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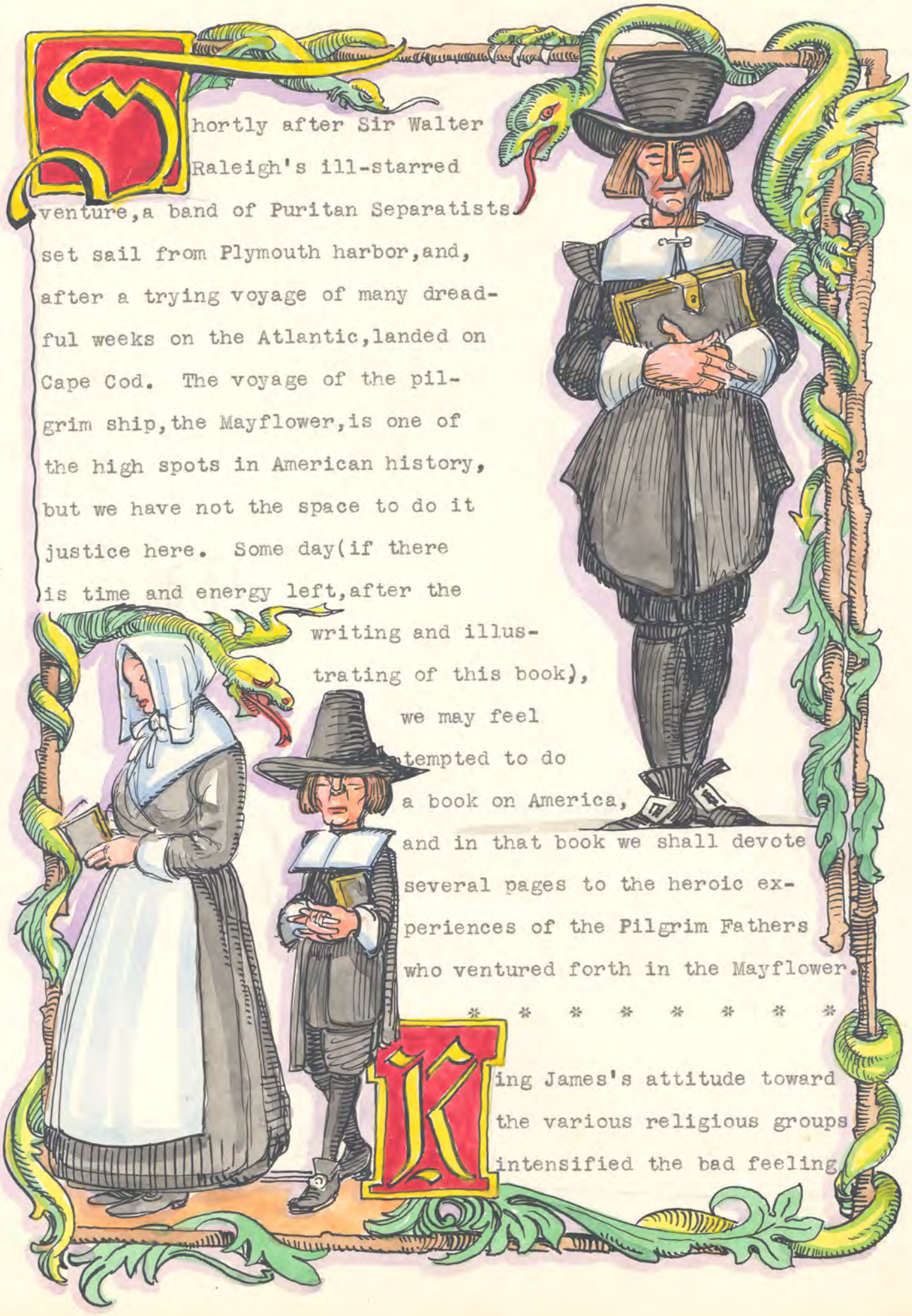


Shortly after Sir Walter Raleigh's ill-starred venture, a band of Puritan Separatists set sail from Plymouth harbor, and, after a trying voyage of many dreadful weeks on the Atlantic, landed on Cape Cod. The voyage of the pilgrim ship, the Mayflower, is one of the high spots in American history, but we have not the space to do it justice here. Some day (if there is time and energy left, after the writing and illustrating of this book), we may feel tempted to do a book on America, and in that book we shall devote several pages to the heroic experiences of the Pilgrim Fathers who ventured forth in the Mayflower.

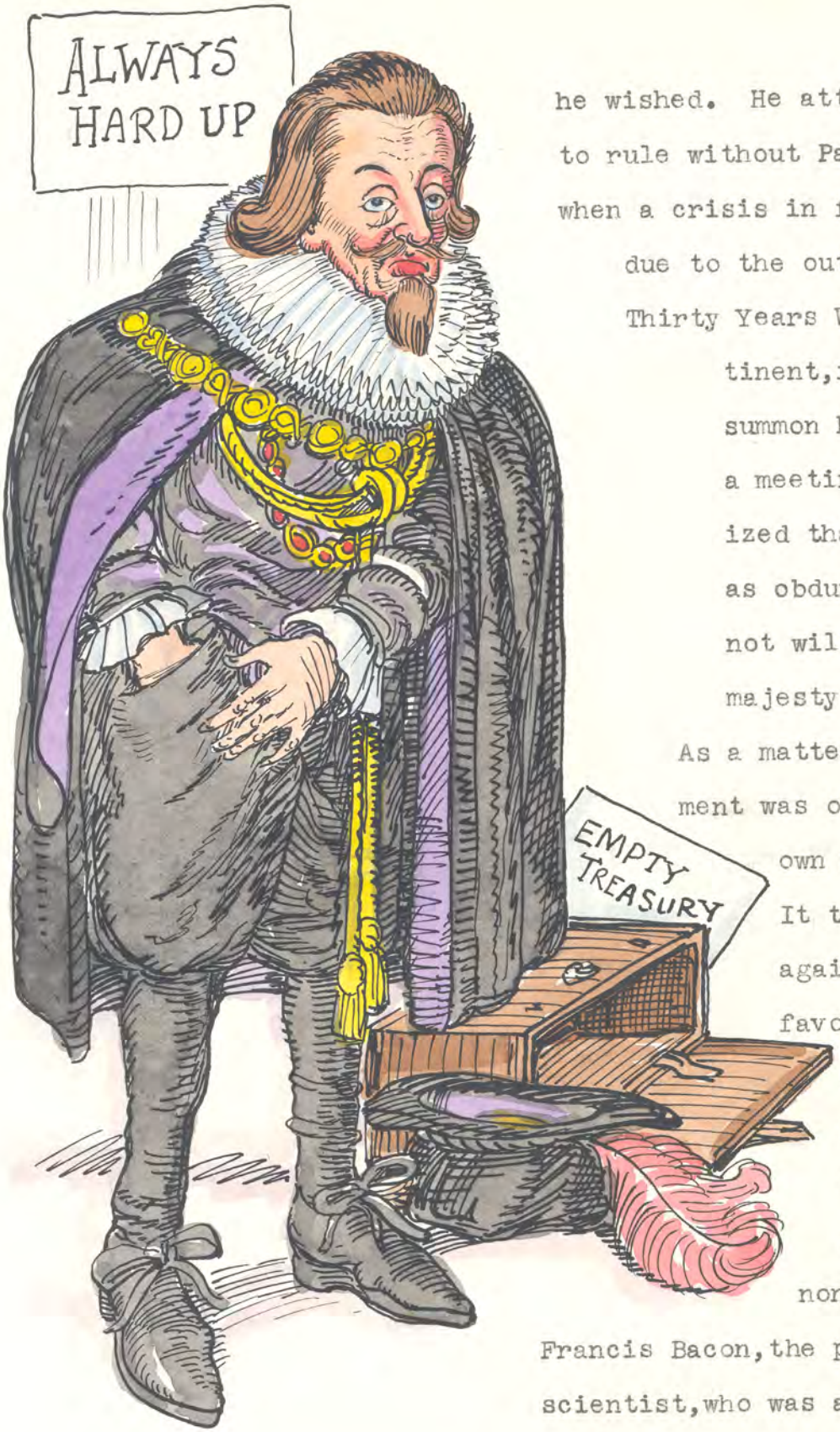
* * * * * * * *

King James's attitude toward the various religious groups intensified the bad feeling

From Matthew Hopkins's "Discoverie of Witches" 1647

between him and his people. When the Scotch Presbyterians and the Puritans wished to have no bishops, the King shouted "No bishops, no King!" and not an inch would he move from that position. Being of a very superstitious turn of mind, he gave his support to the hunt after witches that was raging horridly in various parts of his realm. On Witchcraft James I was himself an authority; his book entitled Daemonologie was published before his accession to the English throne. In 1589, after James had married by proxy Anne, daughter of the King of Denmark, the bride's coming to

A WITCH AND HER FAMILIARS



he wished. He attempted, therefore, to rule without Parliament. But, when a crisis in foreign affairs, due to the outbreak of the Thirty Years War on the Continent, forced him to summon his advisers to a meeting, the King realized that Parliament was as obdurate as ever, and not willing to let his majesty run the show!

As a matter of fact, Parliament was out to assert its own power and will. It turned its wrath against the king's favorites and henchmen. And it so happened that the King's Chancellor at this time was none other than Sir Francis Bacon, the philosopher and scientist, who was also dabbling in politics. Bacon was tried, convicted and dismissed from office by Parliament. King James did not long survive the downfall of his Chancellor. The first Stuart Monarch

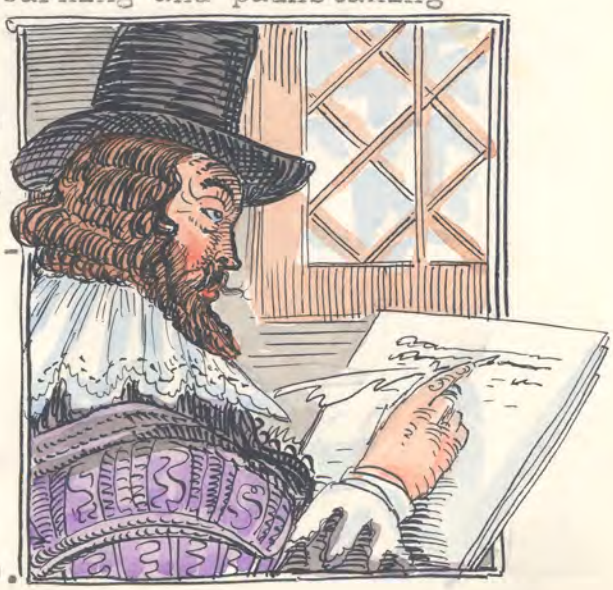
on the throne of England died in I625, and everybody was happy to be rid of "the wisest fool in Christendom".

BACON'S MONUMENT IN ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH ST. ALBANS

In the following year(I626), the ex-Chancellor Bacon, who was known to all the world as "one of the greatest intellects of the age", died in Lord Arundel's house in Highgate, from the effect of a cold caught while "testing the power of snow to arrest putrefaction in meat".

A word should be said about Francis Bacon's contributions to the advancement of learning in England. This eminent statesman, lawyer, wit, and man of letters distinguished himself in these several capacities. He was the last scholar who could say in his own chosen words, and with but slight exaggeration, that he had taken all knowledge for his province. He lived in the early dawn of the age of specialization, while it was still just possible for an able and industrious man to make himself master of the whole body of knowledge in existence. As Shakespeare was the

greatest poet of the Elizabethan age, so Bacon was its greatest thinker (although he showed little of his sagacity in high office!) However, in his scientific studies and inquiries, it was not a vulgar ambition that incited him. Rather, he wished to produce some work worthy "of vast contemplative ends". He took "all knowledge to be my province"---a tremendous undertaking indeed---and expressed for all time the departure from the mediaeval attitude to the modern. He proceeded from theory to fact, instead of from fact to theory. In his magnum opus, The Advancement of Learning, published in I605, there is ample evidence of extraordinary learning and painstaking scholarship.

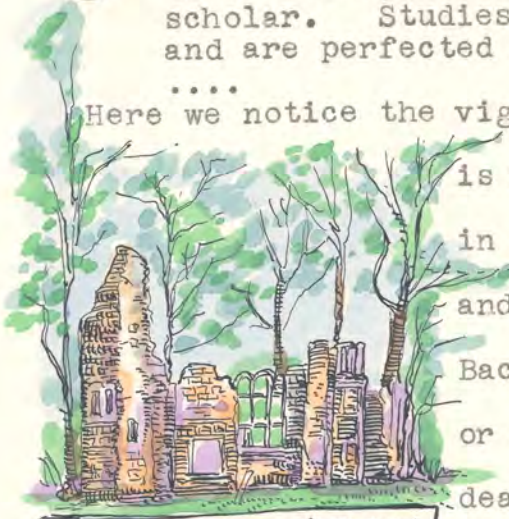


The average reader knows Francis Bacon through a little book of essays---a kind of writing almost new to English literature, and more or less in the style of the celebrated "Essais" published by the great Frenchman Montaigne in I580.

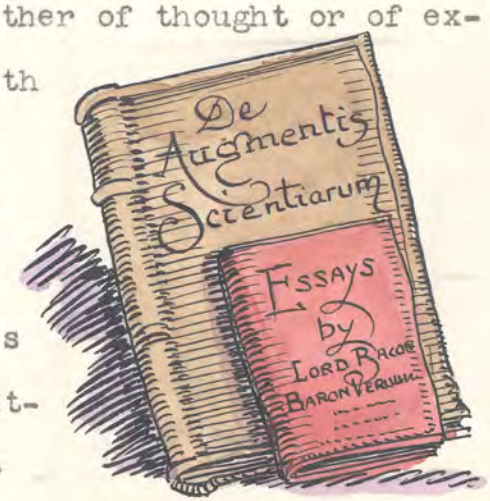
Bacon himself described his "Essays" as "dispersed Meditations, though conveyed in the form of Epistles". In the first edition there were ten such epistles, opening with the fine essay on "Studies":

> "Studies serve for pastimes, for ornaments and for abilities. Their chief use for pastime is in privateness and retiring; for ornament is in discourse and for ability is in judgment.....To spend too much time in Studies is sloth; to use them too much for ornament is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humor of a scholar. Studies perfect nature, and are perfected by experience.
> ....

Here we notice the vigorous style of Elizabethan prose. There is much sound sense in each sentence. Even in the discussion of such matters as "Truth", and "Love", and "Friendship", and "Beauty", Bacon refrains from straying into rhapsody, or indulging in the merely fanciful. He deals with each topic in a practical way; and yet his practical nature does not limit the "meditation" to narrow bounds, either of thought or of expression. Each subject is handled with amazing compactness and considerable wisdom. The compression is gained by laying apothegms end to end without amplification. Most of the sentences are topic sentences, which a good writer of today would develop into para-



RUINS OF BACON'S HOME NEAR ST. ALBANS

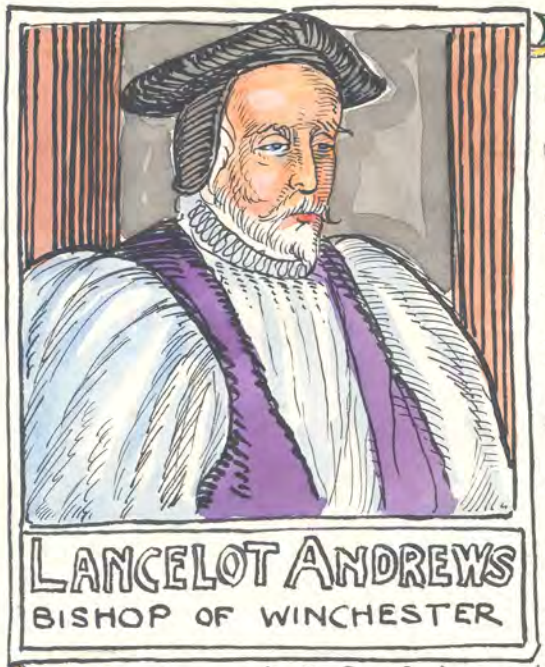


-graphs. Thus the close study of Bacon's essays will scarcely teach any one to write well, but it may provide admirable training in the almost equally difficult art of reading and in the science and art of thinking. For pithy terseness of style, Bacon's essays have no equal. Here are a few sentences from the essay "Of Revenge":

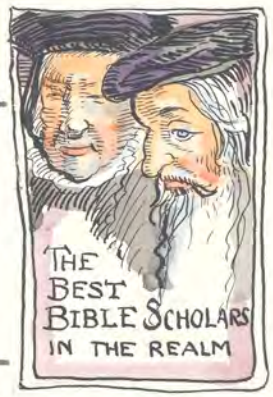
REVENGE is a kind of wild justice, which the more a man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. For as for the first wrong, it doth not offend the law; but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior: for it is a prince's part to pardon.... That which is past is gone and irrevocable, and wise men have enough to do with present things and things to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves that labor in past matters.

The "compressed force" in these essays comes from Bacon's Latinized taste, and from the scientist-philosopher-lawyer's cold, keen intellect that cuts to the heart of an idea.

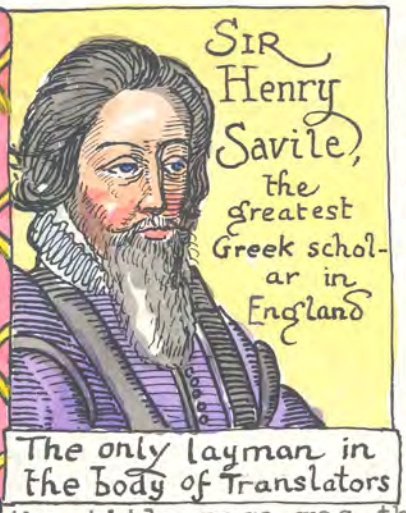
Another example of excellent prose produced in the reign



of King James was the "Authorized", or "King James Version" of the English Bible. In I604, a convocation of scholars was called to undertake a new translation. There were fifty-four of the best Bible students of the realm to do the job. They were to sit in six companies of nine each; two at Oxford, two at Cambridge, and two at Westminster. Dr. Lancelot Andrews, the chairman of one of the two companies that met at Westminster, was probably the most learned scholar in all England. They said of him that if he had been present at the Tower of Babel, he could have interpreted for all the tongues present!

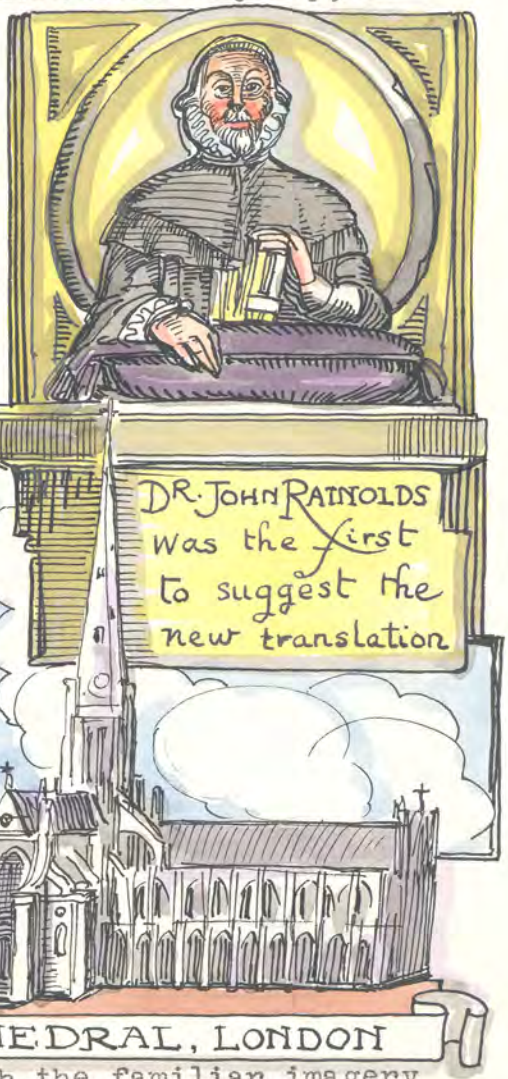


Each scholar in the groups made the translation that seemed best to him; and then together all the scholars in conference analyzed the results, and finally agreed on the best version. (The shade of Tyndale was over it all). No one worked for money, but each for the joy of the service. Three years were spent on the original work, and three more years in careful revision. At length, in six months, a special



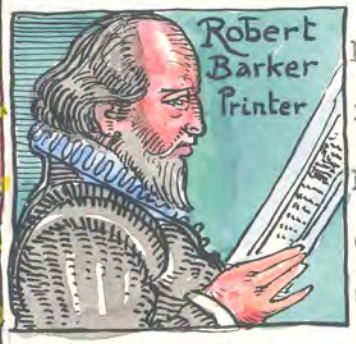
The only layman in the body of Translators

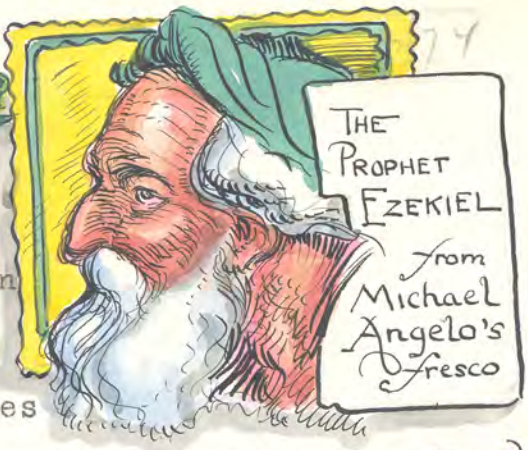
committee reviewed the final revision, and put it through the press. At last, in 1611, with the imprint of Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the King James Version was given to the English people. On the title page was the important line: "Appointed to be Read in Churches". But who made the appointment? History does not say.



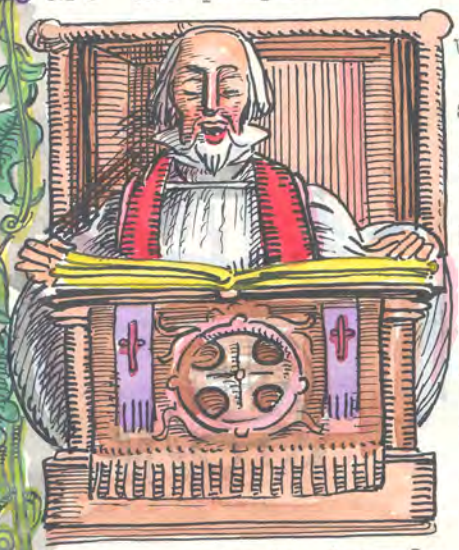
In a delightful essay on this famous translation of the Bible, Professor John Livingston Lowes calls our attention to its unique significance in the field of English letters. "Its phraseology has become part and parcel of our common tongue", he says. The rhythms and cadences, the turns of speech, the familiar imagery of the King James Version have woven themselves into the texture of the literature of England, prose and poetry alike. Here is an obvious list of expressions that have gained currency in everyday speech: "Highways and hedges", "hip and thigh", "lick the dust", "a thorn in the flesh", " a broken

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON

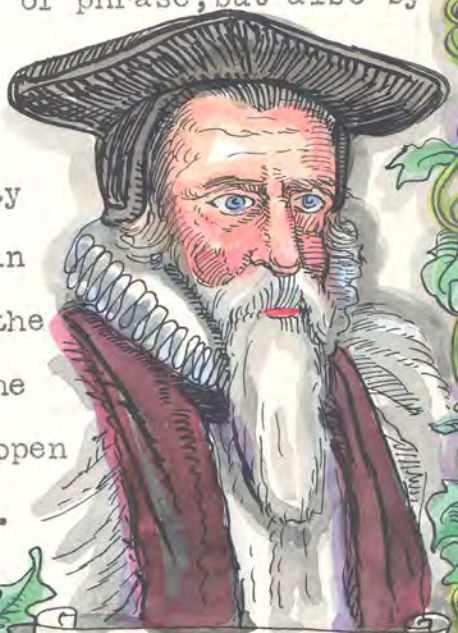




reed", "the root of all evil", "the nether millstone", "the sweat of the brow", "heap coals of fire", "a soft answer", "a word in season", "weighed and found wanting", "we are the people"---a list of Biblical phrases which most of us can double or treble at will; a list that illustrates the homely tang, the idiomatic flavor which comes to men's business and bosoms.



"But", continues Professor Lowes, "the English of the Bible is deeper and more pervasive far than that". The style of the King James Version is characterized, not merely by homely vigor and pitiness of phrase, but also by a singular nobility of diction, and by a rhythmic quality which is "unrivalled in its beauty". This distinctive quality of language, according to Lowes, is due in no small measure, "on the one hand to the vast desert spaces and wide skies of the hither Orient, and on the other to the open seas and rock-bound coasts of England". For no less than the Hebrew, the native



Word of the Lord that liveth and abideth forever

John King
Bishop of London

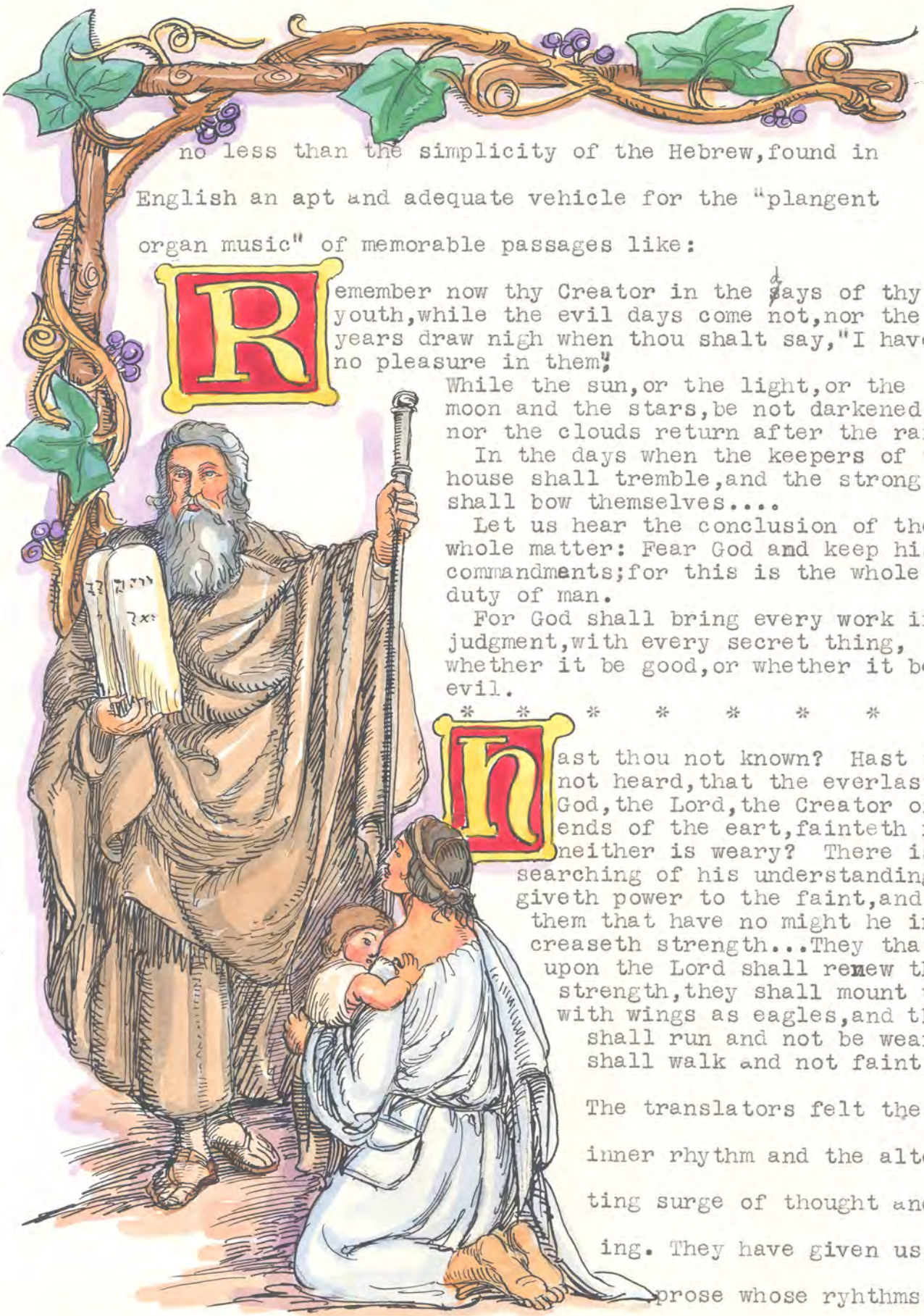
English is the language of the eye, the hand, the heart; and one of the supreme merits of the Jacobean translators is their sense of that fundamental fact. In the following brief excerpts we see that the qualities of the native element of English have met and merged with similar, often identical, qualities of the original:

ntreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge. Thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried.

et me as a seal upon thine heart; as a seal upon thine arm; for love is strong as death... Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it.

nd God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain.

