negotiations between England and France before and after the death of the King of Spain, until the breaking out of the War of the Spanish Succession after the death of James II., **Matthew Prior,** secretary to Lord Jersey, was confidentially employed. He was so employed when he wrote, in the century year, his finest ode, the *Carmen Seculare*, in praise of William. In 1701 the war began in Italy, where Prince Eugene drove the French behind the Adda, and defeated Villeroi at Chiari. France suffered more and more. The coin had been debased five times in eight years. Everything was taxed for war expenses, and the tax on wine had become so high that many ceased to cultivate the grape. In the winter of 1701 Louis raised a hundred new regiments. In the following March King William died. Queen Anne went on with the war. The Dauphin was generalissimo in Flanders, Villeroi in Italy; and they were pitted against Marlborough and Prince Eugene. By 1704 the struggle had become a series of sieges and reliefs; but Marlborough's victory of Blenheim, August 13, 1704, by which he saved Austria, secured also a party triumph over those who in England and Holland opposed the policy that Marlborough personified. War meant for men like Steele and Addison resistance to the spread of despotism in Europe by the domination of Louis XIV., and more especially a crushing of the hope of English partisans of the Divine right of kings, who were disposed to undo the work of the Revolution, and, with French help, some day make a king of the Pretender.

26. One of those who, in 1705, published their poems on Blenheim, was **John Philips,** born December 30th, 1676, at Bampton, in Oxfordshire, where his father, Dr. Stephen Philips, Archdeacon of Salop, was vicar. John Philips, of delicate constitution and great sweetness of character, was sent from home education to Winchester School, where he was excused much roughness of school discipline, and often read Milton in play-hours. He had written imitations of Milton before he was sent

in 1694, to Christchurch, Oxford. There his simple, modest cheerfulness, and his quick wit, surrounded him with friends. Milton still was his favourite study, and he knew Virgil almost by heart. He traced out Milton's imitations of the classics, and himself imitated the blank verse of his master poet. He was destined for the profession of medicine, and delighted in natural science, but his weak health made him unfit for active duty. At college he wrote in playful mood, to suggest to a careless friend the value of a shilling in the pocket, his *Splendid Shilling*, a burlesque poem representing, in about 150 lines, the commonest images in high-sounding Miltonic verse. In style as in subject it was small coin glorified, perhaps the best piece of burlesque writing in our literature. This was read in manuscript, praised, copied, printed without authority. It gave Philips a reputation for wit when he came to London, and was hospitably received into the house of **Henry St. John** (afterwards Lord Bolingbroke), who was two years his junior. St. John had entered Parliament for Wootton Basset in 1701, and became one of the best speakers in support of Robert Harley. When Halifax and Lord Godolphin set Addison writing a poem upon Blenheim, their rivals, Harley and St. John, asked for a poem on the same theme from **John Philips**, and it appeared in 1705 as *Blenheim: a Poem inscribed to the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq.*, a strain of blank verse, with echoes in it of the roll of Milton's music. In the same year appeared the authorised edition of "*The Splendid Shilling: An Imitation of Milton. Now First Correctly Published.*" In 1706 John Philips published, also in blank verse, at a time when the orthodox measure was "heroic" couplet, his carefully-written poem in two books, *Cyder*. This is a good example of a form of poem which in modern literature had its origin in Virgil's "Georgics," and which had been especially cultivated in Italy by Alamanni, Rucellai, Tansillo, and others; indeed, Philips's "Cyder" was presently translated into Italian. John Philips was preparing to rise to a higher strain, and attempt a poem on the Resurrection and the Day of Judgment, when his health entirely failed, and in February, 1708, he died of consumption in his mother's house, at Hereford, when he was not yet thirty-three years old.

27. **Joseph Addison** (§ 21), at the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, with his pension lost and college debts unpaid, had only the income of his fellowship. He was at Vienna in November, 1702, where he showed to Montague's friend, George