The far-reaching and pervasive influence of the King James Version upon English style is due to the simplicity, the majesty, and the stateliness of the diction. For centuries the ear of the English people had become attuned to the sonorous diction of the Church; to the Latin of the hymns and the liturgy. And the sonorousness of the Latin



no less than the simplicity of the Hebrew, found in English an apt and adequate vehicle for the "plangent organ music" of memorable passages like:

Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh when thou shalt say, "I have no pleasure in them;

While the sun, or the light, or the moon and the stars, be not darkened, nor the clouds return after the rain:

In the days when the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves....

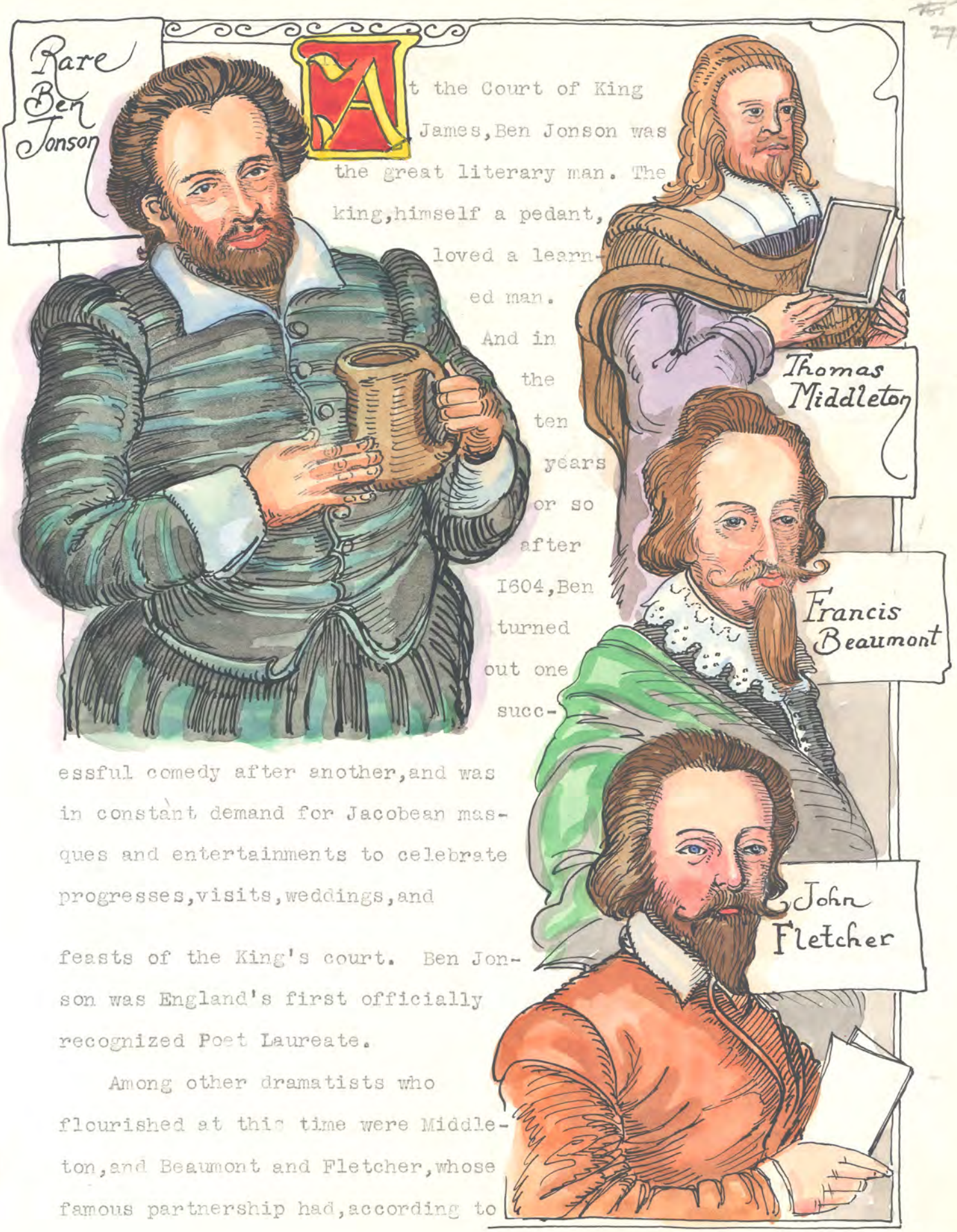
Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man.

For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.

* * * * * * *

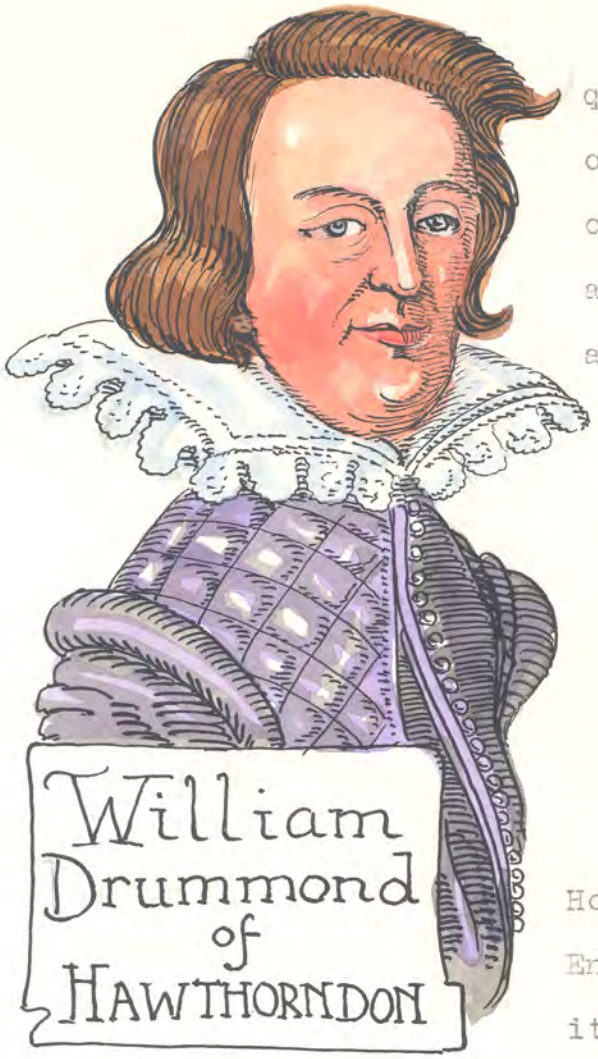
Hast thou not known? Hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the eart, fainteth not, neither is weary? There is no searching of his understanding. He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might he increaseth strength...They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles, and they shall run and not be weary. They shall walk and not faint.

The translators felt the deep inner rhythm and the alternating surge of thought and feeling. They have given us a prose whose ryhthms have a flexibility, a grand freedom, which even the original does not always share.



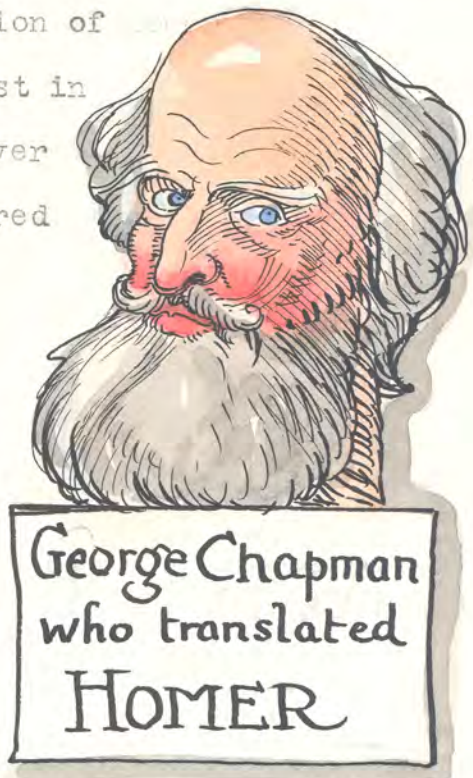
At the Court of King James, Ben Jonson was the great literary man. The king, himself a pedant, loved a learned man. And in the ten years or so after 1604, Ben turned out one successful comedy after another, and was in constant demand for Jacobean masques and entertainments to celebrate progresses, visits, weddings, and feasts of the King's court. Ben Jonson was England's first officially recognized Poet Laureate.

Among other dramatists who flourished at this time were Middleton, and Beaumont and Fletcher, whose famous partnership had, according to



quaint Aubrey, "a wonderful consimility of phansy". The best remembered fruits of this wedded "phansy" were Philaster, a tragi-comedy, and The Maid's Tragedy, and---best of all---The Knight of the Burning Pestle, a riotous burlesque.

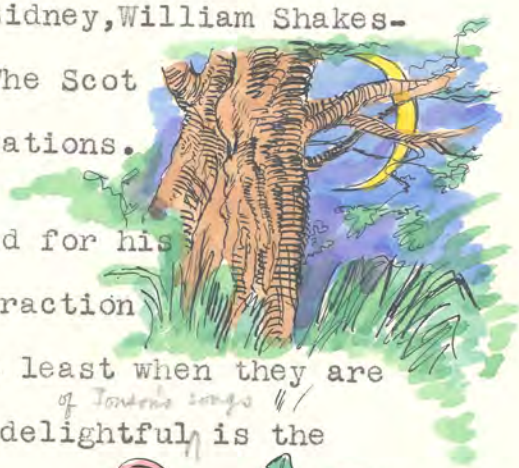
Work that was similar to Ben Jonson's was produced by another great scholar-dramatist, George Chapman, who, though older than Shakespeare, lived far into the seventeenth century. Chapman's translation of Homer was the first in English, and, whatever its defects, inspired John Keats with the "wide expanse and pure serene" of Homer himself.



Dramatists of all sorts and conditions produced an enormous amount of work for the Jacobean stage. They gave a certain lustre to the London stage until the theaters were closed by the Puritans in 1642. But a decline in quality and excellence is evident in the plays produced---not in stage technique (for their skill in capturing the audience was kept up to the end), but in consistency of plot and depth of character.

In the winter of 1618, Ben Jonson paid a visit to the best of all the Scottish poets of this age, William Drummond, who exercised in sonnets, madrigals, and canzones of genuine value. At Hawthornden, near

Edinburgh, the two poets, in a reminiscent mood, talked about ever so many things and persons. They gossipped about old friends, about Sir Philip Sidney, William Shakespeare, Good Queen Bess, and others. The Scot took valuable notes of these conversations.



Ben Jonson is mainly remembered for his beautiful lyrics. These have an attraction that his plays nearly always lack, at least when they are read and not seen. One of the most delightful of Jonson's songs is the "Hymn to Diana":

Queen and Huntress, chaste and fair,
Now the sun is laid to sleep,
Seated in thy silver chair
State in wonted manner keep:
Hesperus entreats thy light,
Goddess excellently bright!

And Jonson lives for us all with the immortal song "To Celia":

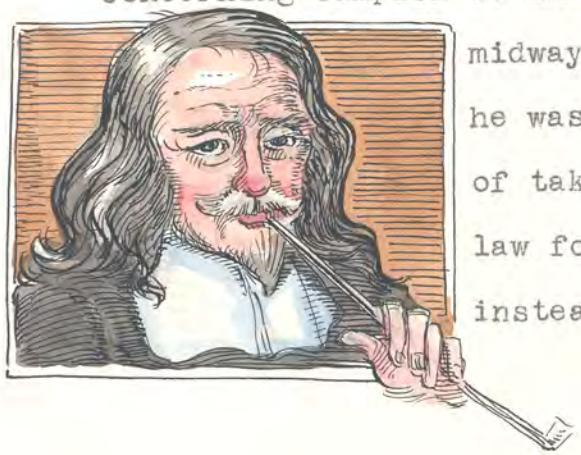
Drink to me only with thine eyes,
And I will pledge with mine;
Or leave a kiss but in the cup
And I'll not ask for wine.

The thirst that from the soul doth rise
Doth ask a drink divine;
But might I of Jove's nectar sup,
I would not change for thine.

I sent thee late a rosy wreath,
Not so much honoring thee
As giving it a hope that there
It could not wither'd be;
But thou thereon didst only breathe
And sent'st it back to me;
Since when it grows and smells, I swear,
Not of itself but thee.

Those were the great days of English song---- when everybody did his own singing and revelled in the wealth of scores written for parts, for madrigals, wherein words and music were in almost perfect agreement. Among the many who wrote both words and music was Thomas Campion, who published his several books of "airs" amid the grateful appreciations of a merry generation of joyous singers.

Concerning Campion we know too little. That he was born midway in the sixteenth century; that he was a Cambridge man, with intentions of taking to the law, but gave up the law for medicine, and became an M.D., instead; and that he contrived to



practise as a physician, and a poet and musician as well, throughout his life---there ~~is~~ in outline is all we know. He died in February 1619-20; and, according to an entry in the register of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, Fleet Street, "was buried" on the first day of March. Campion came after the outburst of Elizabethan energy, in the goldenest years of English lyricism. He was the master song-writer of his day. We shall reproduce one of his more familiar songs, in the hope that the reader will look for others in his several "Bookes of Ayres".

WHEN to her lute Corinna sings,
Her voice revives the leaden strings,
And doth in highest notes appear
As any challeng'd echo clear.
But when she doth of mourning speak,
Ev'nwith her sighs the strings do break.

AND as her lute doth live or die,
Led by her passion, so must I;
For when of pleasure she doth sing,
My thoughts enjoy a sudden spring;
But if she doth of sorrow speak,
Ev'en from my heart the strings do break.

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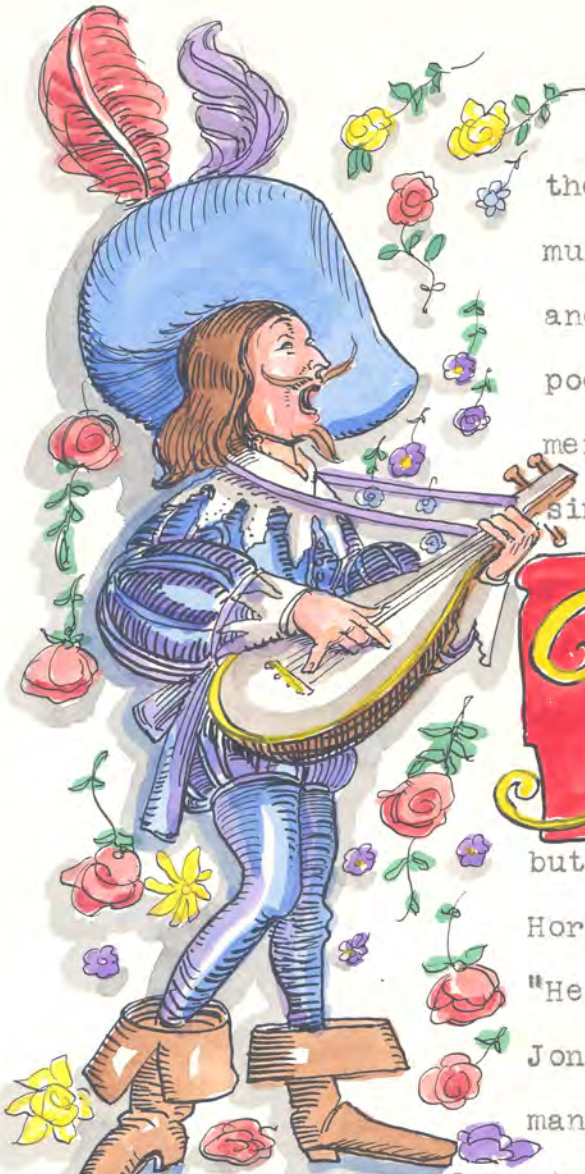
The tribe of Ben ~~were~~ consisted of the group of excellent "cavalier" or "court" poets who kept alive



the tradition of Elizabethan song and music. They learned from Ben Jonson and his models in the Greek and Latin poets "how to order the ingenious argument of a song in clear sequence and simple words."

First among "the tribe of Ben" was Robert Herrick, a Devonshire parson. He was the inscrutable but irristible "phrase maker", the English Horace. His single book of lyrics, entitled "Hesperides", exhibits the influence of Ben Jonson. In the London taverns, as a young man ~~Herrick~~ Herrick followed Ben as one of his admirers, and celebrated these meetings thus:

Ah, Ben
Say how or when
Shall we thy guests
Meet at those lyric feasts
Made at the Sun,
The Dog, the Triple Tunne?
Where we such clusters had
As made us nobly wild, not mad;
And yet each verse of thine
Outdid the meate, outdid the frolic wine!

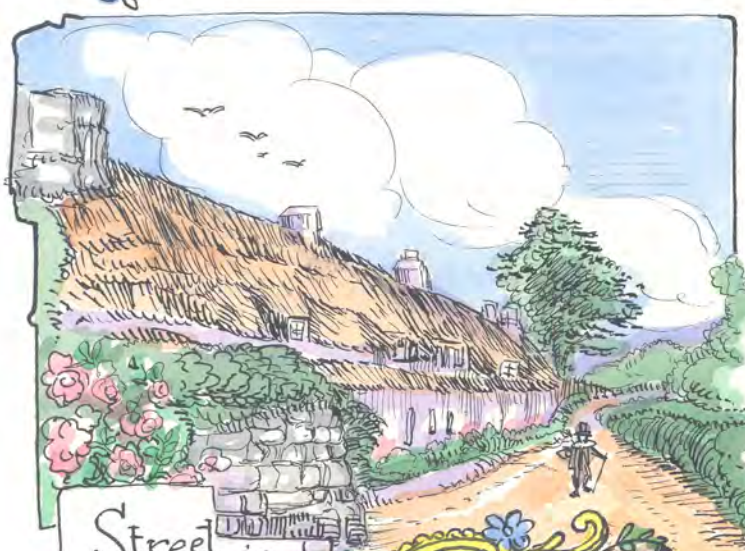
Robert Herrick

For nearly twenty years Herrick lived in a remote village intensely interested in the life around him---the Morris Dances, the Christmas revels, and the simple rural life.

Herrick was a queer soul. During his life as rector in a retired little hamlet called Dean Prior, tucked away in a corner of Devon, he grumbled at the dullness of his parish and its life; and yet this simple rural existence, as he admitted, was the very heart and substance of his poetry.

The Garden Gate at Dean Court, Dean Prior

Sing of brooks, of blossoms,
birds and bowers,
Of April, May, of June and
July flowers;
I sing of May-poles, hock-
carts, wassails, wakes,
I write of hell; I sing (and ever shall)
Of heaven, and hope to have it after all!



Street in Dean Prior

The poet's love of nature strikes a new note in English verse. It is almost the first truly English pastoral note. Herrick's lyrics are "like a large laughing meadow in June", full of flowers and sweet with the song of birds. Listen to his poem to the blossoms:

AIR pledges of a fruitful tree,
Why do ye fall so fast?
Your date is not so past,

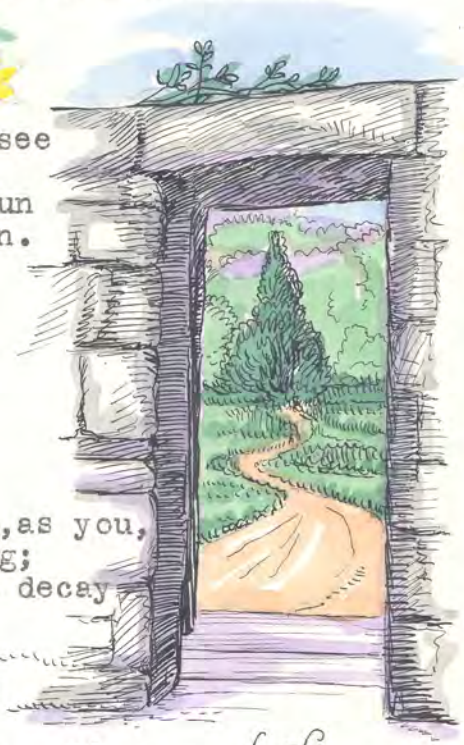
But you may stay yet here awhile
To blush and gently smile,
And go at last.

What, were ye born to be
An hour or half 's delight,
And so bid good-night?
'Twas pity Nature brought ye forth
Merely to show your worth,
And lose you quite.

And there is the sweet, spontaneous, glad and musical note in his address to the daffodils:

Fair daffodils, we weep to see
You haste away so soon:
As yet the early rising sun
Has not attained his noon.
Stay, stay,
Until the hasting day
Has run
But to the even-song;
And having prayed together we
Will go with you along.

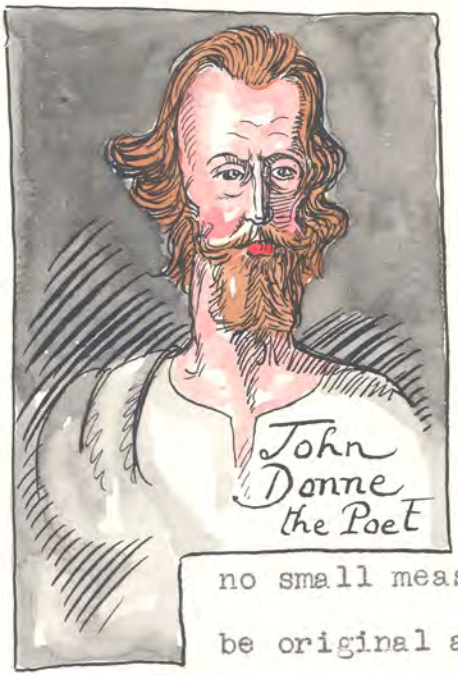
We have short time to stay, as you,
We have as short a Spring;
As quick a growth to meet decay
As you, or any thing.
We die
As your hours do, and dry
Away
Like to the summer's rain;
Or as the pearls of morning dew
Ne'er to be found again.



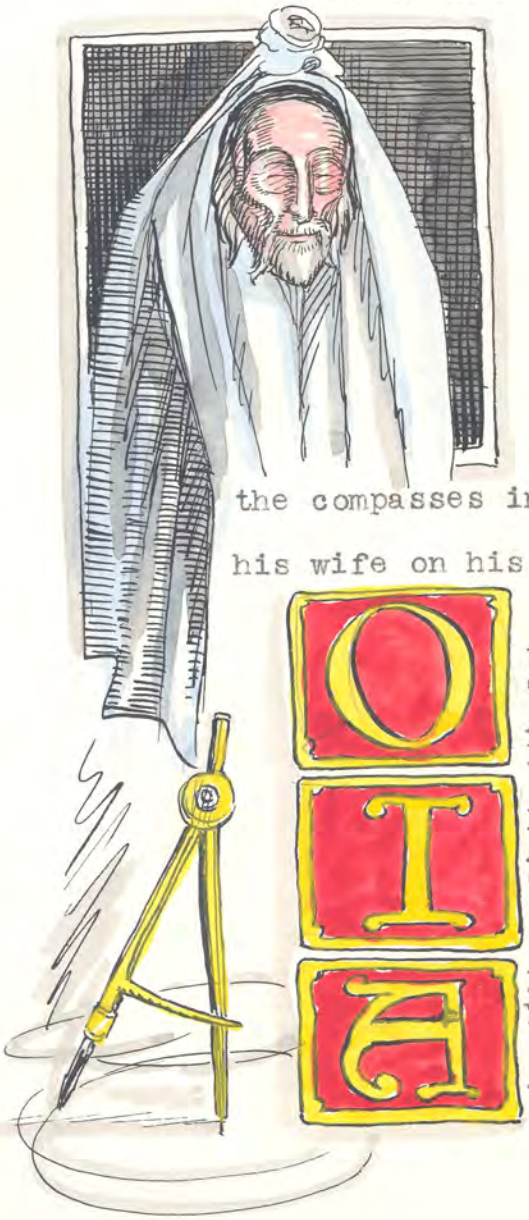
Glimpse of the Vicarage Gardens

Herrick's devotion to the cause of King Charles cost him his living for a few years. The same devotion cost other "sons of Ben," the brilliant, handsome cavalier poets, their entire fortune. These Cavaliers were gallant fellows who participated in the struggle between King and Parliament, on the side of royalty, and they lost heavily. We shall have

Herrick's almsbowl and Pewter Communion Service



more to say of them later. In this place, some reference to the writings of another Elizabethan who, like Herrick, lived far into the Stuart regime, may not be out of order. We refer to John Donne, whose poems written in his youth, were circulated in manuscript among the Cavaliers, Jonson's men, and in no small measure taught the younger fellows to be original and witty in their conceits. Donne's exuberance is most obvious in his invention of strange similes and metaphors. Yet the tendency to striking imagery was so merged in his strong feeling and intellectual vigor that it seldom errs. No more beautiful instance is there than the famous one of the compasses in his "Valediction Forbidding Mourning", to his wife on his departure for the Continent:



UR two souls therefore, which are one,
Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold to airy thinness beat.

F they be two, they are two so
As stiff twin compasses are two;
Thy soul, the fix'd foot, makes no show
To move, but doth, if th' other do.

ND though it in the center sit,
Yet when the other far doth roam,
It leans, and harkens after it,
And grows erect, as that comes home.

Donne was an outstanding divine as well as a poet. After years of storm and stress as a courtier and man of the world, the writer of brilliant satires and personal epistles in verse, he entered the ministry (practically commanded to do so by King James I), and six years afterwards was appointed Dean of St. Paul's, where he proved himself to be the greatest preacher as well as the greatest poet of his day. So Jack Donne became Dean Donne, and his sermons (the best of which are still honored by luxurious editions) continue to exercise the same fascination as his verse. But to students of literature his poetry is the special thing which earned for him the title of "metaphysical" poet and the leader of a school of versifiers. From John Donne's brilliant example, the practice of using ingenious "conceits" or similes and metaphors, became general among certain other young poets of the century.

Dr. Donne
Dean of St. Paul's

Among these "metaphysical" poets was Donne's young friend and admirer, George Herbert, brother of Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Both Donne and Herbert may be said to have smelted the stone of the street for

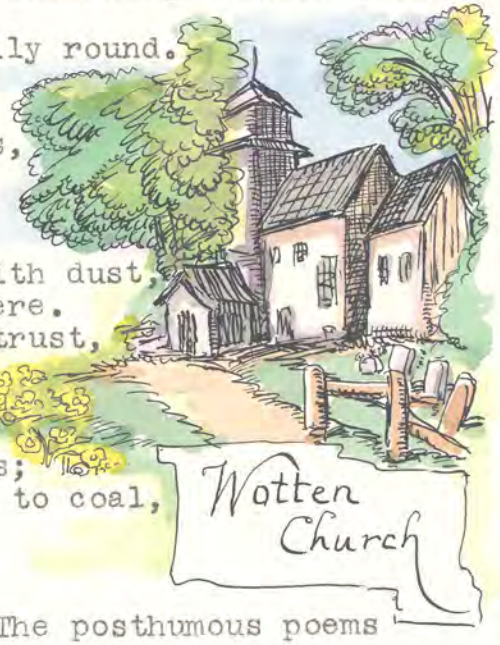

George Herbert's Church
Bemberton

the gold of the Spirit. Both sought Reality by realism. But their aims and methods were not the same. Donne spent his gigantic strength in trying to find that which seemed to lie beyond discovery, to express that which was never yet expressed. Herbert, with less chaotic experience, and less strength, came nearer to success within his own chosen limits. His aim was not so much to discover, as to exhibit in new ways what he had long known. His examples are chosen from familiar life but used with a dexterous twist which makes them memorable and attractive. As rector of Bemerton church, near Salisbury, George Herbert wore himself out in ministering to the needs of his parish. Music had always been one of his great pleasures, and "he went usually twice a week on certain appointed days to the Cathedral church in Salisbury, and at his return would say that his time spent in prayer and cathedral music elevated his soul, and was his heaven and earth". His famous little book of 150 poems, breathing a spirit of piety and purity,


The Effegy of George Herbert
Author of those sacred poems
called The Temple

In George Herbert's Meadows

is one of the most popular collections of religious poems in the language. In his verse, all the beauty of life---manners, sights, sounds, objects of everyday interest, are brought into the focus of religious experience. The simple experiences of country life are stripped of all theological and traditional refinement. There is direct intimacy with God---human, natural, all-absorbing---which glorifies the daily round.



Wotten Church

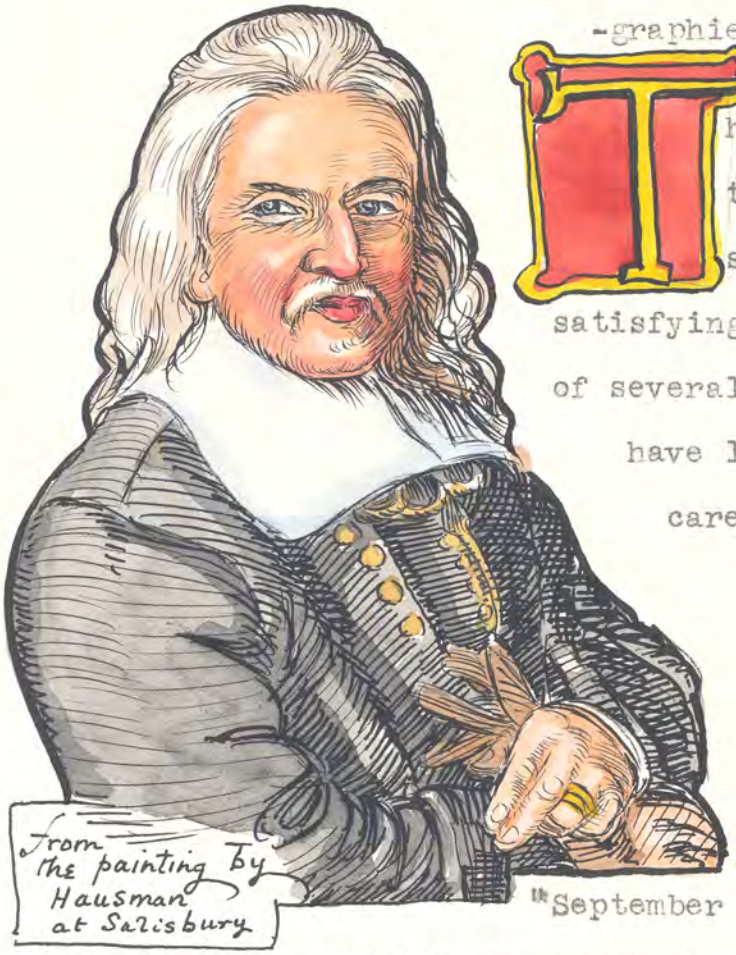
WHO sweeps a room, as for thy laws,
Makes that and th' action fine.

WHETHER I fly with angels, fall with dust,
Thy hands made both, and I am there.
Thy power and love, my love and trust,
Make one place everywhere.

ONLY a sweet and virtuous soul,
Like seasoned timber, never gives;
But though the whole world turn to coal,
Then chiefly lives.

Donne died in 1631, Herbert in 1632. The posthumous poems of both appeared in 1633. Both poets cried in the wilderness of their day against the coming of an era of flesh against spirit, knowledge against wisdom, hinting at the new science called psychology. Through them a new school of imagery came into being. Sketches of the lives of these two men were written by Isaac Walton, who also wrote other charming bio-

-graphies of English worthies.



From the painting by Hausman at Salisbury

There is a peculiar irony in the fact that a man, who himself succeeded in recording, with satisfying amplitude of detail, the lives of several of his contemporaries, should have left so little record of his own career. Yet such is the case of Isaac Walton, the greater part of whose life remains a blank to us. His birth is recorded in the parish church of Stafford, where he was born: "September 1593: Baptiz fuit Isaac Filius Jervis Walton, XX die mensis et anni praedict." Very little is known respecting his parents. From his mother, Walton probably inherited his strong attachment to the Church of England and his Royalist predilections. And it is only gallant to suppose that he derived from her that gentleness of disposition which, as his writings abundantly testify, formed so pronounced a trait in his character. To his father (who died when Isaac was but two years old) he may have been indebted for his physical strength and en-

Ancient Houses in FLEET STREET, including The Residence of Isaac Walton, 1624

The Old Mill at Dovedale

-durance by which his life was prolonged to its ninetieth year. Walton's own temperate living, and his long-continued open-air habits no doubt helped very materially to his attaining such an old age.

Whatever the unrecorded story of Walton's boyhood and youth (imagination might freely and delightedly fill in the details!), it is quite certain that he was in London seeking fame and fortune sometime about his thirtieth year. There he established himself in business as a linen-draper, or sempster, a lucrative business even in these days. At first, his shop was one of those seven-and-a-half feet by five feet establishments, in the upper story of Gresham's Royal Exchange in Cornhill. Then, in 1624, he moved to Fleet Street, opposite the Temple. In 1626, at the age of thirty-three, he married his first wife, by whom he had seven children. No incident of his married life with this lady (Rachel Floud, or Flood, or Floyd) is anywhere recorded. But that he had much sorrow to put to the test his natural sweetness and cheerfulness, may be gathered from the fact that

Facsimile of the Title page of the First Ed.

The Compleat Angler or the Contemplative man's Recreation

Being a Discourse of

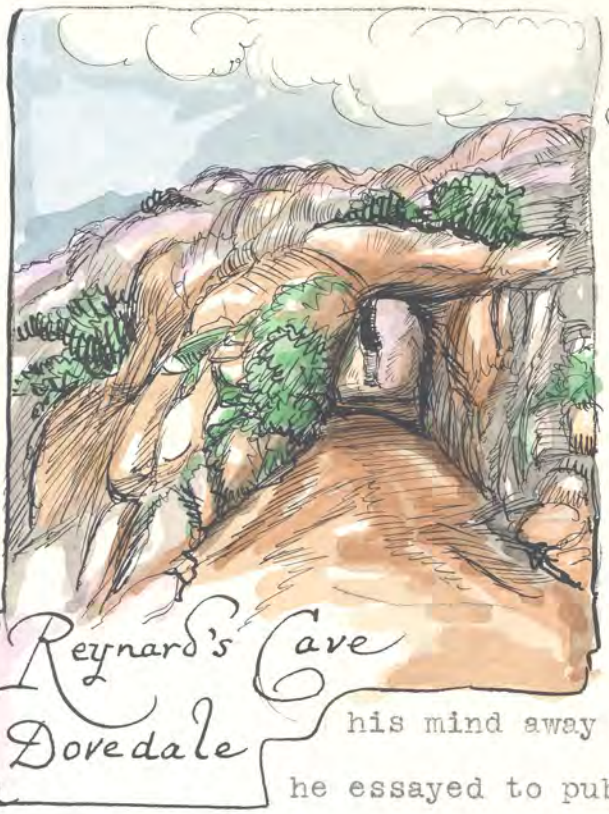
FISH and FISHING

Not unworthy the perusal of most Anglers

Simon Peter said I go a fishing; and they said We also will go with thee. JOHN 21. 3.

London. Printed by T. Maxey for Rich. Marriot, in S. Dunstans Church Yard Fleetstreet 1653

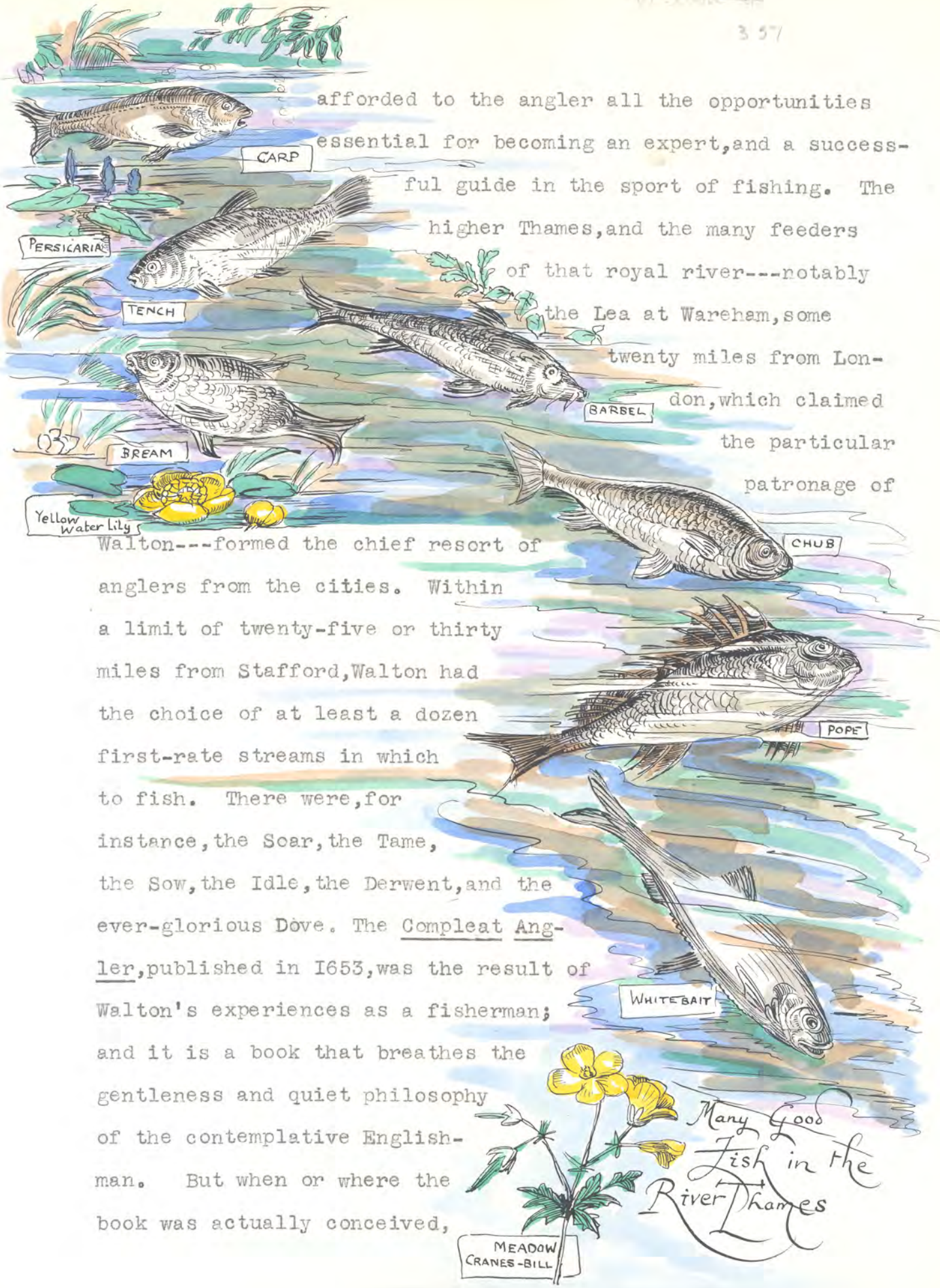
Charles Cotton, Walton's adopted Son — author of a Second part of The Compleat Angler, published with the Fifth Edition, 1676


Reynard's Cave
Dovedale

he not only lost all the offspring of this marriage, but at the end of sixteen years had likewise to mourn her death. Childless and a widower, Walton was now in his forty-seventh year; and it was probably to direct his mind away from his domestic afflictions that he essayed to publish the first of his famous lives, namely, the biographical sketch of John Donne, Dean of St Paul's, along with a collection of sermons of that well-known divine and poet.

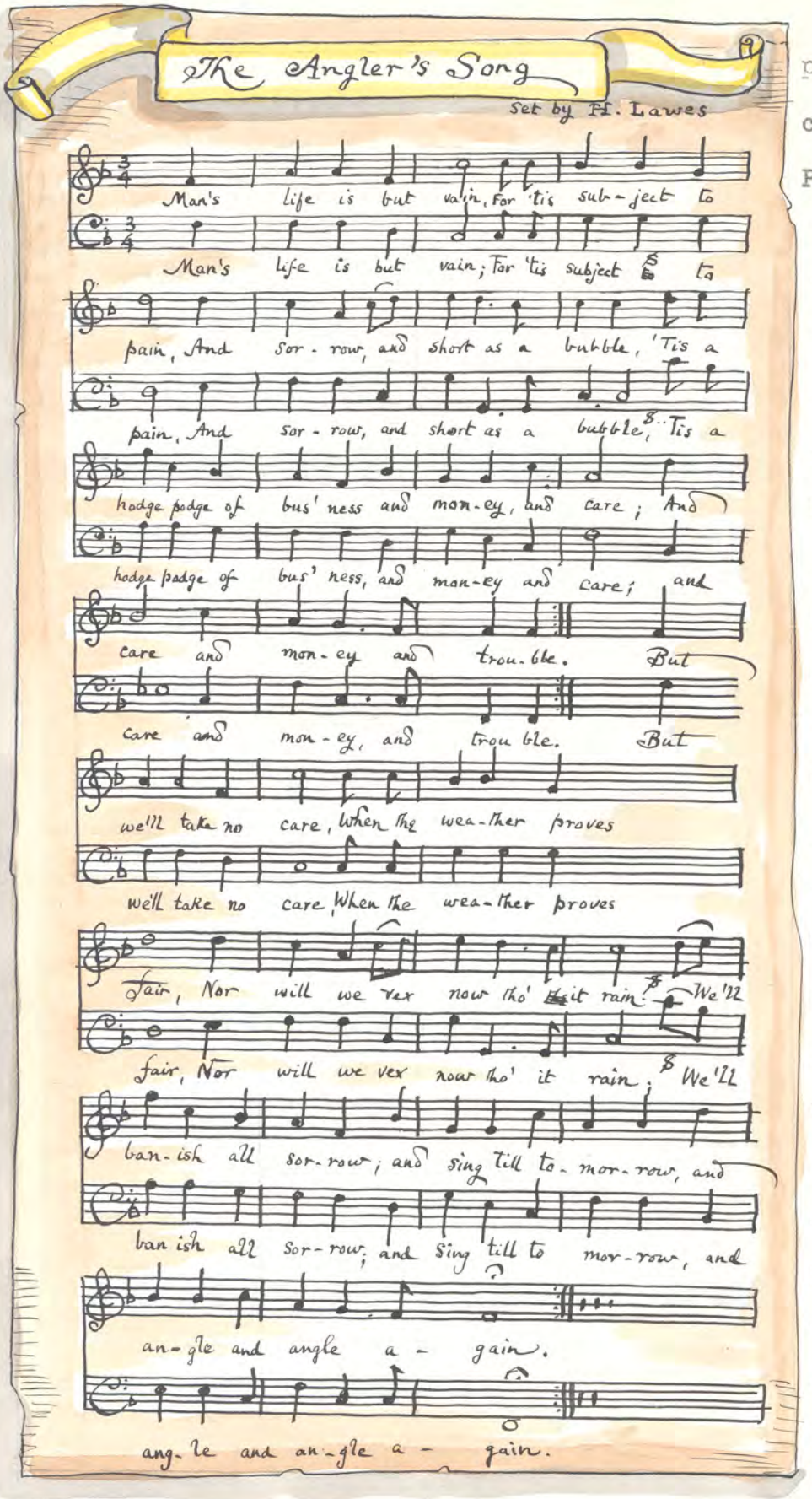
Three years later, Walton retired from business. He left London when the Civil War broke out, and went into the country. He resided near Stafford, his native place.

He had always been fond of fishing, and, in his retirement, he betook himself to the quiet country streams and pursued his favorite pastime with all diligence. His proximity to the Thames and its upper waters



afforded to the angler all the opportunities essential for becoming an expert, and a successful guide in the sport of fishing. The higher Thames, and the many feeders of that royal river---notably the Lea at Wareham, some twenty miles from London, which claimed the particular patronage of Walton---formed the chief resort of anglers from the cities. Within a limit of twenty-five or thirty miles from Stafford, Walton had the choice of at least a dozen first-rate streams in which to fish. There were, for instance, the Soar, the Tame, the Sow, the Idle, the Derwent, and the ever-glorious Dove. The Compleat Angler, published in 1653, was the result of Walton's experiences as a fisherman; and it is a book that breathes the gentleness and quiet philosophy of the contemplative Englishman. But when or where the book was actually conceived,

Walton S
352



planned, and written can only be surmised. Possibly the work had been taking shape in his fancy (as most books have the habit of doing) for many years, to be saved for his leisure on the small estate which Walton bought near Stafford on his retirement in 1643. Whatever the circumstances of the actual writing of the "Compleat Angler", that occupation did not prevent him from marrying for the second time. This happy event took place about 1646, the new bride being Anne, daughter of Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells. A son and daughter blessed the lives of the Waltons as a result of this union. No doubt the publication of his book was the event of

written 6
3-5-3


Ashbourne Church

Walton's life, and along with the publication of Hobbe's "Leviathan", was probably the literary event of that year.

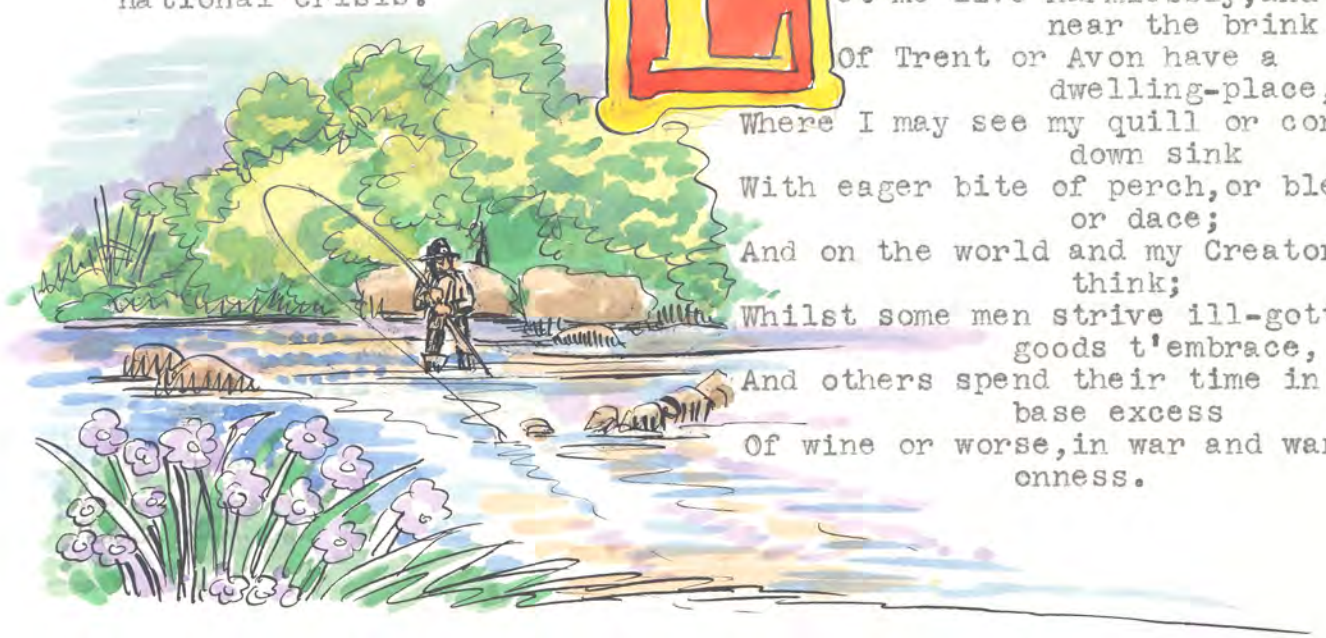
In what a quarrelling and fighting time was this most peaceful book brought forth! What a noise and tumult then filled all England! You will read about those stirring times in the foregoing pages.

Strange, therefore, that Walton's quaint book, with its suggestive sub-title ("Being a Discourse of Fish and Fishing not Unworthy the Perusal of Most Anglers") should have been given to the world in such a time of clangor and clashing of swords! Stranger still, that it should at once have found such general favor as to make necessary the publication of a second edition two years later. Yet such was the fact, testifying surely to the immediate recognition of its rare literary worth, its sterling descriptive beauty, and its fascination. The greater part of the book is in the form of a dialog between Piscator

(Walton himself)and Viator. The scene is laid in the valley of the Lea. At the end of the day,they meet two other anglers at the almshouse,and a pleasant evening is spent in feasting and song.

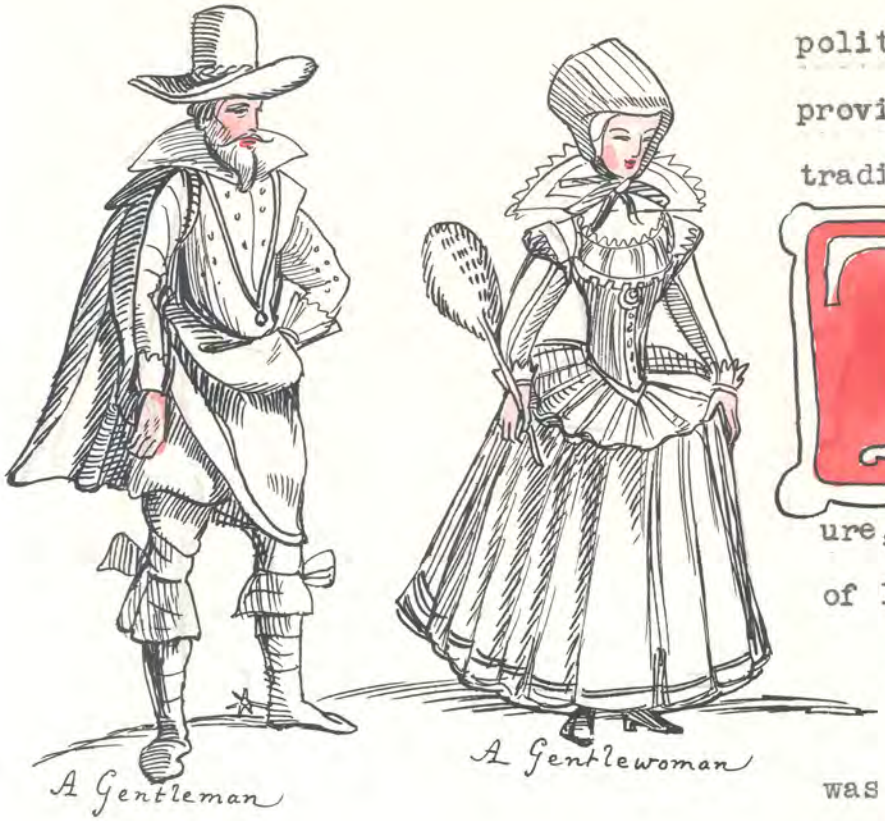
In the course of his discourses,Piscator draws freely from the writings of his personal friends,particularly from the poetry of Sir Henry Wotton,"a man with whom I have often fished and conversed". The following lines,taken from a discourse on the happy life of the angler,may give us some idea of the thoughts that possess the undisturbed mind of the English fisherman,even in the days of national crisis.

Let me live harmlessly,and near the brink
Of Trent or Avon have a dwelling-place,
Where I may see my quill or cork down sink
With eager bite of perch,or bleak or dace;
And on the world and my Creator think;
Whilst some men strive ill-gotten goods t'embrace,
And others spend their time in base excess
Of wine or worse,in war and wantonness.



ENGLAND under the Stuart kingship, up to the outbreak of the Great Rebellion, may be regarded as an uneventful and prosperous prolongation of the Elizabethan era. The country was not sharply divided between an urban and a rural way of life. A quietly prosperous rural society, in which land-ownership, opportunity, and modest wealth were widely distributed, gave ample scope and importance to the country gentleman of large and small estates, and to the freehold and leasehold yeomen. Industry and commerce moved forward along lines laid down in Tudor times.

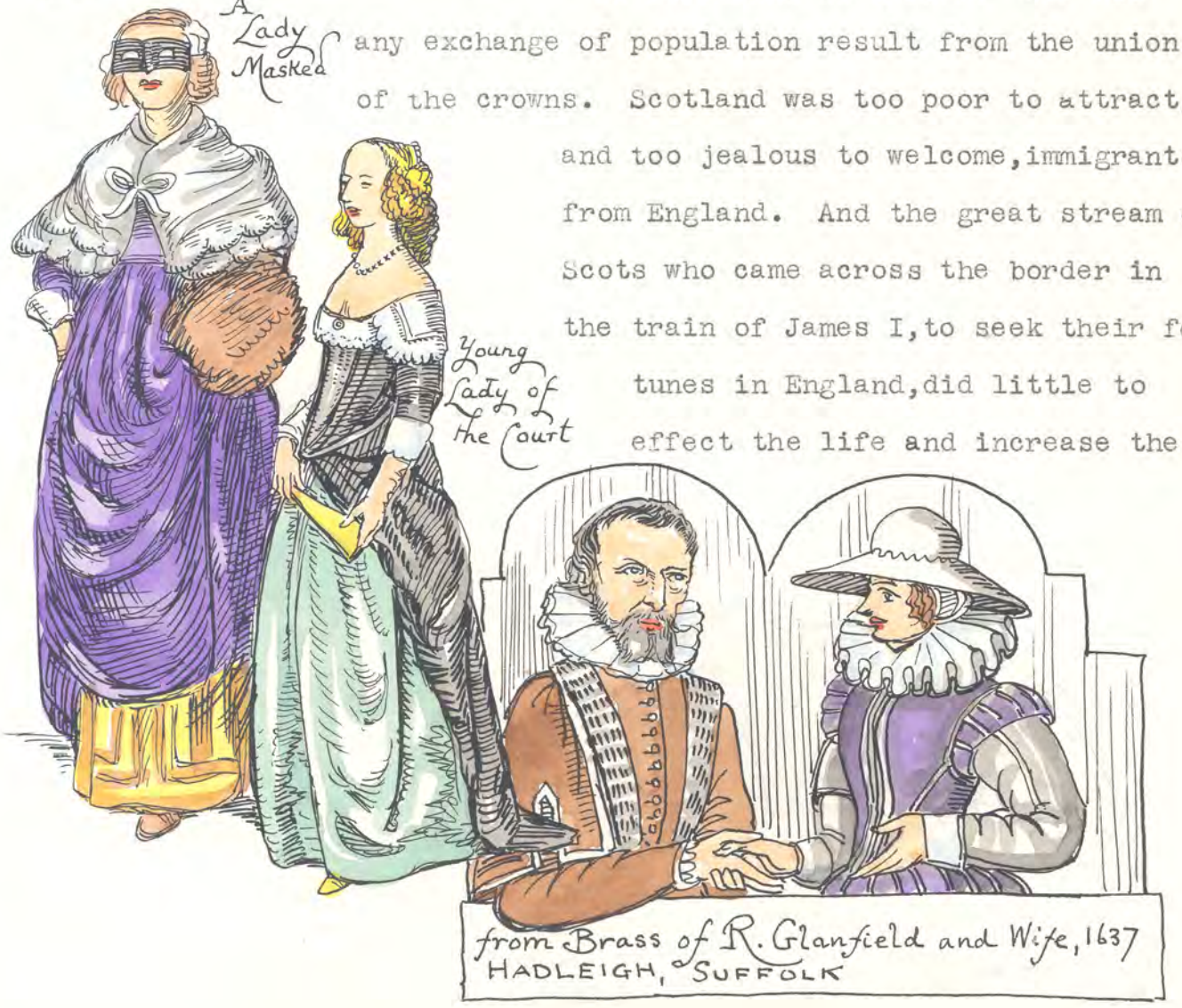
In Government, the feudal regulations of the manorial system had disappeared. Village and town were both governed by parliamentary statutes, rather than by local legislation. Urban and rural life were related by a single economic and political system of national size. However, in spite of this economic and

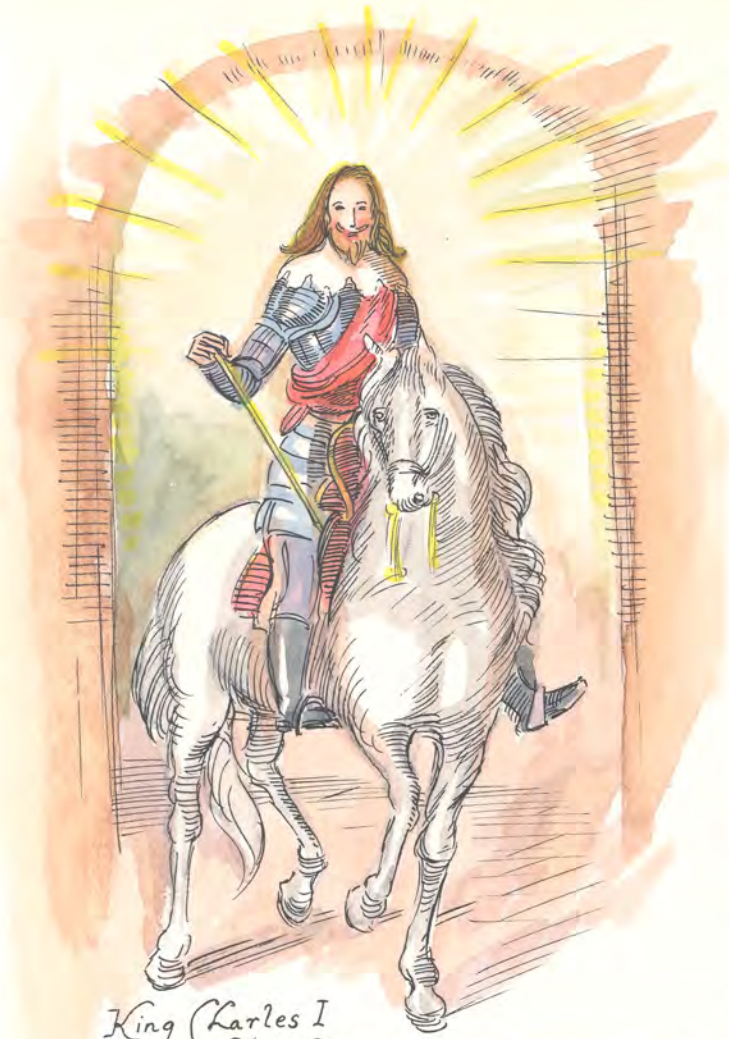


political unity, there were provincial differences of tradition, custom, and speech.

The isolation of village from village was due, in a large measure, to the primitive means of locomotion and the execreble condition of the ill-tended roads. There was not enough association between town with neighboring town to bring about an exchange of ideas. Men and women scattered throughout the realm were thrown back upon themselves during long and frequent periods of solitude and isolation. Of course, each individual had much space in which to grow---like the spreading oaks along the fields---without troubling too much about conforming to any particular conventional pattern. The slow pace of change in the economic and social life of the country was but little accelerated by the union of the English and Scottish monarchies. The peoples, laws, churches, and commercial systems of the two kingdoms remained for another one hundred years or so

as different as before. Nor did any exchange of population result from the union of the crowns. Scotland was too poor to attract, and too jealous to welcome, immigrants from England. And the great stream of Scots who came across the border in the train of James I, to seek their fortunes in England, did little to effect the life and increase the





King Charles I on his high horse from the portrait by Van Dyck in Hampton Court

prosperity of England. Throughout the Seventeenth century, as we shall see in the costumes and fashions depicted in the sketches and portraits of Rubens and Van Dyck---it was to Holland, rather than to Scotland---that the English people looked for new ideas for the improvement of every-day living. In politics, agriculture, gardening, commerce, navigation, and art, the influence of the Dutch philosopher, scientist and artist cannot be over-estimated.

The independence of the English spirit in matters pertaining to government is something which the Stuart rulers did not fully understand or sense. The economic life of the times, as conducted by yeoman, farmer, and small craftsman, left the individual more unfettered and more self-dependent than he had been as a laborer, burgher, serf in mediaeval times. In their independence, the people of Seventeenth century England were not willing to

let the monarch do as he pleased with the people's representatives in Parliament. No one of any great importance in England had been willing to let King James tax the people at his pleasure, or to keep people in prison without trial; and by dismissing parliament after parliament in anger and with much rude language, the monarch was simply sowing the seeds of future trouble and friction between the King and Parliament.

Now, Charles I, his son and successor, was going to sow a new crop of antagonisms and resentments. According to the old rhyme-book:

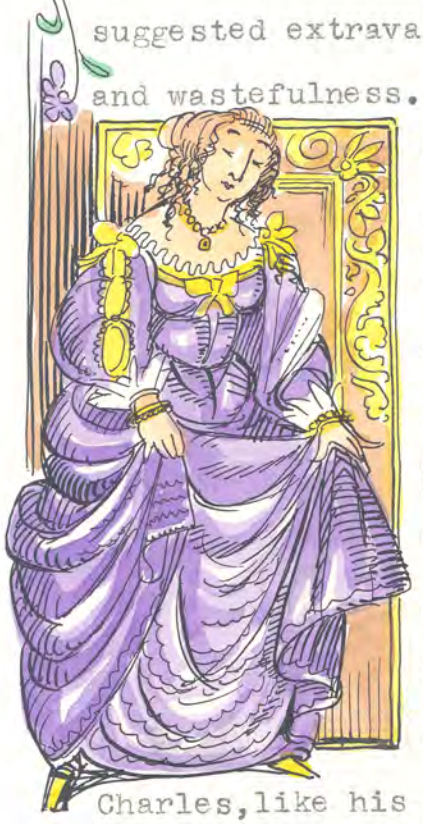
The folly of the father
Was transmitted to the son,
And "Divine Right" to govern wrong
Was still insisted on.

So when Parliament refused
To grant the King's demands,
He used most arbitrary means
To carry out his plans.

The policies of the father had aggravated and emphasized the discontent of the people. The accession of the son did but little to change the evil situation. In fact, the new king, instead of being old, timid and weak, was young, stubborn and full of vigor! Energy was thrown into the

new regime. Fresh grievances were added to the old grievances.

The Court of King Charles was as expensive and colorful as that of his father before him. Many of the old nobility continued to avoid the Court, as they had done in the time of James I; they preferred to spend their leisure in travel or in retirement in the country. Everything about Charles's court suggested extravagance, and elegance, and wastefulness.



Although the King himself had the reputation of being temperate, chaste and even serious, his influence did not put a stop to the incessant swearing, the gambling and dicing, the heavy drinking and carousing among his courtiers. The vain monarch, handsome and pleasing in manner, surrounded himself with other handsome and pleasing persons. Everything about the Court served to deepen the distrust that the Commons felt for the sovereign and his household. Charles, like his father, was infatuated with George Villiers, who, as Duke of Buckingham, acted as the King's agent in social as well as political affairs.

The King had a pretty taste in art and books. Acting on the

suggestion of Buckingham, the King invited Peter Paul Rubens, the celebrated Flemish painter, whose works express the ardor and exuberance of a supremely happy man, to visit the English court. Rubens was a diplomat as well as an artist. (In 1627 he was entrusted with negotiating a peace between England and Spain). During his stay in England, he received an honorary degree from Cambridge, and was knighted by the King. In vivid colors and great sweeps of line, Sir Peter introduced his English friends and patrons to great masterpieces which were also beautiful patterns of decoration. It is impossible in this feeble attempt at description to convey anything like an adequate idea of the wonderful work of this "sanest of great painters". King Charles had hoped that Rubens would find time to decorate the ceiling of the banqueting saloon at Whitehall. He entrusted the work to the master, but there were too many other commissions to attend to. However, Rubens painted

Sir Peter Paul Rubens,
Drawn by himself

The Duke of Buckingham
From a Sketch by Rubens

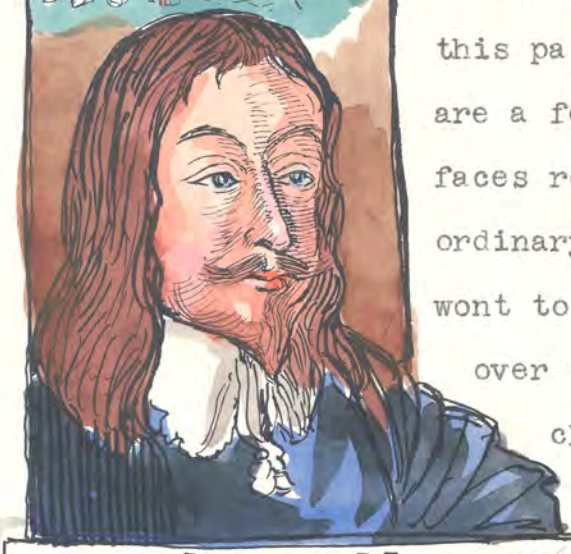
HENRIETTA MARIA, QUEEN-CONSORT OF CHARLES I

a few portraits, and left England (February 21, 1630), with an increased reputation, a gold chain, and hopes of peace with Spain. In 1635, Rubens sent to Charles I the pictures that now adorn the ceiling of Whitehall.

Rubens was succeeded by his pupil, Anthony Van Dyck, who settled in Blackfriars, which, from its contiguity to the palace of Bridewell, was a favorite quarter for those who enjoyed the King's favor. In 1632, the painter was knighted, and became the official painter to His Majesty. His subsequent marriage with a lady of the noble family of Ruthven further strengthened Van Dyck's ties with the country of his adoption. Among his more famous English portraits there are ~~those of Charles I~~ (quite a few of the handsome and vain monarch), and the Queen, Henrietta Maria (one of which we have tried, after a style of our own, to reproduce on this page). Van Dyck painted the royal family dozens of times, and

Faces from Anthony Van Dyck's Portrait Album

LUCIUS CARY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND



SIR WILLIAM KILLIGREW DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, Who was among the best known figures at the courts of JAMES I and CHARLES I, for wit and an eye to the main chance

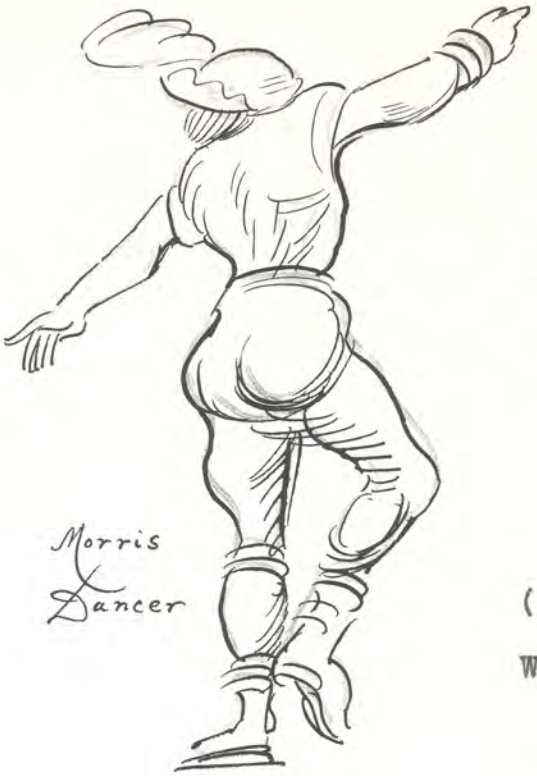
all the fashionable folk in England flocked to his studio. On this page and the next are a few English faces recorded by this extraordinary artist, who was wont to sit up at night over ill-smelling pots of chemicals, sometimes daubing canvasses with paint, and most of the time hoping to turn common metals into gold. (You see, this fellow Van Dyck dabbled in alchemy!) As a very prosperous painter, he led a gay life among the courtiers of Charles I's magnificent household. He was so extravagant that he was known as "The Cavalier Painter". But, although he is known

MRS. ANNE KIRKE one of the fair ladies-in waiting to Queen Henrietta Maria

PORTRAIT OF VANDYCK by himself

chiefly as a painter of English royalty and aristocracy, we should not forget that he also painted religious subjects, including "The Madonna and Child", and "The Crucifixion"---magnificent and very remarkable works of great art.

Van Dyck may be called the father of the English portrait school. His influence on English culture and fashions is very much in evidence in the styles in beard, collars, and capes that are named for him. "Vandyke brown" (according to the dictionary, is a deep-brown pigment of uncertain identity, used by Van Dyck. A Vandyke collar is of fine linen and lace with deep pointed or indented edge. You will notice the Vandyke beards (trim and pointed) in most of the famous English faces depicted by Sir Anthony.



Morris Dancer

Ballad Singer

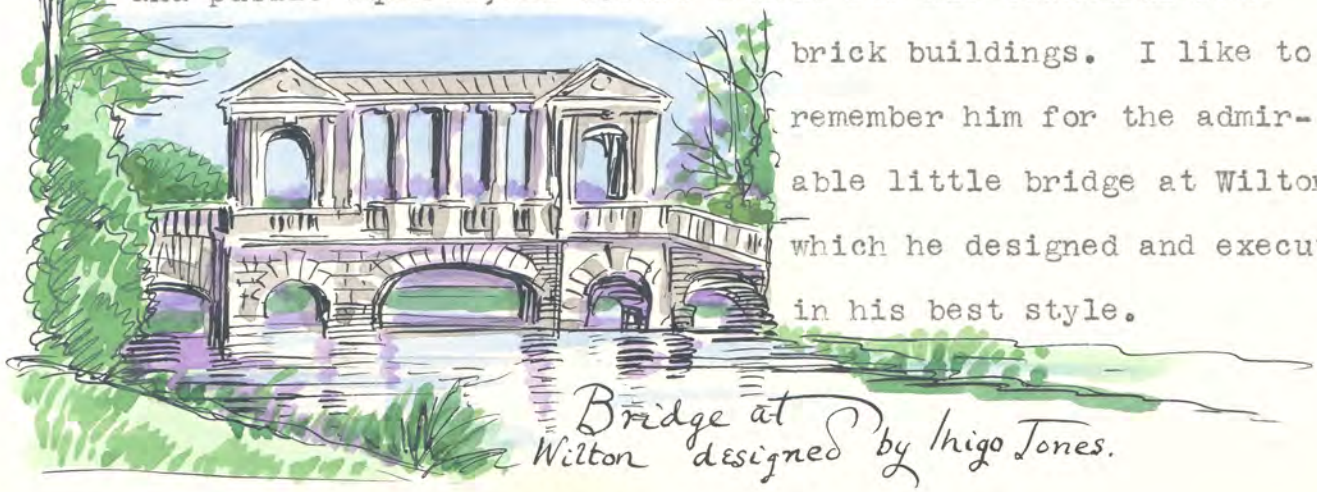
after Sketches by Inigo Jones.

Something should be said about another important and influential artist of the day---Inigo Jones, the outstanding architect of King Charles's court, who, for many years was associated with the theater in the production of Ben Jonson's extravagant and elaborate Masques for the entertainment of the aristocracy. Inigo was a Welshman (Inigo and Iago are common names in Welsh) who attracted the attention of the third Earl of Pembroke, who sent the young joiner's apprentice to Italy. There Inigo fell under the influence of Palladio, with the fame of whose architectural masterpieces---palaces in Vicenza and Venice---all Italy was ringing. Returning to London, Inigo Jones held the position of Surveyor-General to the King, and thenceforth to the time of his death poured out an inexhaustible supply of architectural designs for all sorts of buildings and structures in England. The most famous of his designs was the plan for the King's palace at Whitehall, which he hoped would be "the grandest Palladian edifice that Europe could show. The

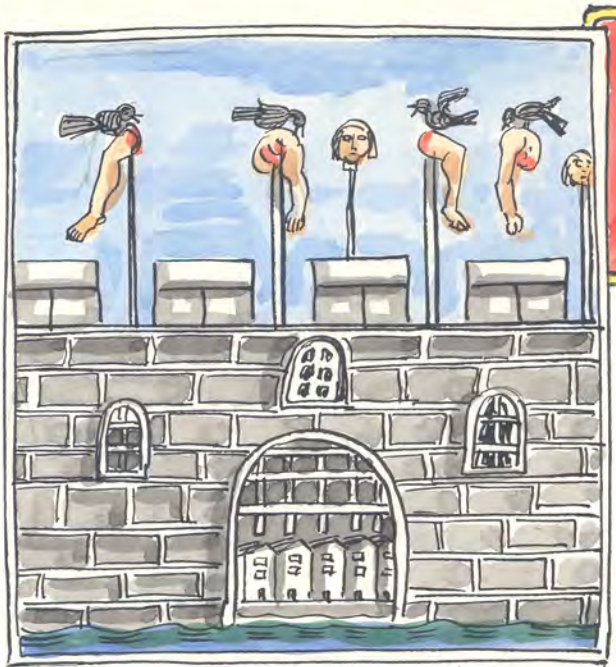
Design for the front of the inner Court of Whitehall Palace

river front was to be 875 feet long. The facades facing Charing Cross and Westminster were to be 1,152 feet from angle to angle. The height was to be 100 feet. And the structure was to contain five quadrangles and one circular court to be adorned with two ranges of caryatid figures. Thus did Inigo Jones dream of a magnificent palace fit for the King of Britain!

This energetic and industrious fellow built a number of houses and public squares, and became famous for his beautiful red-brick buildings. I like to remember him for the admirable little bridge at Wilton which he designed and executed in his best style.



Bridge at Wilton designed by Inigo Jones.



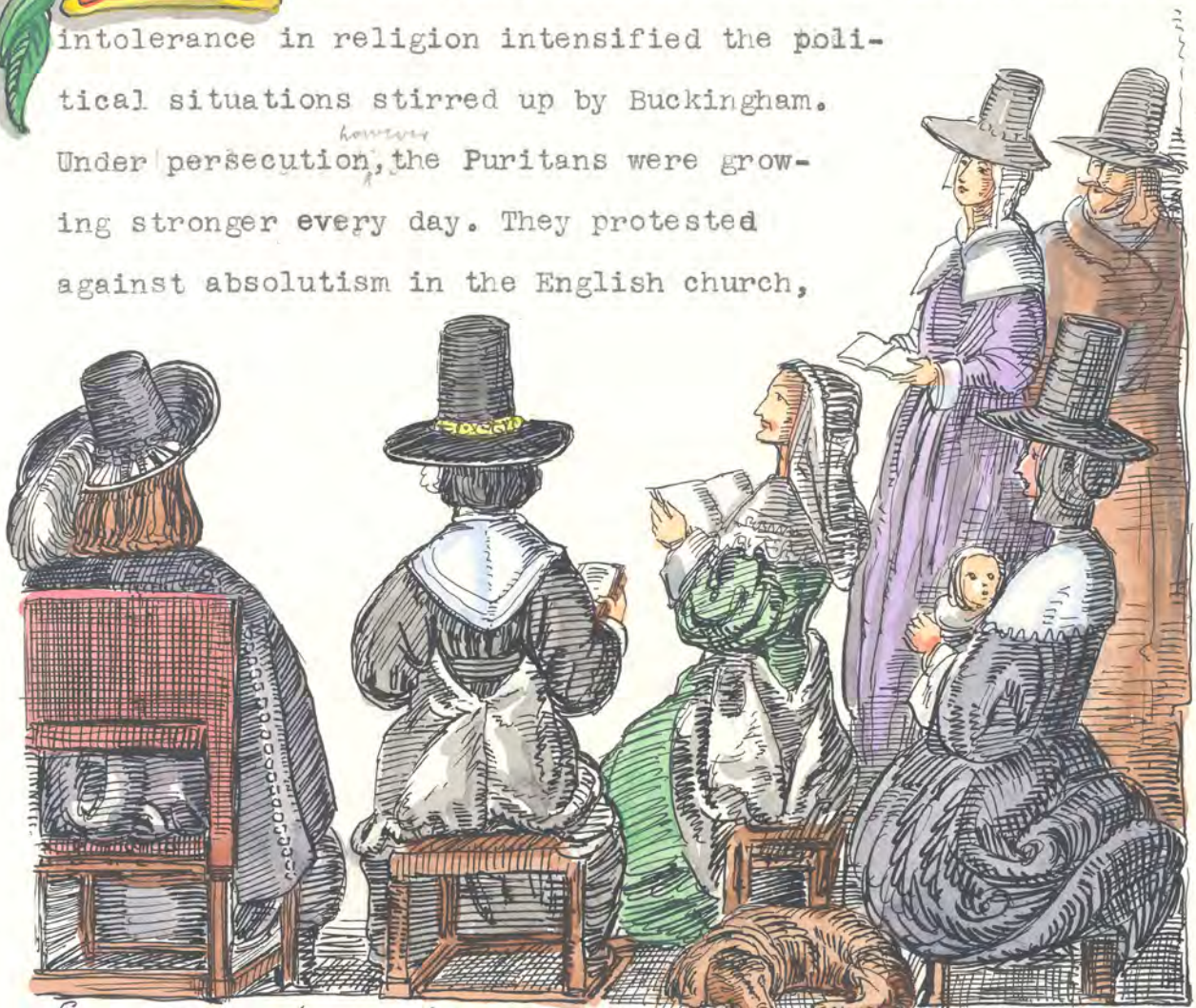
Heads and Limbs of Apprentices hanged for Treasonable language at Salisbury

The reign of Charles I started badly, as a result of the king's own personal weaknesses and obstinacies. To begin with, Charles moulded his policy according to his father's high notions of the divine right of kings. He assumed a haughty tone in addressing the Commons, telling them to "remember that parliaments were altogether in the power of the king, for their calling, sitting, and dissolution".... Two parliaments were convened in rapid succession, but showed themselves unyielding to the royal will. In following Buckingham's advice, Charles got into all sorts of political mix-ups. Parliament distrusted the king's favorites, and referred to Buckingham as "the grievance of grievances". But they also distrusted another striking figure about the court, the small, red-faced, keen-eyed, sanctimonious Archbishop Laud of Canterbury. Laud was so starched in his High Church views that the Pope offered him a cardinal's hat. But the Pope mistook his

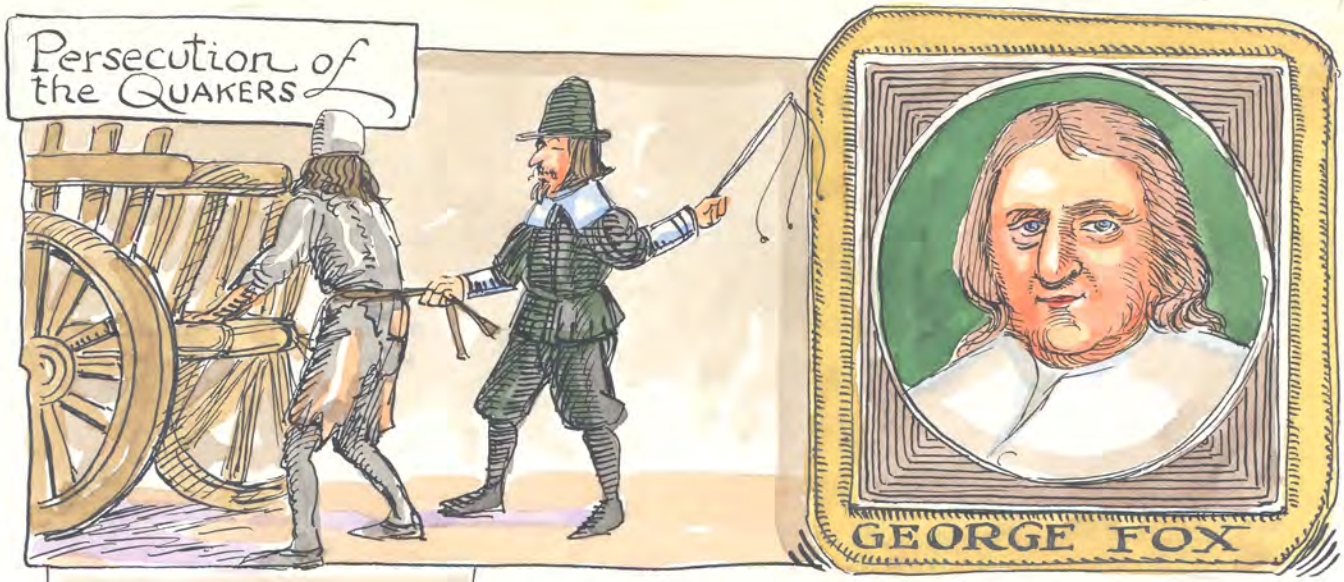
Pikeman of the XVII th. Century from a model in the Tower of London.

man. Laud was a married Anglican clergyman who merely wanted to preserve historic customs and traditions against the iconoclasm of the Puritans. With the support of the King, he was able to use the special royal courts (the Court of High Commission, and the civil Court of the Star Chamber) to punish clergymen who would not use the prescribed ritual, or laymen who were "recusant" about attending the services.

Laud's ecclesiastical system pressed hard upon the Nonconformists---the Puritans in particular. It made the times hideous for them. Laud's monstrous intolerance in religion intensified the political situations stirred up by Buckingham. Under persecution, however, the Puritans were growing stronger every day. They protested against absolutism in the English church,



From a satirical Contemporary Dutch print



and began to cry out, first for a limit to the power of the bishops, then for their abolition, and finally for the abolition of the Prayer Book. Since Charles was a zealous Episcopalian, the bishops had everything to gain from his absolutism. They warmly defended the Divine Right of Kings. In natural sympathy with the King were the nobility and the merry courtiers, ~~for their~~ whose position in the realm was assured with the security of the crown against republican tendencies.


A Quakeress

But the gentlemen from the country who occupied their seats in the House of Commons stood for constitutional government. For the most part they were Independents in religion, and they looked upon the usages of the episcopacy as savoring of Romanism. When placed in power in the House of Commons, they were as stubborn and unyielding in their defence of constitutional liberty in religion as in politics.

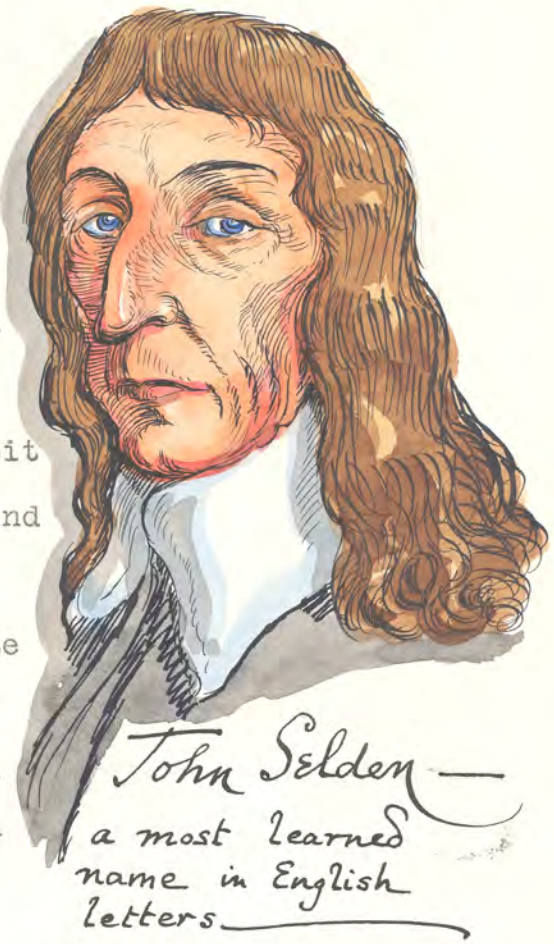
The Commons lost no opportunity in criticising the mismanagement of the Spanish war under

Villiers (Duke of Buckingham, the King's favorite). They refused to "resupply the royal coffers", and were promptly dissolved. A second parliament was called in I626, and it boldly attacked Buckingham, only to be dissolved in order to stay impeachment proceedings against the King's favorite. Well, Charles and Buckingham went through the year I627 without a parliament; resorting to forced loans and impressed men with which to carry out their illegal measures.

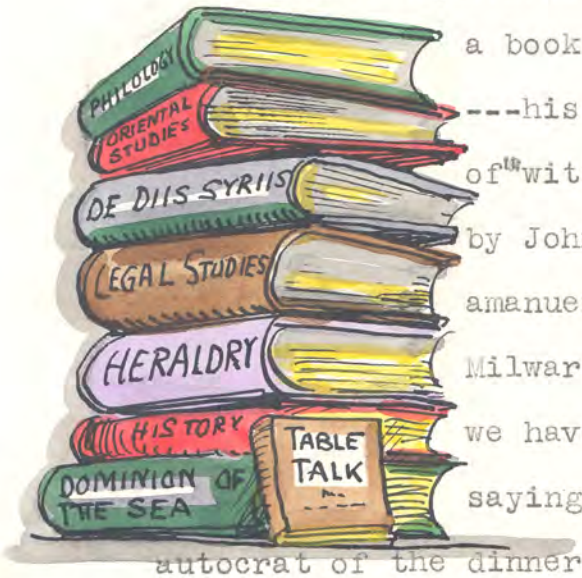
Is it any wonder that Parliament met in an ugly temper when called again in I628? Members knew that they were called to vote a "resupply" for the king's treasury. Charles told them as much. In fact, he warned them that he would obtain supplies by other means, if Parliament failed him. He declared that this was no threat, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals". The unwisdom of such a statement soon became evident. It fell upon the ears of John Eliot, who had moved the impeachment of Buckingham, and was now leader of the Commons. With Eliot was John Pym, an important representative of the people. With these courageous leaders was the most famous of Elizabethan lawyers,

the aged Sir Edward Coke. Another genius of the English Bar was John Selden---a scholar of legal and political antiquities, a heraldist, philologist, ne plus ultra!

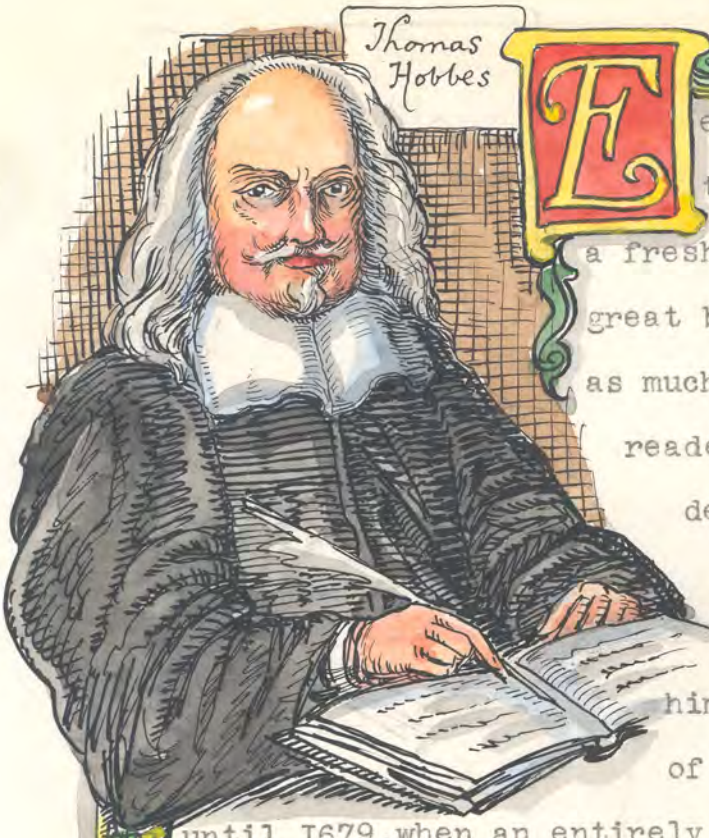
Selden's erudition in connection with constitutional law at once gave him much importance in the debates on Parliamentary rights. His legal training and habit of thought bound him fast to tradition and precedent. His one great passion was the law, and that law was the law of the state as it was evolved and developed through the centuries. Quite naturally he challenged Charles's right to ignore the law and English procedure.



Of Selden's several learned works, one little tome survives---a book which he never dreamed of, and never saw! ---his famous "Table Talk", which is a compilation of witty observations and opinions by John Selden, jotted down by his amanuensis, the Reverend Richard Milward". In this "table talk, we have the pithy and pertinent sayings of a seventeenth century autocrat of the dinner table concerning a great variety of subjects in which English men and women were interested.



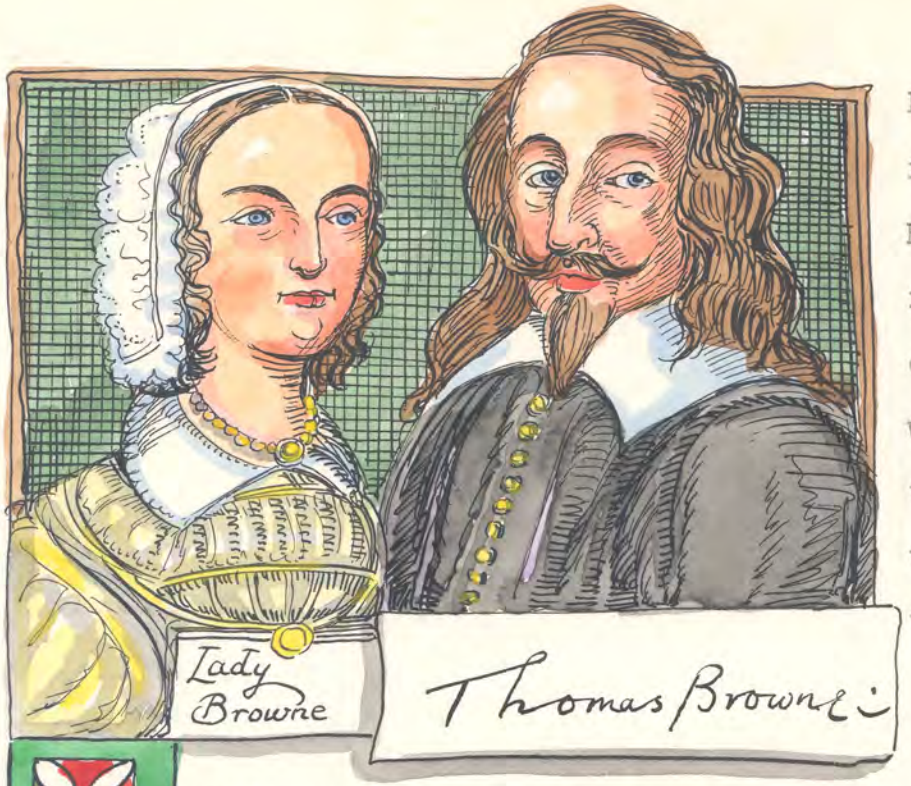
Four years younger than Selden was Thomas Hobbes, another great name in the history of the political philosophy of the age.


Thomas Hobbes

Every one may be familiar with the name of Thomas Hobbes, but hardly a freshman in college has heard of Hobbes's great book "The Leviathan", which is almost as much a matter of hearsay to the general reader as the fabulous monster of the deep from which it takes its name!

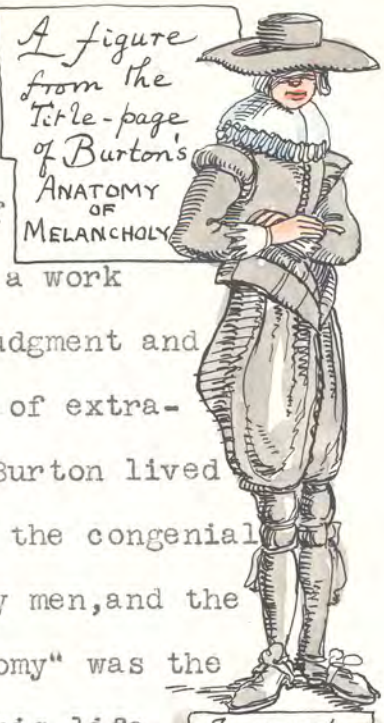
Hobbes's long life extended from 1588, when his mother gave birth to him prematurely upon receiving the news of the coming of the Spanish Armada, until 1679, when an entirely new world had come into being in politics, literature and philosophy. His two chief works are on Human Nature, and the Leviathan, which sum up respectively his philosophical and political views. Like Selden, who was an intimate friend, Hobbes was an out-and-out utilitarian. In the Leviathan is a perfectly frank exposition of the materialistic and selfish basis of society and social institutions. His hypothesis is that self-interest is the mainspring of human action. Hobbes's personality was one of the most striking of his age. He had more enemies and more friends than almost any other man in England. He broke up every company into which he was admitted. He and his books caused a disturbance wherever they went!

Title-Page, 1652.



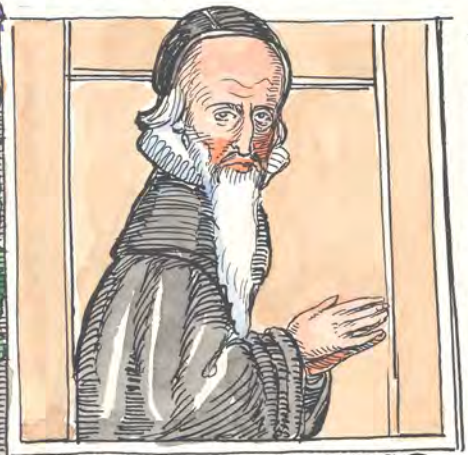
But the process of fermentation which Hobbes's "Leviathian" induced in the minds of the English people was in the end the best thing that could happen to English thought at the time.

Since we are on the subject of famous philosophers and prose works, we may just as well make some reference to two very learned Englishmen who took peculiar pleasure in pursuing abstruse and out-of-the-way trains of thought, and lighted their observations with gleams of fancy and imagination. The first was Sir Thomas Browne, the author of the famous Religio Medici, which was translated into French, Dutch, German and Italian during the author's lifetime, and Urn Burial, which is a fascinating essay on funeral ceremonials and beliefs in immortality. Charles Lamb declared that Browne was one of the worthies "whom he should feel the greatest pleasure to encounter on the floor of his apartment in their nightgown and slippers, and to exchange friendly greetings with them". The second Englishman who produced a remarkable work was Robert Burton, author of Anatomy of Melancholy, one of the strangest books in all



A figure from the Title-page of Burton's ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY

the world! At first sight it appears to be little more than a medley of quotations from the classics, and from the books of science of the early and middle ages. But it is really a work which displays the judgment and imagination of a man of extraordinary learning. Burton lived chiefly at Oxford in the congenial society of university men, and the writing of the "Anatomy" was the major occupation of his life.



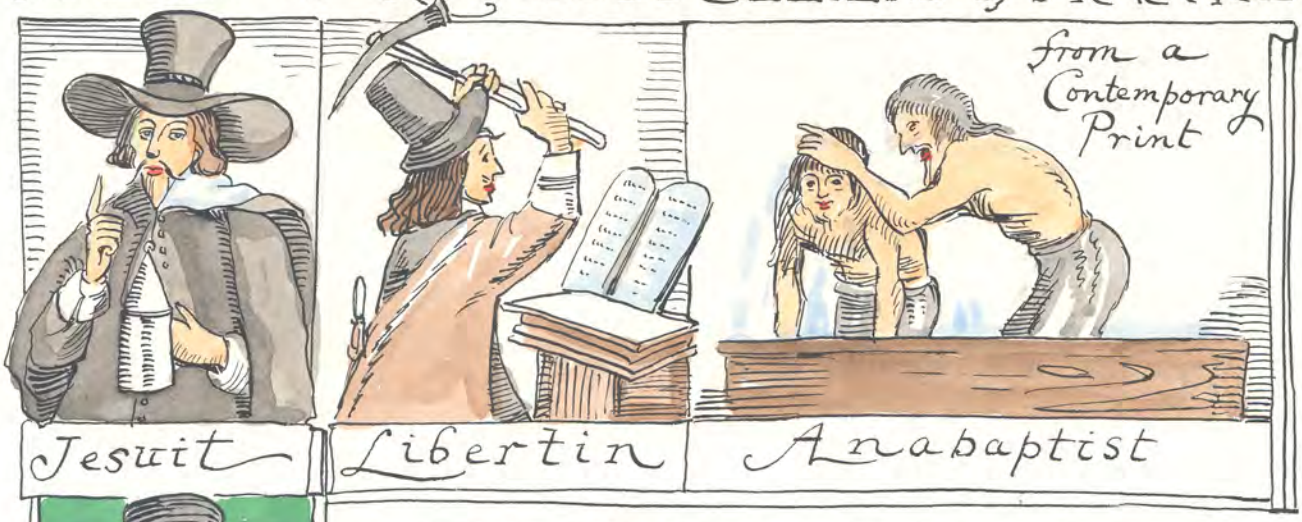
RICHARD HOOKER

Inamorata

For real majesty and music of which the English language is capable, we must call the attention of our reader to Richard Hooker's writings. Here is a man who deserves the name of author. His "Ecclesiastical Polity" is written in perhaps the pleasantest styles ever used by any writer in English. Hooker was determined to write a sober exposition and defence of the Church of England, without bitterness or malice for any party, and with charity for all. In the opening discussions, Hooker shows how easy it is to find fault with any established order of things, but how difficult to arrive at a true judgment of its nature and its worth. He treats with deep reverence the eternal laws which rule the operations of the universe.

"Dangerous it were for the brain of

VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS & PRACTICE



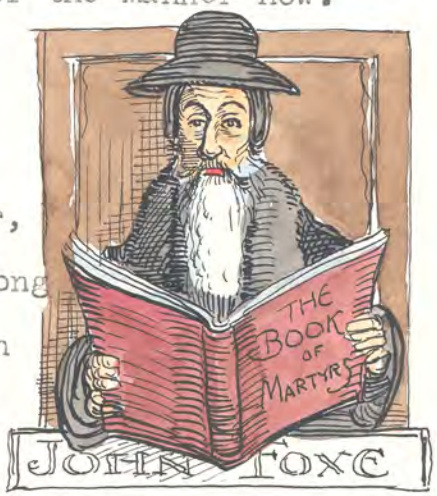
man to wade far into the doings of the Most High, whom,although to know be life, and joy to make mention of his name; yet our soundest judgment is to know that we know him not as indeed he is,neither can know him; and our safest eloquence concerning him is our silence---when we confess without confession that his glory is inexplicable,his greatness above our capacity and reach.

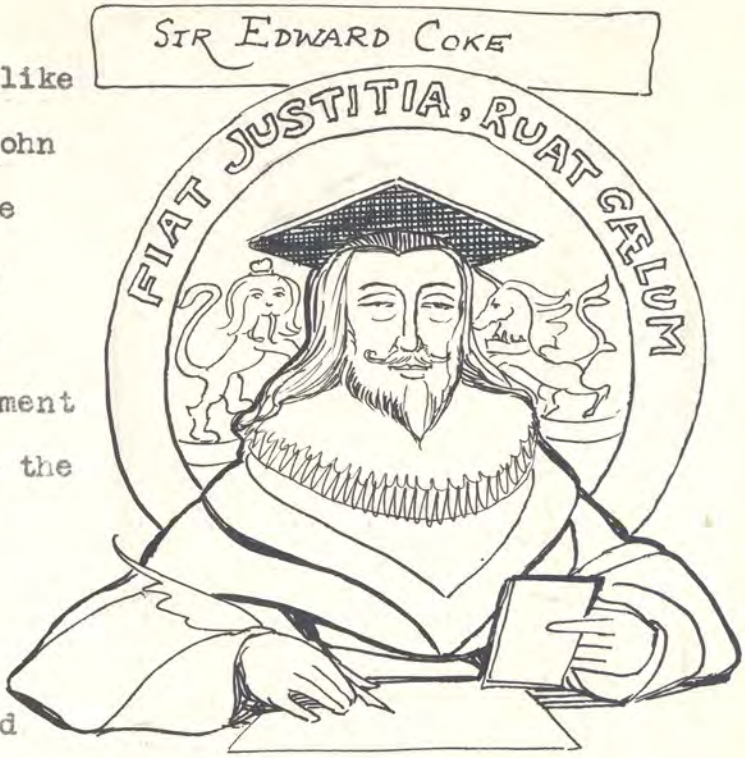
Here is another passage that reveals the measure of Hooker's sweet reasonableness:

There will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekness shall receive a far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit.

I wish that men would give themselves to meditate what we have by the sacrement and less to dispute of the manner how.

On this page,we must make reference to one other religious writer, John Foxe,whose "Book of Martyrs" has long held a place beside the Bible in English homes. Foxe celebrated the trials and sufferings of the Protestant Martyrs.



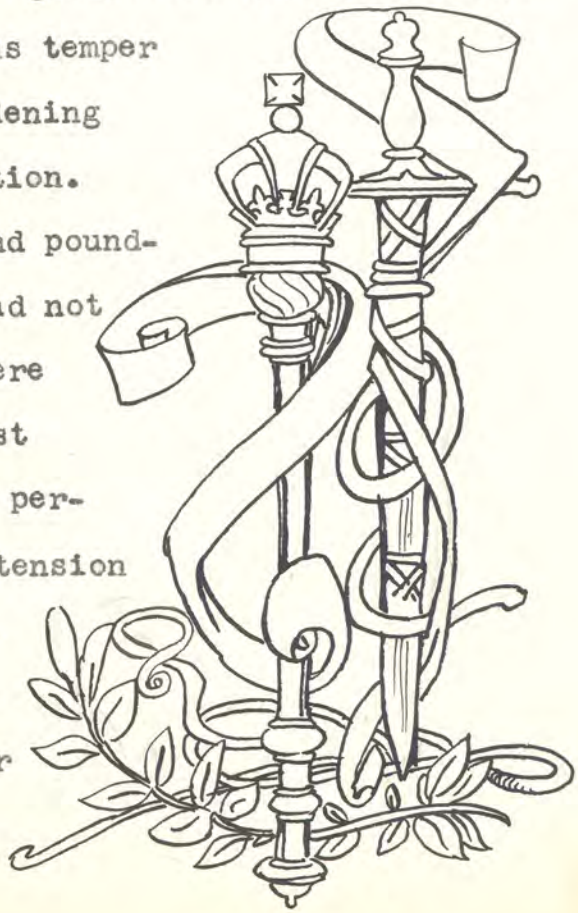


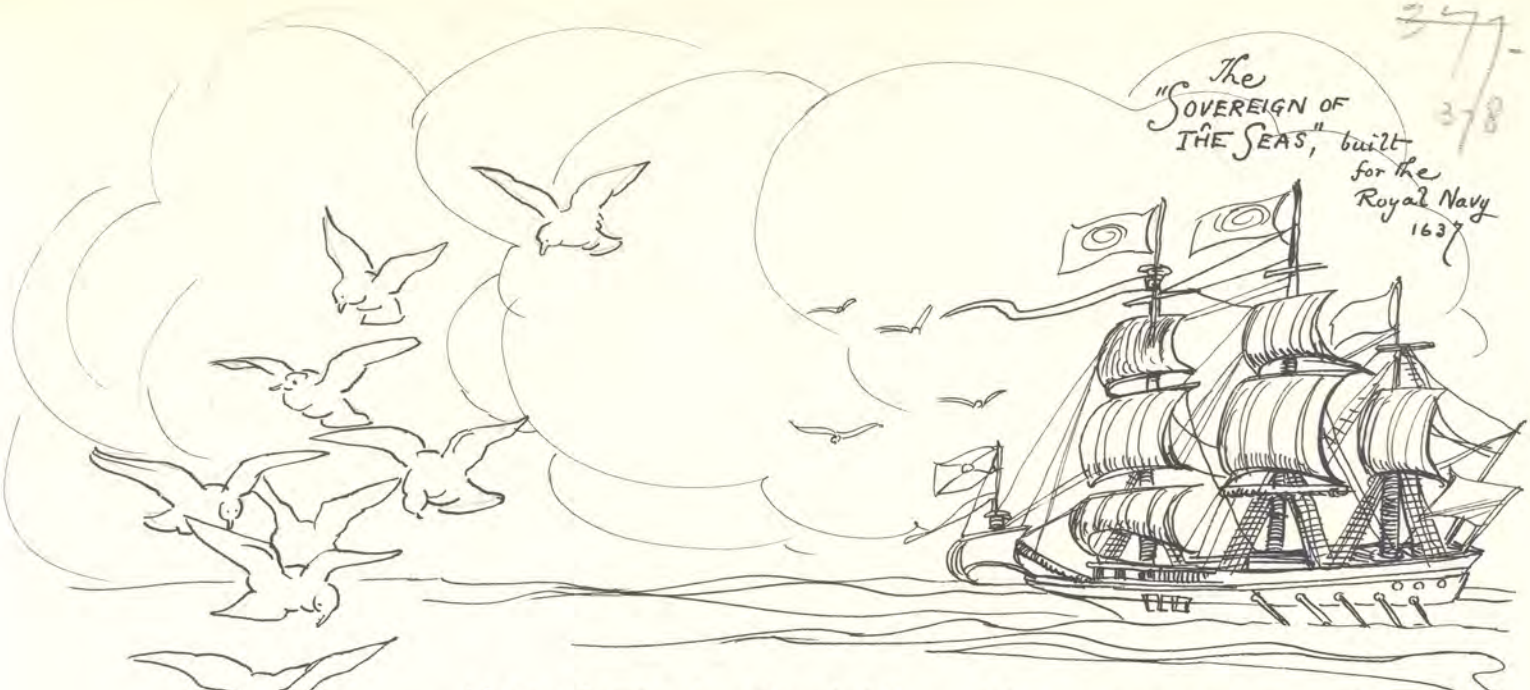
In the opinion of men like Sir Edward Coke and John Selden, who drew up the Petition of Rights, it was necessary for the King to come to terms with Parliament before the voting of supplies for the needy monarch. In other words, Parliament demanded a redress of grievances from Charles I, and a sharp criticism of his high-handed dealings was set forth in the Petition---which has come to be regarded, along with the Magna Carta, as one of the fundamental bases of an English man's privileges.

Charles was "constrained" to accept the Petition of Rights, but he refused to grant the removal of Buckingham. (However, the wish of the Commons and the desire of the nation was attained by the assassination of Buckingham by a disappointed lieutenant named Felton). The troublesome Parliament of 1628 was dissolved by the King, who, for the next eleven years (who would say that the English people are not a patient and long-suffering people?) ~~His Majesty~~ carried on the government of the realm unchecked by any opposition.

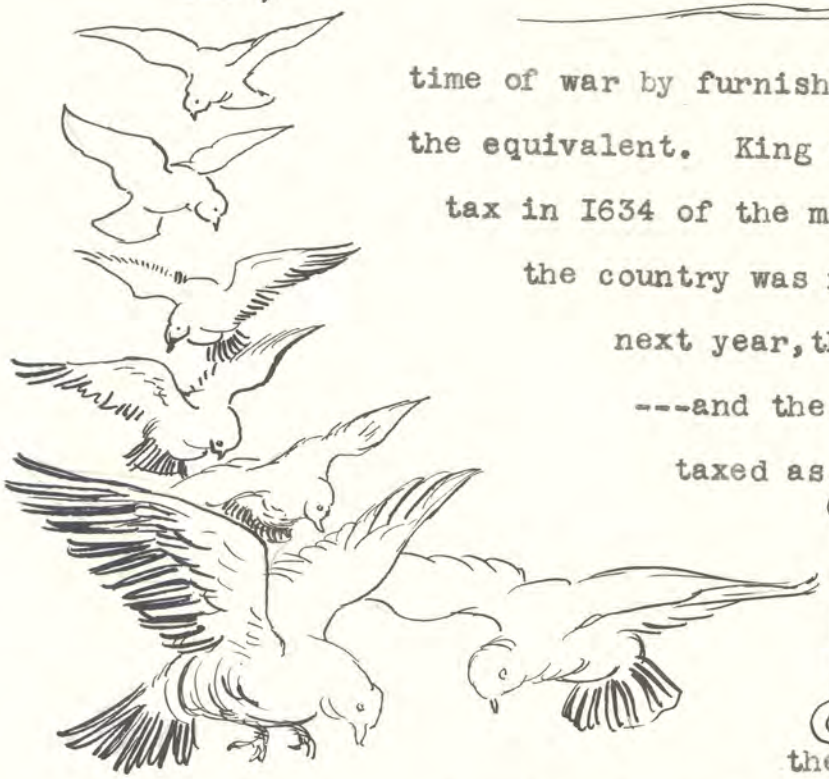
The long internal peace of a century and over had bred a civilization that hesitated to rise in insurrection---even if there was a cause. Yet the eleven years of unchecked rule (rather misrule!) were important,if quiet. The actions of Charles I and his Court were "accumulating against the time of reckoning." The political and religious temper of the nation were gradually hardening into a settled feeling of opposition.

The King collected tonnage and poundage even though the Parliament had not given its consent. Monopolies were again sold,despite the law against such sales. But the most famous perversion of an old law was the extension of levies for Ship-money. Coast towns and counties bordering the sea had for years been liable for aid in the country's defence, in





time of war by furnishing ships, or money, or the equivalent. King Charles demanded this tax in I634 of the maritime counties, though the country was not at war. In the next year, the levy was repeated ---and the inland counties were taxed as well.

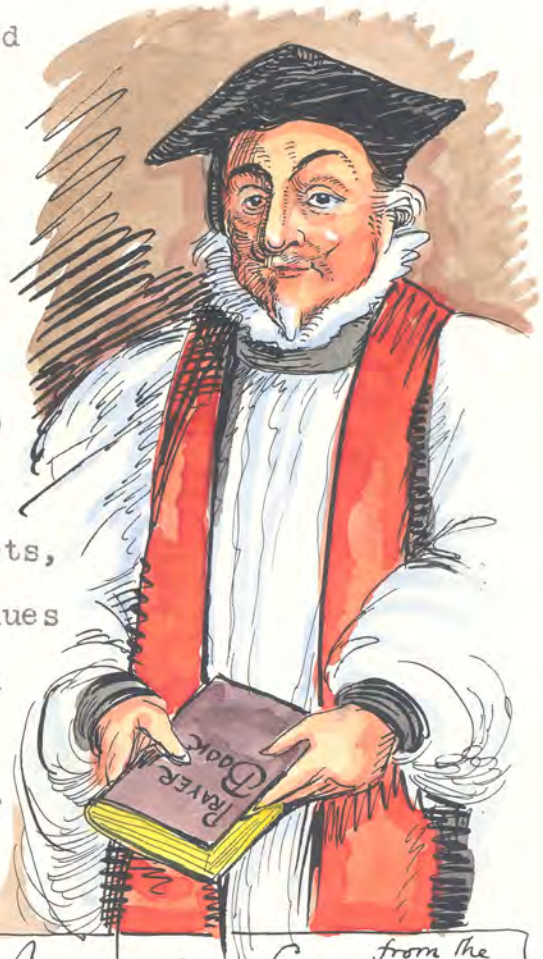


It was at this point that John Hampden, one of the members of the famous Parliament of I628, determined to test the legality of the levy. Fearlessly and audaciously, he refused to pay the twenty shillings (something less than five dollars in present-day currency) which was demanded of him as a resident of the inland county of Buckinhamshire. Then the trouble started. A subject challenged the power and authority of the sovereign of the realm.

Portrait By Van Dyck.

John Hampden was tried in the Exchequer Court before twelve judges, and seven of the judges decided against him. Though the King won his case, he lost the respect of his people. Ship-money was paid more grudgingly than ever.

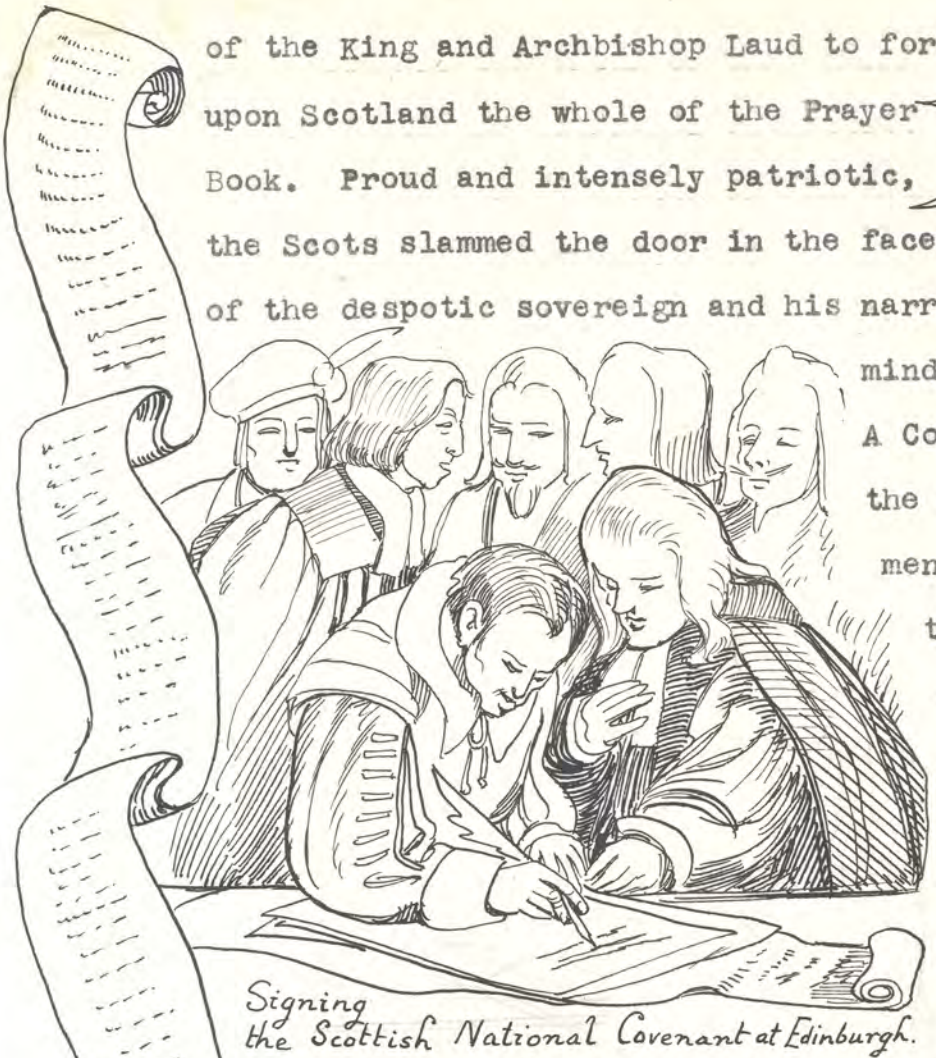
To all Englishmen---particularly to the serious-minded Puritans---whose tempers were now boiling over, the situation seemed intolerable. The King continued to take the Customs Duties at the ports, and to help himself to other fat revenues (about a million pounds---five million dollars) a year.



Archbishop Laud from the portrait by Van Dyck at Lambeth Palace.

This might have continued longer, if the weak and foolish Charles had not quarrelled about religion with his subjects in Scotland. He supported Archbishop Laud in a new movement to weed out the Puritan party in the Church, and to make every one conform to the services in the Prayer Book. The English Puritans growled at this. But the leaders of the Scottish church would have none of it. They rebelled against any attempt on the part

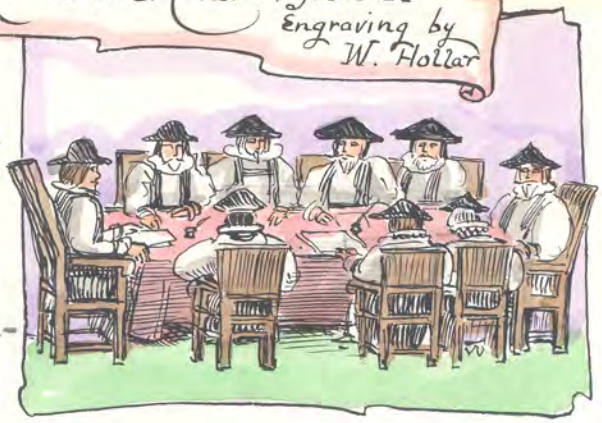
of the King and Archbishop Laud to force upon Scotland the whole of the Prayer Book. Proud and intensely patriotic, the Scots slammed the door in the faces of the despotic sovereign and his narrow-minded and bigoted archbishop. A Covenant was signed all over the country, binding all Scotsmen to maintain the Presbyterian Church. The Covenanters signed their names in blood! They boldly challenged the King to fight for his Prayer Book. Charles then marched north with a meager army to force the Lowland Scots to obedience. But he soon found a nation in arms awaiting the attack with a godly fervor! Lacking money and with his people heartily out of sympathy with his plans, Charles had to give way.



Signing the Scottish National Covenant at Edinburgh.

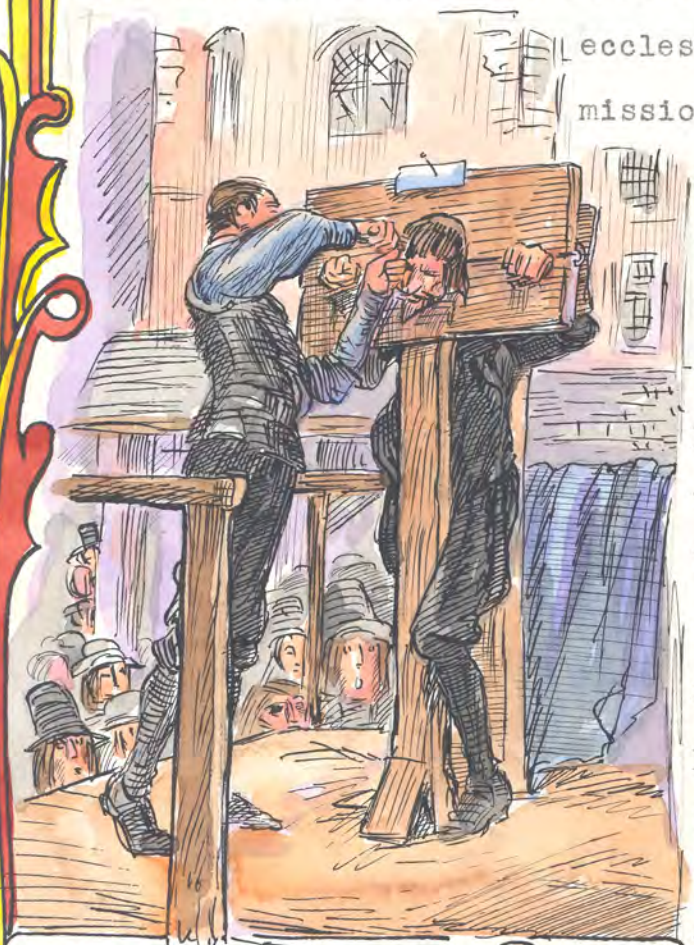
Because of his marriage to the Catholic Princess Henrietta Maria, Charles had long been suspected of "Popery". To the Puritans the religious policy of the King seemed only too clearly to lean toward "the

Queen Henrietta Maria



The High Commission - and Star Chamber Court, from an Engraving by W. Hollar

idolatrous practices of popery", as the extremists put it. The Puritan spirit grew apace under Archbishop Laud's doctrinal reforms. The prerogative courts---that of Star Chamber as well as the more strictly ecclesiastical Court of High Commission, tried and condemned persons to branding, the pillory, or even the brutal sawing off of their ears.



William Prynne in the Pillory. A typical scene of the Laudian punishments

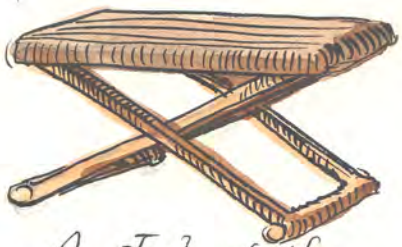
One of the sturdiest opponents of Laud's system was William Prynne, a learned barrister, who, in defiance of the archbishop, had poured forth book after book in protest. Prynne was sentenced in the Star Chamber to stand in the pillory, to lose his ears, and to imprisonment at the king's pleasure.

For the most part, the Puritans bided their time. Many, however, felt the situation to be less and less hopeful. As a result, thousands of the "discountenanced and persecuted" Puritans chose to abandon England for the New World where

they might enjoy what to them was "the free exercise of God's worship". This migration may help to account for the quiet that reigned in England during the eleven years when there was no parliamentary government in the land. The Great Migration to New England served as an escape valve for the more ardent and determined members of the Puritan group.

The Marquis of Hamilton

In the meantime, however, there was trouble and distress in both Scotland and Ireland. The Scottish Church, as we know, rejected the use of the Anglican Prayer Book, and riots followed Archbishop Laud's efforts to enforce the use of the new liturgy. In St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, stools were thrown at the dean. Also, the Covenenters signed their names in protest, and continued to sign under conditions of unusual gravity ---in the churches, on tombstones, and often with blood!---so that tremendous principles were at stake.



A stool of the X-type, taken to church in early 17th Century.

When the King disregarded these principles, there was threat of rebellion in Scotland. Charles sent the Marquis of Hamilton (an inefficient peer) to "wheedle the Scots, if it might be, out of the Covenant". The Scottish Church was ready to fight for its principles. War followed. And in the first round (the so-called First Bishop's war of 1639), the King obtained a truce to organize his inefficient

Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford

forces. In the second round, the King marched northwards, taking Wentworth (now Lord Strafford) to assist him in the campaign. But even Strafford could not infuse a particle of his spirit into the disaffected army. The Scots invaded England. At Newburn, they crossed the Tyne, driving before them an English force in headlong panic.

Wentworth was eyed with suspicion

Already, in Ireland, Strafford had made a host of enemies. He had gone there as Lord Deputy, to make the western isle an asset instead of a liability. His policy was crafty instead of wise. True enough, he worked wonders with his "thorough" administration, and carried out his purposes. His enemies accused him of being a turncoat, because he started out in politics (as Thomas Wentworth) as a member of the Petition-of-Right Parliament, and now (as Lord Strafford) was in the royal employ. Self-interest may have played an important part in his change of front, for he was imperious and forward. He ruled Ireland with an iron hand in the royal interests. When he failed to keep back the Scots, and realized that

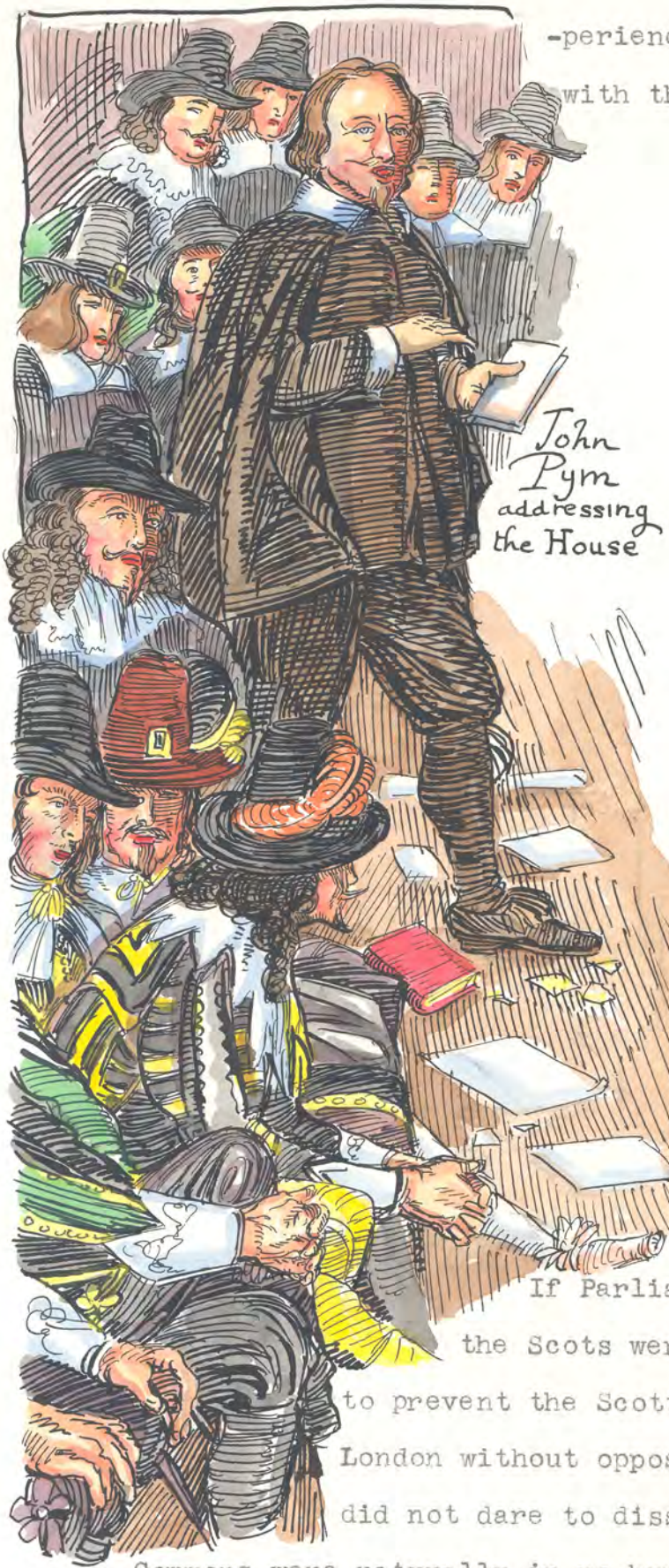
the invaders were determined to stay in Northumberland and in Durham until their petition for redress and the payment of their expenses(at the rate of £850 a day)till a permanent treaty could be agreed on,Strafford learned in no uncertain terms that Government by Prerogative had suffered a terrific defeat. The Scots insisted on the calling of another English Parliament.

It was under these circumstances that the Long Parliament came into being. After eleven years without parliaments,most of the members were new. But they had not to seek a leader ---he was already there: John Pym,whom all accepted as the successor to Sir John Eliot,the leader of the patriot party in the reign of James I.

It was John Pym who had stood with Eliot and other "evil-tempered spirits" in James's time,to protest that the liberties of Parliament are not the favors of the crown,but the birthright of Englishmen;and who for doing so were imprisoned without trial. It was Pym who had resolved,

as he said,to suffer for speaking the truth,rather than have the truth suffer for want of his speaking.

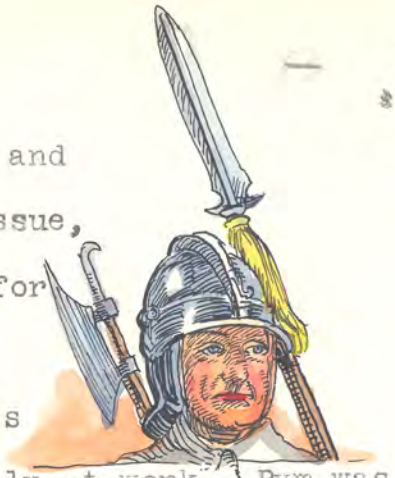
John Pym was a Somersetshire gentleman of good family. And it was from good families that most of the leaders of the great English Revolution sprang. Oxford was the place of Pym's education. After his marriage,for six years he lived in retirement in the country---a part of training as necessary as action to the depth of character and power of sustained thought which are the elements of greatness. At the end of the six years,his wife died,and John Pym "took no other wife but his country". When the Long Parliament met,he was the first to rise,a portly form,a lofty forehead,dressed as a gentleman of the time(for not to the cavaliers alone belonged that picturesque costume and those pointed beards),and into the expectant and wavering,though ardent,minds of the inex-



John Pym addressing the House

-perienced assembly, he poured, with the authority of a veteran chief, a speech which at once fixed their thoughts, and possessed them with their mission. It was a broad, complete, and earnest, though undeclamatory, statement of the abuses which the Long Parliament had come to reform.

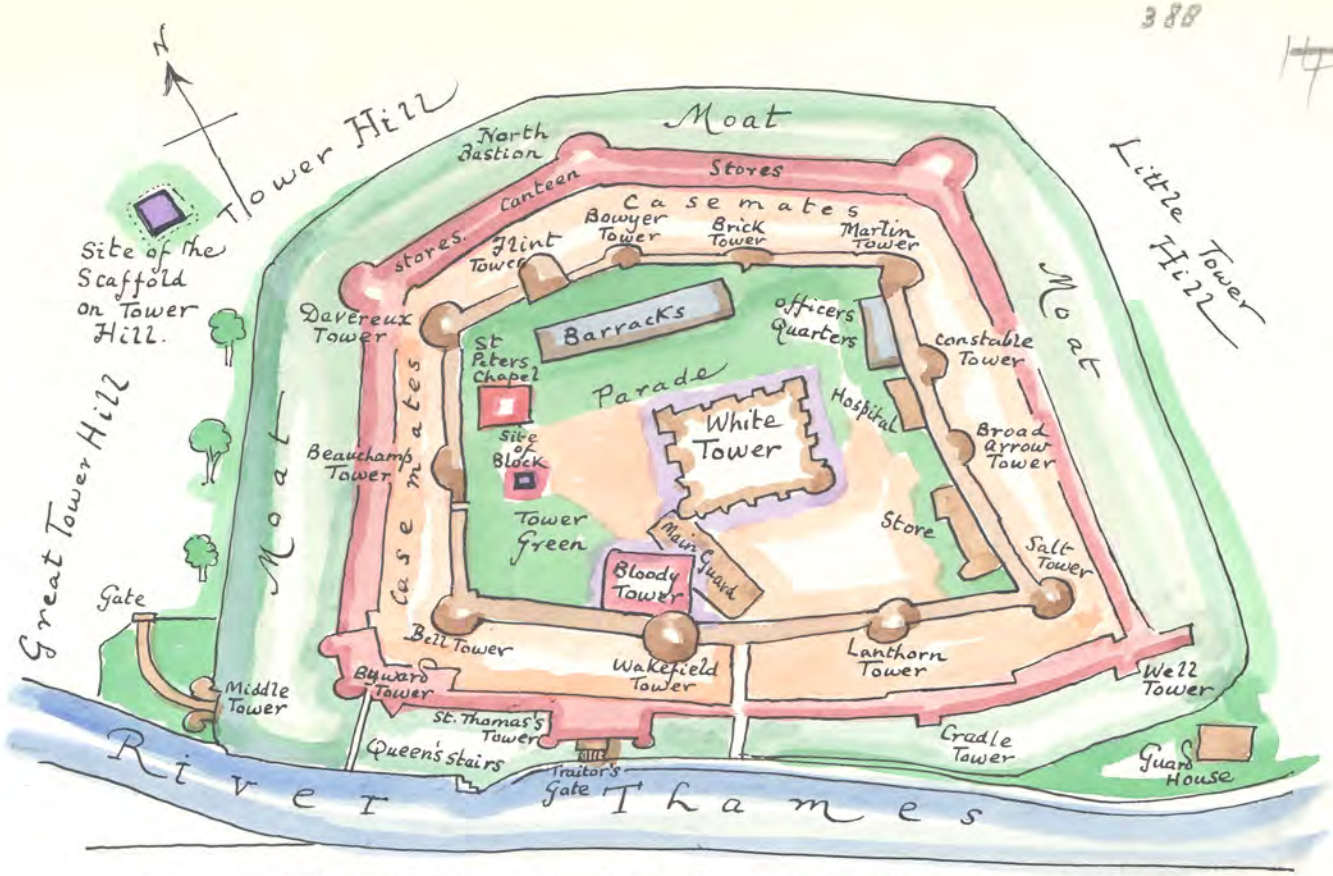
Charles had, in a moment of rashness, or madness, dissolved the Short Parliament, and imprisoned several of its members. He had published his reasons in a proclamation full of despotic doctrine. Would he do the same foolish thing with the new assembly? If Parliament were dissolved before the Scots were paid, there was nothing to prevent the Scottish army from marching to London without opposition. For once, Charles did not dare to dissolve Parliament, and the Commons were naturally in no hurry to provide for the



satisfaction of the Scots. John Pym and John Hampden, meanwhile, sure of the issue, prepared their party and the nation for the decisive struggle. Their headquarters were at Pym's house in Gray's Inn Lane. A private press was actively at work. Pym was not only the orator of his party, but its soul and center. He was the first great wielder of public opinion in England. Also the inventor of organized agitation by petition.

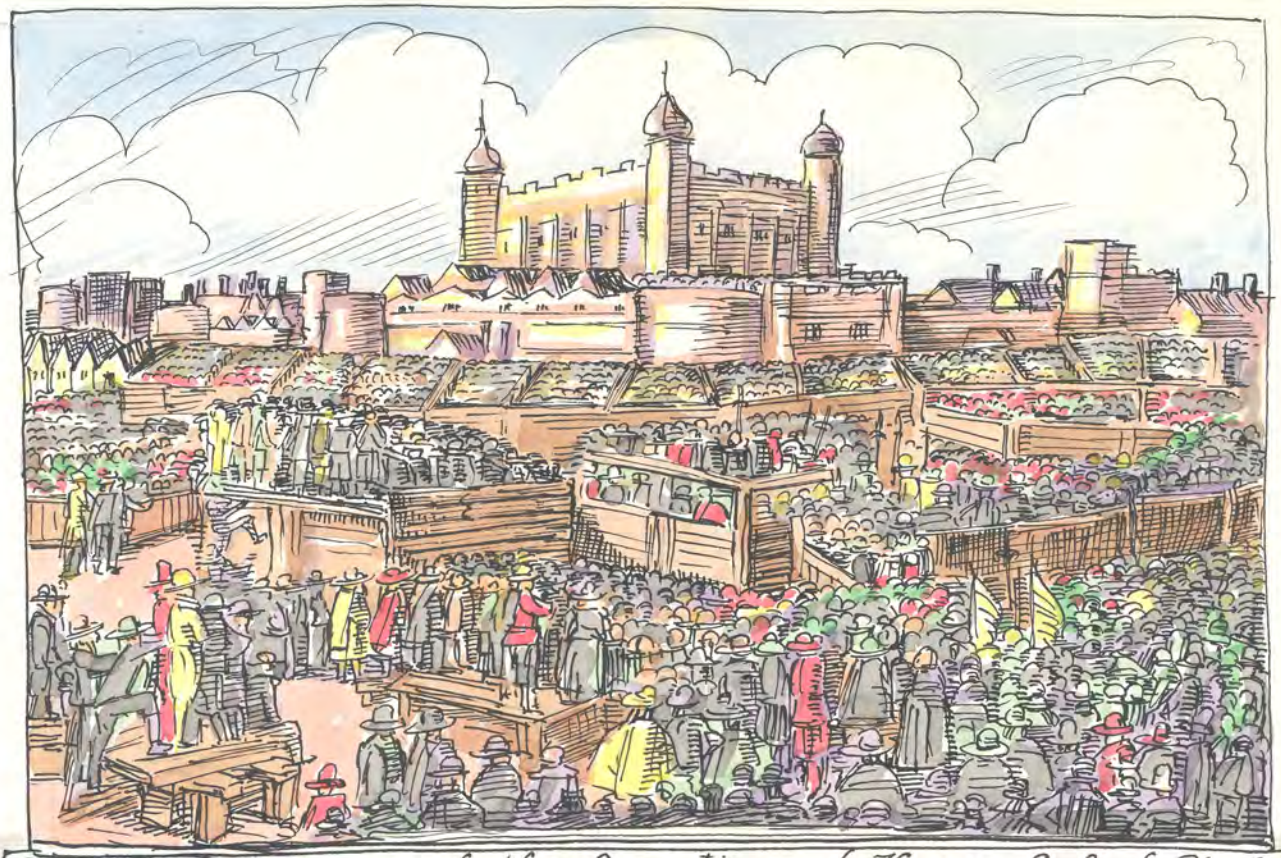
Pym and Hampden rode over the country, urging the constituencies to do their duty. The constituencies did their duty, as perhaps they had never done it before. They sent up the noblest body of men that ever sat in the councils of the nation. The Long Parliament met, not for reform, but for revolution. The King did not ride to it in state; he "slunk to it", says the historian Goldwin Smith, "in his private barge, like a vanquished and a doomed man.

Strafford attended the meeting of the Long Parliament. He



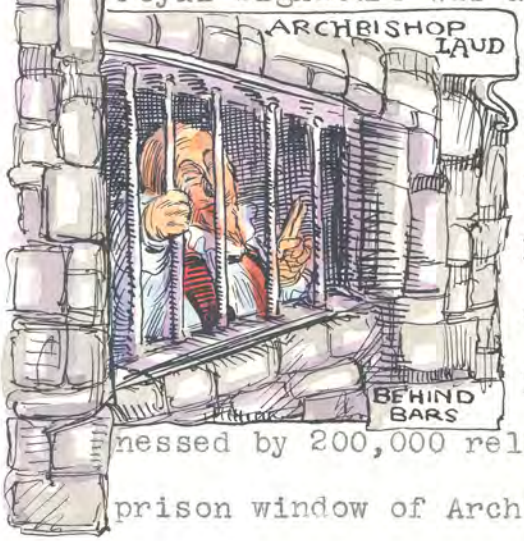
came---knowing full well that he was in danger---foiled, broken by disease, but still resolute and prepared to act on the aggressive, perhaps to arraign the leaders of the Commons for treasonable correspondence with the Scots. But Pym at once struck a blow which proved him a master of revolution.

Pym announced to the House that he had a weighty matter to impart. He moved that the doors be closed, and then made a speech that carried the House to unanimous action. He moved that Strafford be impeached. It was a bold move, but, as Clarendon says, "not one man was found to stop the torrent" with which Pym filled the thoughts of his hearers with a picture of the tyrannical rule of Strafford. Pym charged Strafford with treason against the people of England.



The True Manner of the Execution of Thomas, Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, upon Tower Hill, 12th of May 1641
NOTE THE CROWDS — FROM A CONTEMPORARY PRINT

The king had pledged his word that not a hair of Strafford's head should be harmed. But Charles was not able to help his favorite. (The king's palace was surrounded by a violent mob,and his majesty saw the handwriting on the wall!) The royal signature was affixed to the bill of attainder on the grounds of the safety of his kingdom, Strafford to be the scapegoat therefor. The faithful servant of the King,on hearing of the royal assent to his death,declared ,"Put not your faith in princes!" On his way to a death,witnessed by 200,000 relieved people,Strafford went past the prison window of Archbishop Laud,whose hands were raised in

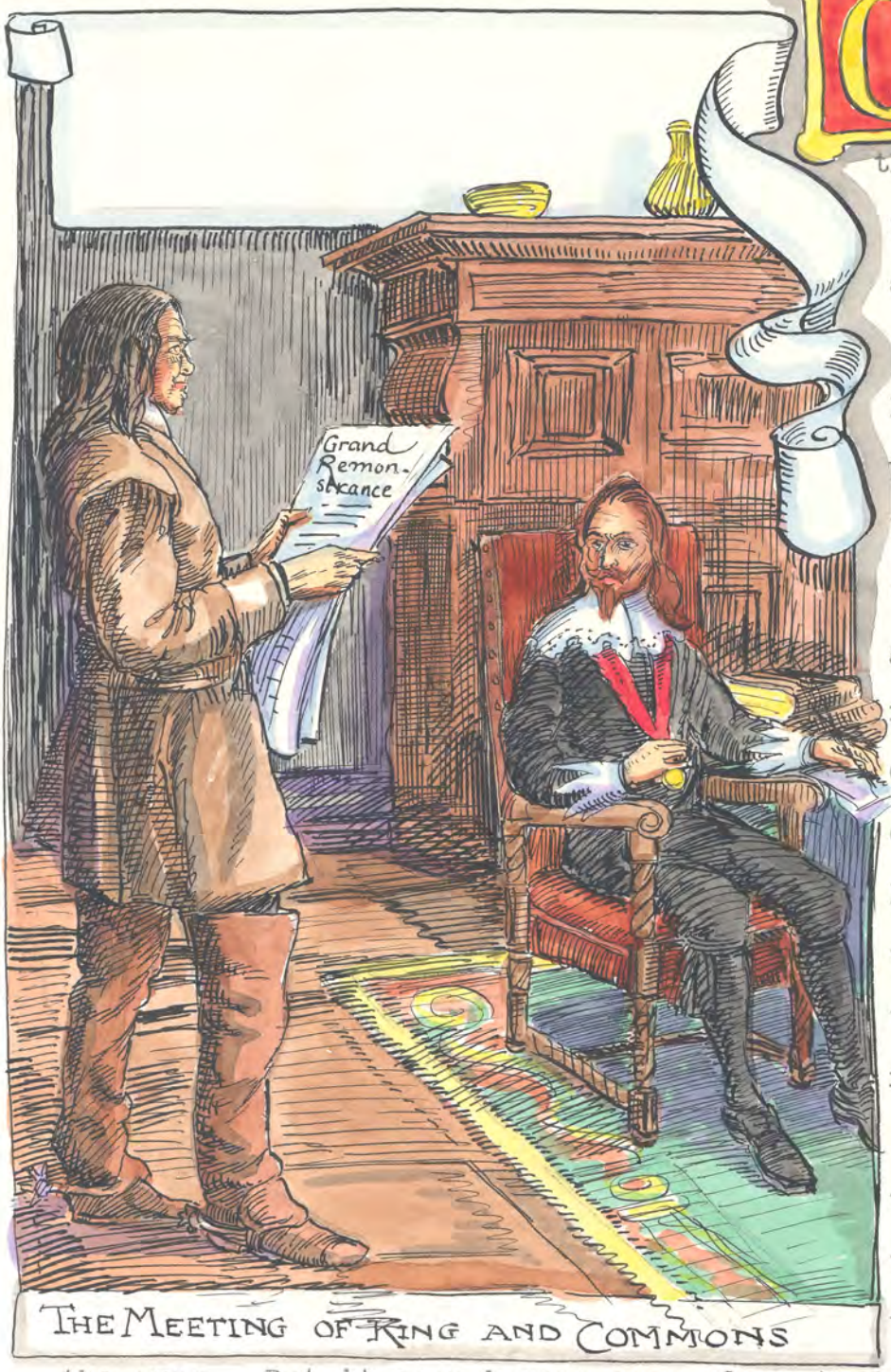


Westminster Hall — the scene of Strafford's trial, and of the King's Trial

silent benediction. The aged Archbishop followed Strafford to the block three years later.

Figure of Charles I in front of the Guild Hall Chapel — a petrified expression of the emotion of the Corporation of London.....

Along with the attack on Strafford and Laud went the legislative activity that was to assure the supremacy of Parliament. Monopolies and the fining of knights were condemned. The assumed right to levy ship-money was swept away. The hated prerogative courts were abolished. And the famous Triennial Act, requiring the summoning of Parliament at least once in three years, was passed. Henceforth, Parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent. These measures indicated the remaking of the Government of Britain into a carefully checked or limited monarchy. They were the spirited reply to the years of personal rule by Charles Stuart.



THE MEETING OF KING AND COMMONS

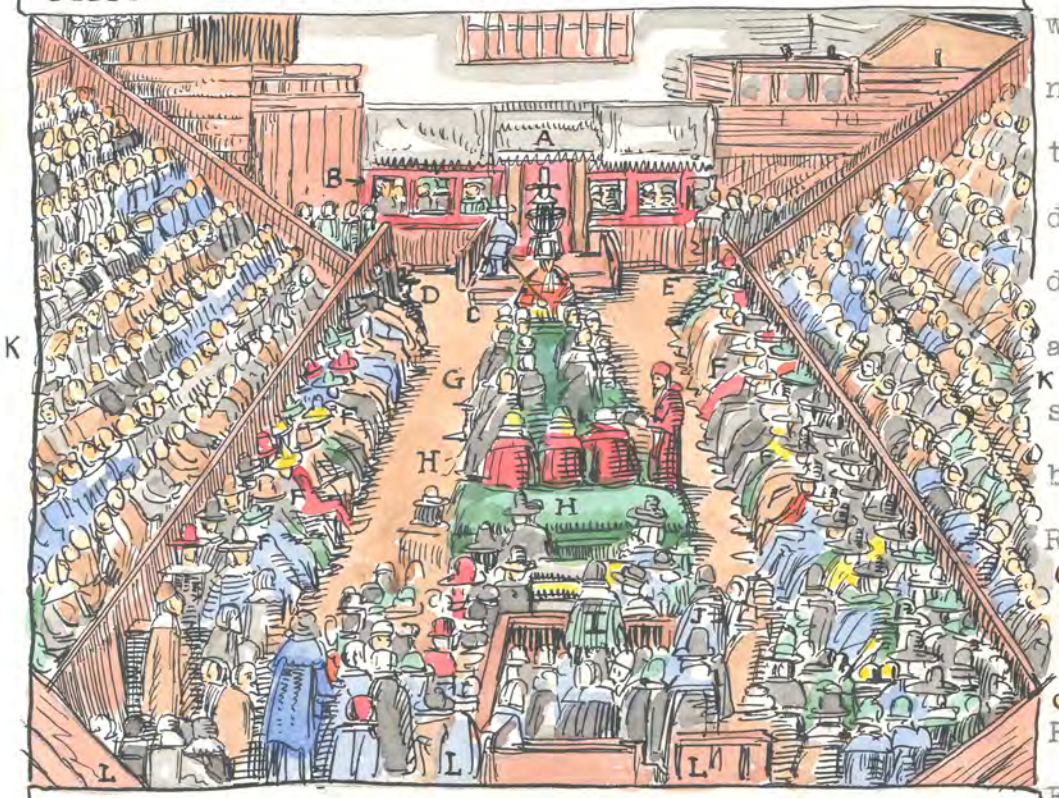
One of the complaints against the king was his lenity to Popish priests and plots. But in him, the persecutor of the Puritans, this lenity was not toleration, but connivance. Although the king had given assent to the reform measures, the Commons felt that he could not be trusted. In fact, they remembered the double answer of the King to the Petition of Right!

Charles now went to Scotland, ostensibly to settle matters there, and to disband the army. But, it soon became very clear that he was in Scotland to rally a party of sympathisers around him, and to provide himself with weapons against the Commons. While the King was away, the Commons prepared a great appeal to the Nation, which took the shape of the Grand Remonstrance, mainfestly drawn up by Pym.

William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons.

On the morning of November 23, I641, the Grand Remonstrance, which called on the nation to support its leaders in making the work good against evil counselors and reaction, ---the document lay engrossed upon the table of the House of Commons. (Not the present House of Commons, but the narrow, ill-lighted, dingy room in which for centuries some of the world's most important work was done. And never, perhaps, did that old room, never did any hall of debate, witness such an oratorical struggle as the debate on the Grand Remonstrance!

THE TRUE MANNER OF THE SITTING OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT UPON THE TRIAL OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.



A. The King
B. The Queen and her party
C. The Lord High Steward of England
D. The Lord Keeper
E. Lord Winchester
F. The Earls
G. The Chancery
H. Clerks
I. The Earl of Strafford
J. The Lieutenant of the Tower
K. Members of the Commons
L. Knights, Citizens, and others

The speakers were Pym, Hampden, Falkland, Hyde (Lord Clarendon), Denzil Hollis, Orlando Bridgman, Culpepper,

King Charles I demanding the arrest of the Five Members of the Commons.

Waller, Glyn, Maynard, others of name.

There was much discussion and stormy debate on the "Grand Remonstrance". Some stood firmly by the king. Others thought it was a wise plan, since the king had yielded several points, to bear with him and hope that nothing worse would come to pass. But the majority in the Commons felt that the king was not to be trusted.

Charles knew well who were the five leaders of this third group. He made up his mind to have them arrested. He appeared in the Commons and demanded their arrest---but the five had already withdrawn, and could not be found. When the king left the House amid the cries of "Privilege", he realized that he was in an atmosphere of violence. There were signs of division and of approaching strife throughout the city.

Thousands of men came from other cities into London, to protect their representatives in Parliament. Almost overnight, the ugly words "Rebellion", "Traitor", "Treason" were in common use in the streets. But the Grand Remonstrance was passed by a Parliamentary vote of 159 to 148. And wherever men congregated, the air was fully charged

with the electricity of fierce debate and animosities.

The king seemed cheered by these signs of strife and division. He gave ear to his queen (who, as we already know, was a French aristocrat, ignorant of the fact that in England the nation lay behind the Parliament), and was advised that the time had come to crush the ring-leaders and stamp out the opposition party. Moreover, Charles gave ear to Digby.

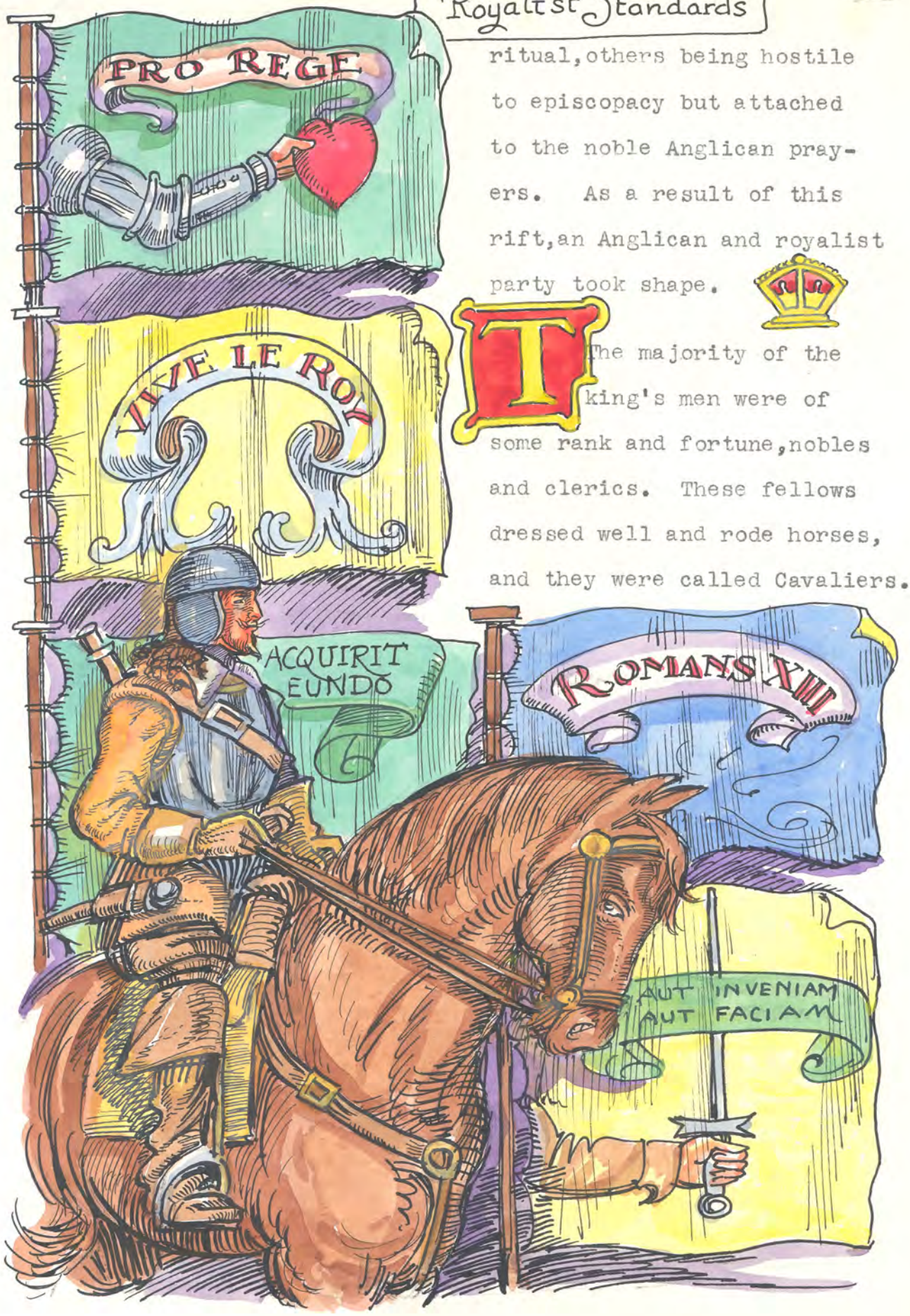

"The Pikeman stands ordered

During the eaight months that followed, the king made preparation to stamp out his enemies. He went to Nottingham and called upon all loyal subjects to rally to his standard.


The Pikeman stands sloapt & shooting

The time had come for Englishmen, one and all, to choose sides. But most of them would gladly not have chosen. Parliamentarians who were united in opposition against Charles were split on the religious issue, some wishing to abolish all

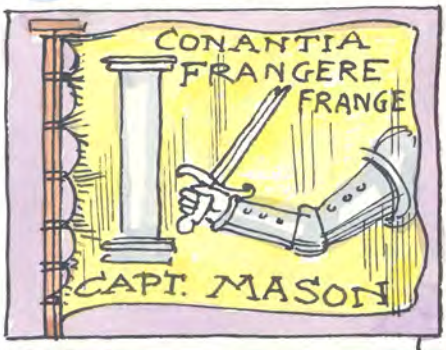
Royalist Standards



ritual, others being hostile to episcopacy but attached to the noble Anglican prayers. As a result of this rift, an Anglican and royalist party took shape.

The majority of the king's men were of some rank and fortune, nobles and clerics. These fellows dressed well and rode horses, and they were called Cavaliers.

The forces of the Parliamentarians were made up of several varieties of persons---extreme Puritans who wished the Church made over, without any bishops to boss the show; religious radicals who sought for freedom to worship on a congregational basis; just plain men of wealth and noble birth who desired constitutional government by parliament, and men who lived on small farms in the country, or who kept stores in the city, who believed in representative government. Most of these men had their hair cut short, so they were called "Roundheads."



Parliamentary Standards

Although there was much fighting in Ireland and in Scotland, it was chiefly in England that the interest of the conflict between King and Parliament centers. Therefore, it is of some importance that we look carefully at a map of England, and become familiar with some of the more important towns and counties

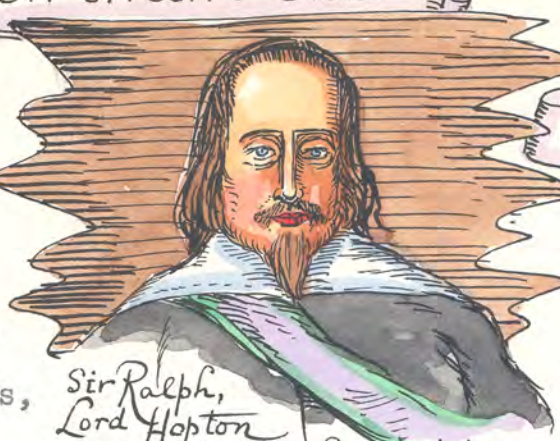
where the chief battles were fought.

During the years I642 and I649, the fighting was tragic and very bitter. On both sides, the old corselet and steel-cap, the old pike, the sword, and carbine were taken down from the wall where they had hung since the time of the Armada. The hunter and the farm-horse were trained to stand fire. Squadrons of yeomen, battalions of burghers were drilled by officers who had served under Gustavus, and French and Germen engineers organized the artillery. Uniforms

TWO OLD FRIENDS WHO FOUGHT ON OPPOSITE SIDES

FOR PARLIAMENT

FOR KING



Sir Ralph, Lord Hopton raised a troop in Somersetshire, but was driven into Cornwall, where he collected a small but well-disciplined army. He marched Eastward and defeated his friend Waller.

were made for the Newcastle White-coats, for Hampden's Green-coats, and Lord Saye's Blue-coats, and the City of London's Red Coats. Banners were embroidered with mottoes, loyal or patriotic. Friends who had taken opposite sides with sad hearts waved a last farewell across the widening gulf to each other.

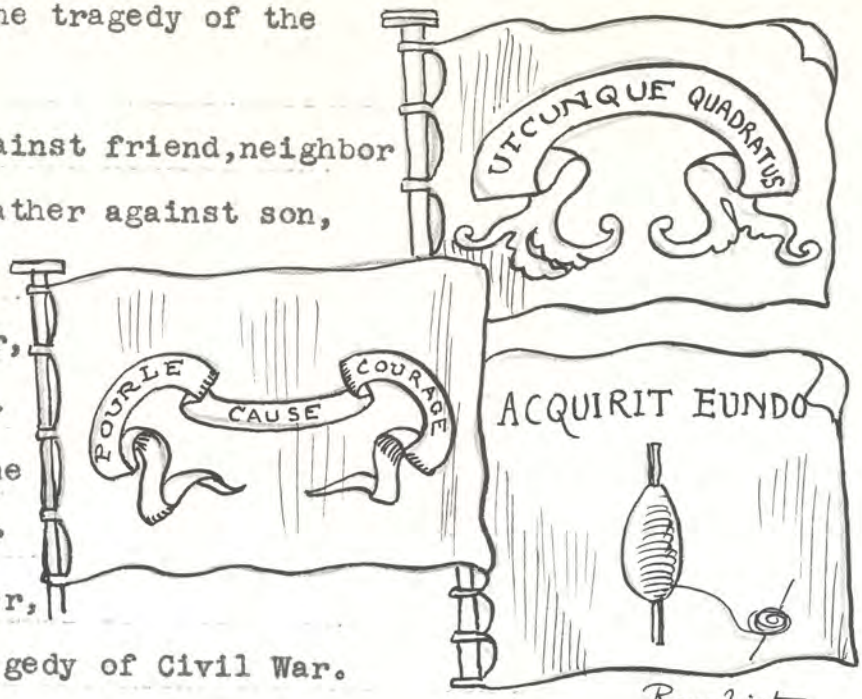
SIR WILLIAM WALLER

who was driven out of Landsdown in Wiltshire by the Royalist force under the Command of Sir Ralph Hopton. Waller eventually entered Sussex and drove Hopton out of Arundel Castle, later defeating the King's troops at Cheriton (Mar. 29, 1644)

Sir William Waller, the Parliamentarian General, wrote to his future antagonist, the royalist general, Sir Ralph Hopton: "My affections to you are so unchangeable, that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person; but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. The great God, who is the searcher of my heart, knows with what reluctance I go upon this service, and with what perfect hatred I look upon war without an enemy....We are both upon the stage, and we must act the parts that are assigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honor, and without personal animosities". In these words

we are able to sense the tragedy of the conflict.

Not only friend against friend, neighbor against neighbor, but father against son, son against father, brother against brother, women's hearts torn between the husband on the one side and the father and brother on the other, ---therein lies the tragedy of Civil War. Those who last Christmas met round the same board, before next Christmas are to meet in bloody battle!



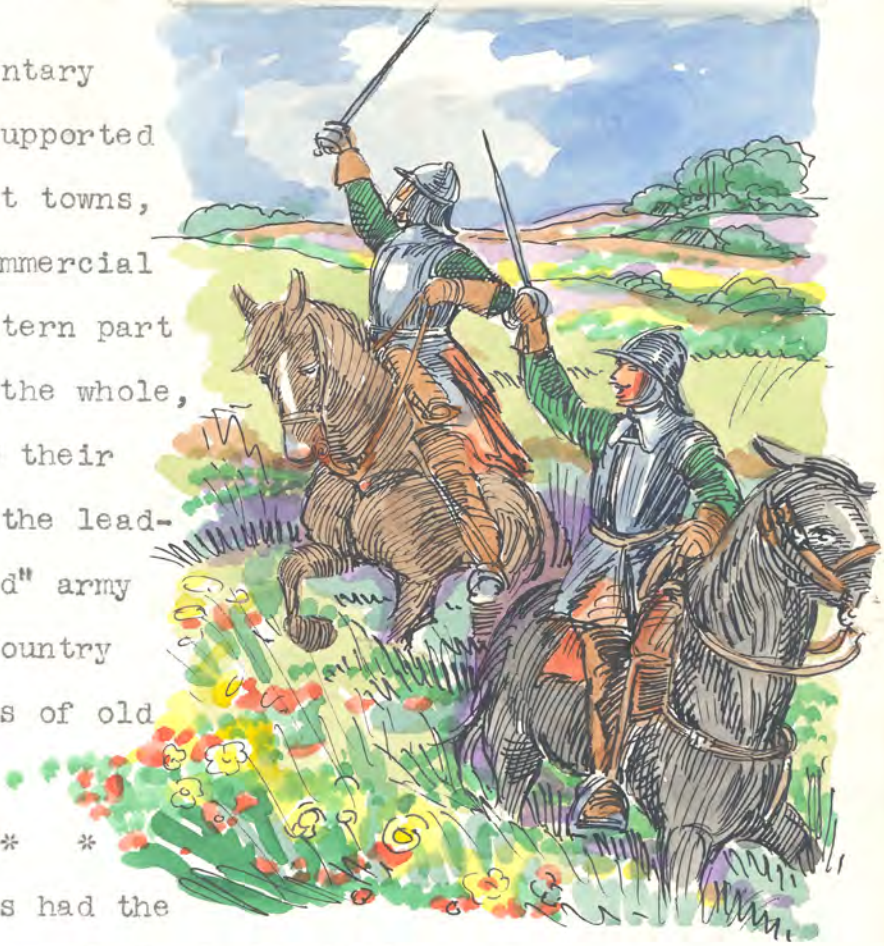
Royalist Standards

Sir Edmund Verney, the King's standard bearer for thirty years, expressed the conviction that this conflict was provoked by the High Church bishops and clergy. Many others shared his conviction that it was a "bellum Episcopale". "I have no reverence for the bishops," declared Sir Edmund, "for whom this quarrel subsists."

Of course, King Charles I had the episcopalean clergy and the cathedral towns and universities on his side. The Roman Catholics

also were with him. And Sir Edmund Verney's observation is not entirely off color.

The Parliamentary cause was supported by the great towns, the more advanced commercial districts of the eastern part of the country. On the whole, the farmers followed their landlords. Some of the leaders of the "Roundhead" army were great lawyers, country gentlemen, and members of old families.



* * * * * *

Above all, the Commons had the independent yeomanry of England, with high hearts and convictions of their own, to fill the ranks of the Parliamentary forces.

* * * * * *

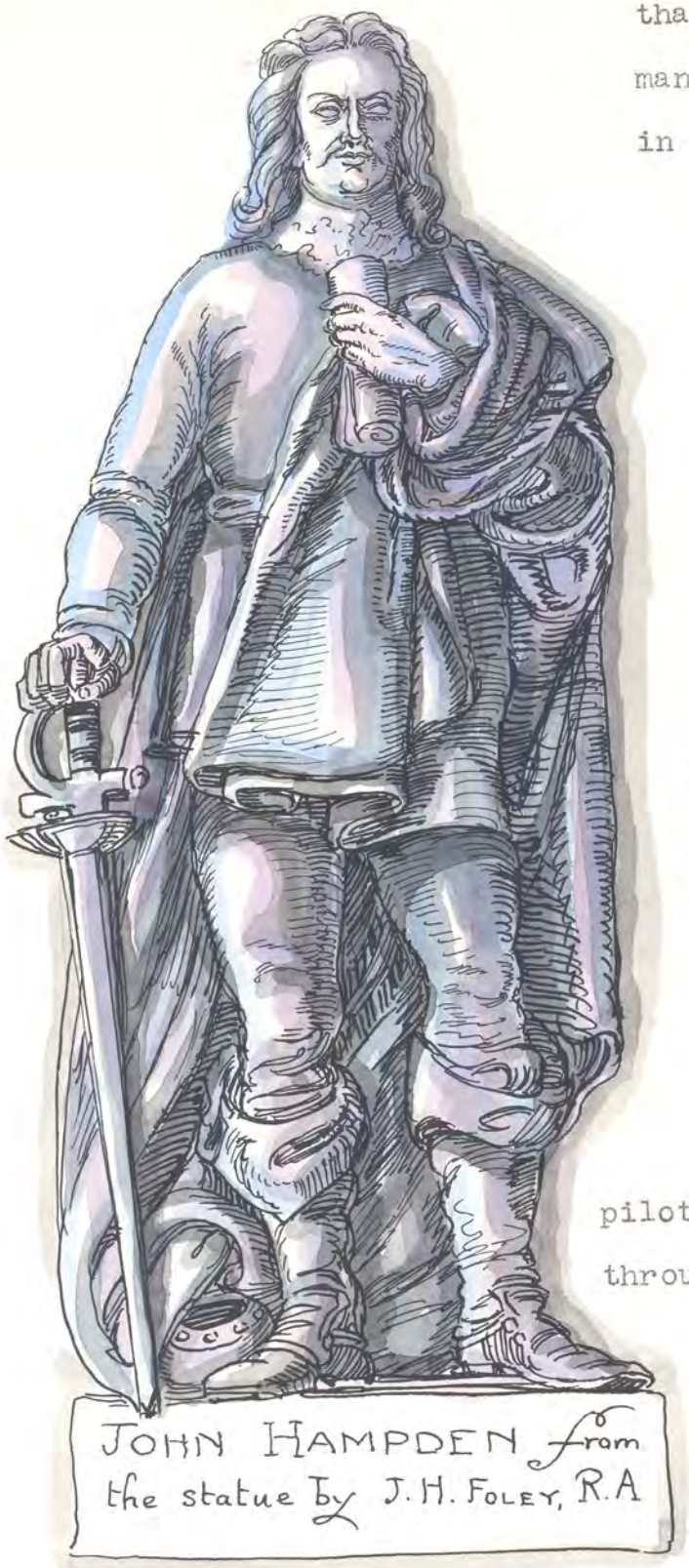
It should be stated at some point in this prelude to the Civil War, that it was not the intention of the leaders of the Long Parliament to change the constitution and to upset the throne. Rather, it was their hope to restore the "ancient constitution",

Hampden village consists of an irregular line of primitive cottages, straggling along one side of the small Common.

by which was meant the control of the King's power by the Parliament of the people. It was their intention to make Charles realize the fact.

Among the leaders who had no desire of overthrowing the monarchy, but wished to retain it within the boundaries of the constitution, was John Hampden. He wanted to see Charles working with Parliament, not against it. As we have already noted, it was not until the famous Ship Money Case that Hampden became a national figure. He opposed the prerogative government of a ruler who by-passed Parliament. This Buckinghamshire squire, who came of a family

Scenes around Hampden's Home



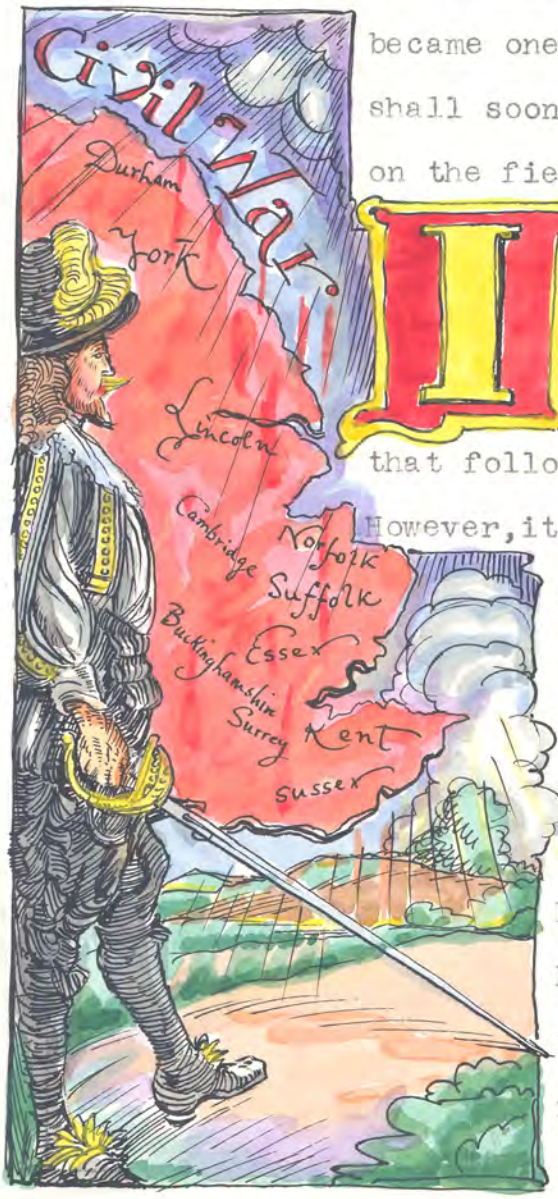
JOHN HAMPDEN from the statue by J. H. FOLEY, R.A

that went back to before the Norman Conquest and was very wealthy in land, rose to the occasion, and challenged the King. When the case was fought in the courts, only seven judges to five declared for the Crown---which was a great defeat for Charles. John Hampden leaped at once into the front rank of patriots. Says Clarendon: "He grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was that durst at his own charge support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country from being made a prey to the Court."

And, when the King was forced to call a parliament, "the eyes of all were fixed on him as their patriae pater, and the pilot that must steer their vessel through the tempests and rocks that threatened it..." Such was the character of Hampden, as drawn by his opponent Clarenden. If that was what opponents felt about him, you can imagine how he inspired his followers. The truth was that there was a bond of sympathy between constitutional Royalists and moderate Parliamentarians. If they had had their way, there would not have been a Civil War. But Charles could not be trusted. He let them both

down. He broke the law by attempting to arrest the five Parliamentary leaders---Hampden among them. After that, as Clarendon says of Hampden,"He was much altered,his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before". And then,in a famous passage, "Without question,when he first drew sword he threw away the scabbard". He raised a regiment of his own "green coats",which soon became one of the best in the army. We shall soon learn how he conducted himself on the field of battle.

Hampden & his Green Coats



It is not within my scope to follow in detail the military operations of the Civil War that followed all these preparations. However,it must be noted that the active participants in the campaign, in both camps,were the pick of the nation. The struggle was costly in life and limb,because the men who fought were brave. Each side extolled itself for having the virtues of a Christian army. Before an engagement, religious services were held by the commanders. Each camp re-

-proached the other for its sinful-ness. The Royalists were said(by the Roundheads)to have had the sins of mankind---the love of Wine,Women and Song. The Roundheads were charged (by the Cavaliers)with the sins of the Devil---spiritual pride and rebellious-ness. But the courage and faith of the contestants were outstanding.

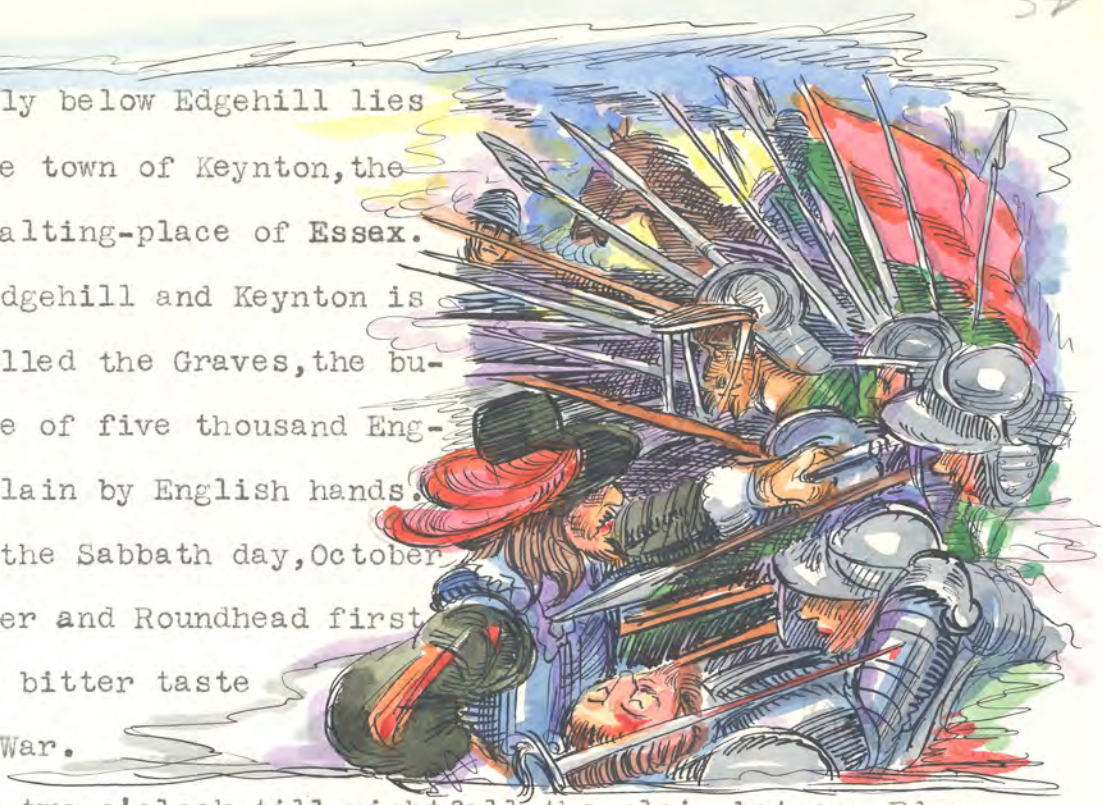
For many months,the military operations consisted of a series of confused marches,random skirmishes,and casual victories and defeats. Of generalship,of strategic system,of ingenuity in tactics, in the early stages there was little or none.

Toward the end of October, I642,the King moved southward on London. Essex,the commander of the Parliamentary forces, was waiting on his march,and a battle was at hand.

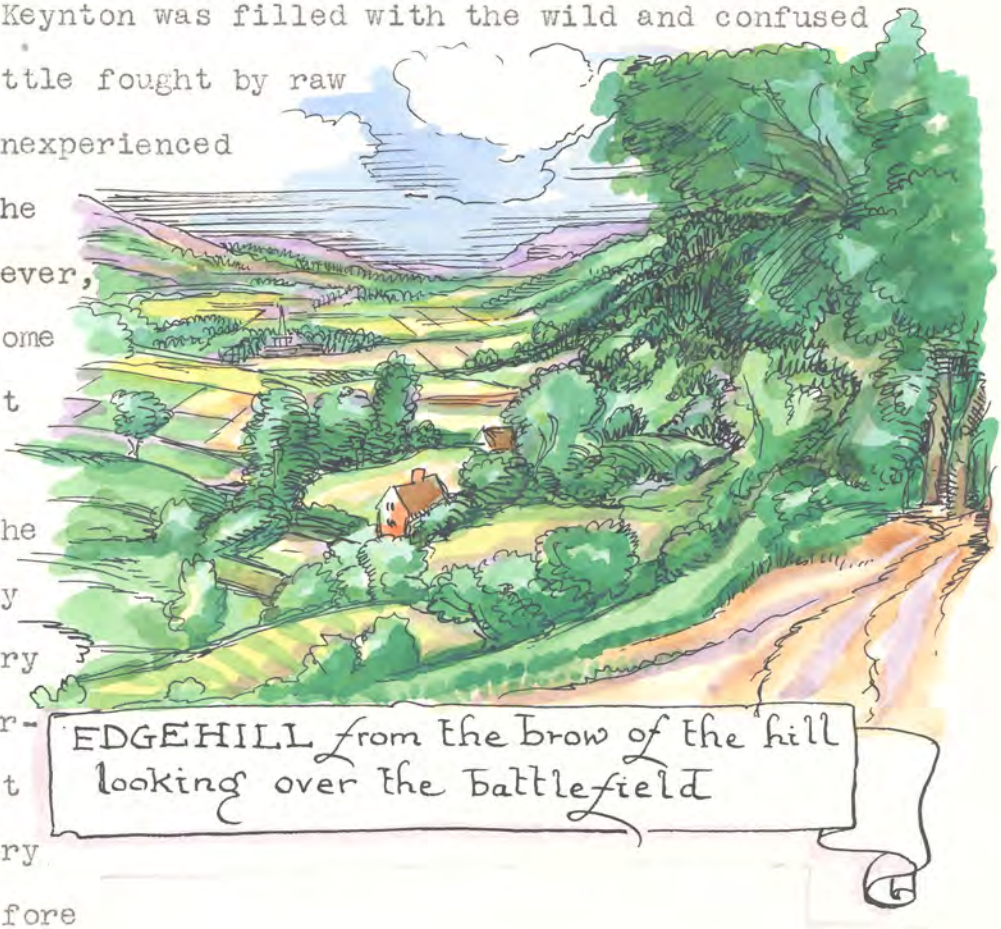
Accordingly,on October 24, news came,borne on the wings of fear,that the forces had met at Edgehill,the king's evening halting-place.

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary Army

Immediately below Edgehill lies the little town of Keynton, the evening halting-place of Essex. Between Edgehill and Keynton is a wood called the Graves, the burial place of five thousand Englishmen slain by English hands. There, on the Sabbath day, October 23, Cavalier and Roundhead first tried the bitter taste of Civil War.



From two o'clock till nightfall, the plain between Edgehill foot and Keynton was filled with the wild and confused eddies of a battle fought by raw troops under inexperienced commanders. The action was, however, a sort of epitome of the war. It began with the desertion to the enemy of a body of Parliamentary horse under Fortescue. Rupert with his cavalry carried all before him. He rode headlong off in pursuit----



EDGEHILL from the brow of the hill looking over the battlefield

---and returned with his wearied horsemen to find the Parliamentary infantry in possession of the field, and the King's person in great danger! The army of the Commons was enabled to hold its ground that night and the next day, and thus to gain the semblance of a victory---a semblance which, according to Goldwin Smith, the historian, "was the saving of the cause", ---by the zeal of the country people, who eagerly brought provisions, while the King's soldiers, when they went out to forage, were knocked upon the head!

However, the fruits of victory were on the side of the King's forces. The cautious Essex (a steady, honorable, sober-minded commander, without a spark of genius) retreated with the Commons army, Charles following closely at his heels. On the morning of November 12, 1642, the King was at Brentford. London was in imminent danger. May we pause a moment here, while London prepares for her defence, to comment (in poetry) on the

Prince Rupert & his Flying Squadron plundering a village.

experiences of the men who fought at Edgehill. Here are a few lines from Rudyard Kipling:

Naked and grey the Cotswolds stand
Beneath the autumn sun,
And the stubble fields on either hand
Where Stour and Avon run,
There is no change in the patient land
That has bred us every one.

She should have passed in cloud and fire
And saved us from this sin
Of war---red war---'twixt child and sire,
Household and kith and kin,
In the heart of a sleepy Midland shire,
With the harvest scarcely in.

Battlefield of Edgehill

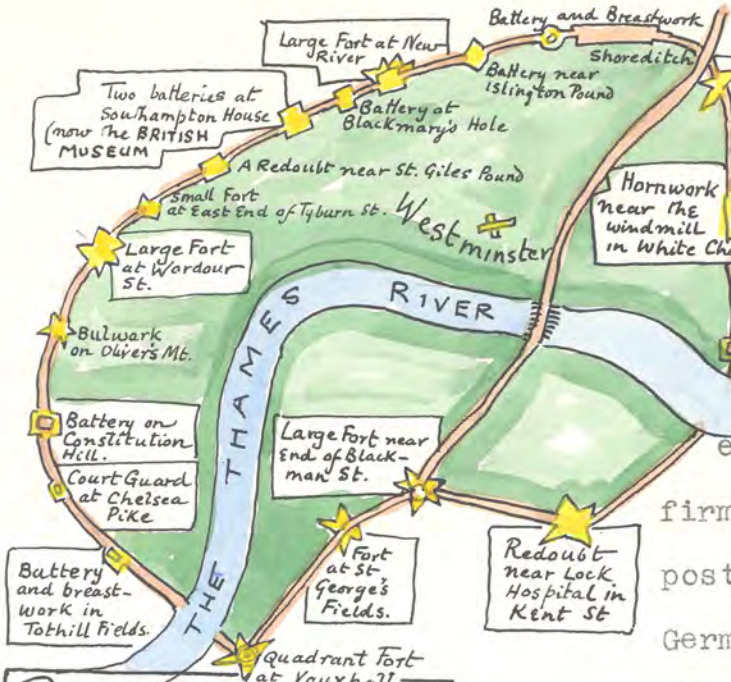
The Royalists were drawn up on the slopes of the hill, the King taking his position to the left of Radway Church, whose spire is seen above the tree-tops. The Parliamentarians occupied the lower land beneath ____

But there is no change as we meet at last
On the brow-head or the plain,
And the raw astonished ranks stand fast
To slay or to be slain,
By the men they knew in the kindly past
That shall never come again---

By the men they met at dance and chase,
In the tavern or the hall,
At the justice-bench and the market place,
At the cudgel-play or brawl,
Of their own blood and speech and race,
Comrades or neighbors all!

More bitter than death this day must prove
Whichever way it go,
For the brothers of the maids we love
Make ready to lay low
Their sisters' sweethearts, as we move
Against our dearest foe.

Thank Heaven! At last the trumpets peal
Before our strength gives way.
For King or for the Commonweal
No matter which they say,
The first dry rattle of new-drawn steel
Changes the world to-day!



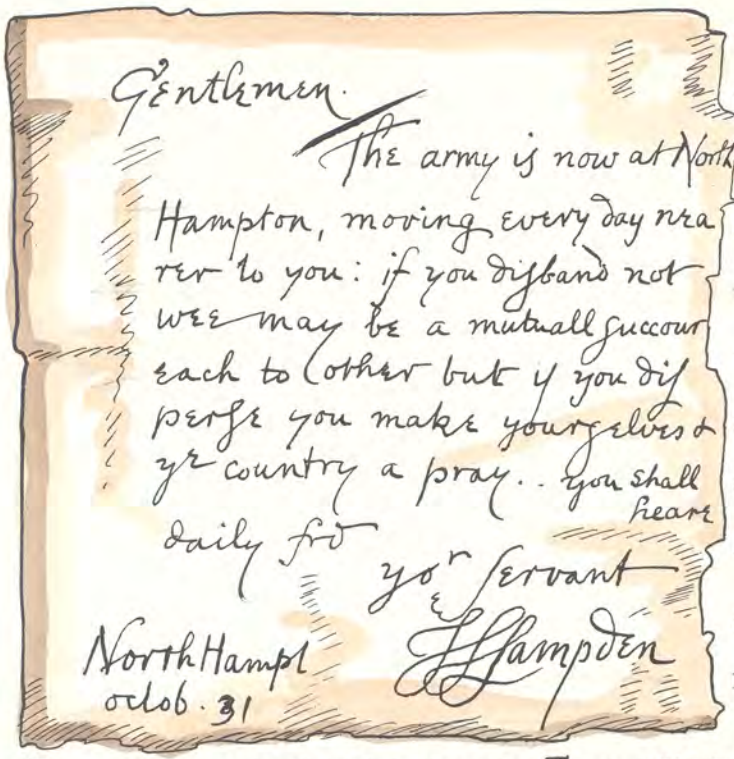
PLAN OF LONDON CITY and Suburbs, fortified in 1643

As the King's forces marched southward, London was in imminent danger. But the city was ready to defend herself. The trained bands turned out to a man and marched with firm step to their various defense posts. Skippon, a veteran from the German wars, took command. "Come, my brave boys," he shouted, as he rode amongst them, "Let's pray heartily and fight heartily!" All day long (November 13) the King's army stood outside the City, and at last Charles "blenched and ordered a retreat." He was never to have such another chance again. (The Londoners turned out in such force,

View of Oxford about 1615

and looked so grim, that Charles dared not fight his way in!) The King fell back on Oxford, and fixed his headquarters there. Essex moved on Oxford in June of next year (1643). Parliamentary troops were dispersed about Hampden's home country, near Thame (where Hampden grew up).

Suddenly,


Gentlemen.
The army is now at North Hampton, moving every day nrar rer to you: if you dysband not wee may be a mutuall succour each to other but if you dis perse you make yourselves & yr country a pray.. you shall heare daily fro
yor servant
J Hampden
North Hampt
octob. 31

LETTER WRITTEN AFTER EDGEHILL
By John Hampden to Colonel Bulstrode

"One of the prisoners taken in the action said that he was confident Mr. Hampden was hurt, for he saw him ride off the field before the action was done ... with his head hanging down, & resting his hands upon the neck of his horse." — CLARENDON'S History.

Prince Rupert shot out from Oxford in one of his swift cavalry raids. Hampden moved forward at once with his usual dash and intrepidity, and with what force he could collect, to cut off Rupert's retreat. On Chalgrove Field---that great level stretch ten miles out along the road from Oxford to the south-east, Rupert turned upon his pursuers.

And there, among the standing corn on a lovely June day, a great fight took place. Hampden's green coats fought Rupert's horse. Hampden put himself at the head of the attack. But in the very first charge he was shot, his shoulder broken. He was observed "to ride off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do, with his head hanging down and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse". They say that as he left the field, he looked up to the Buckinghamshire hills towards his home, and whither he would have gone

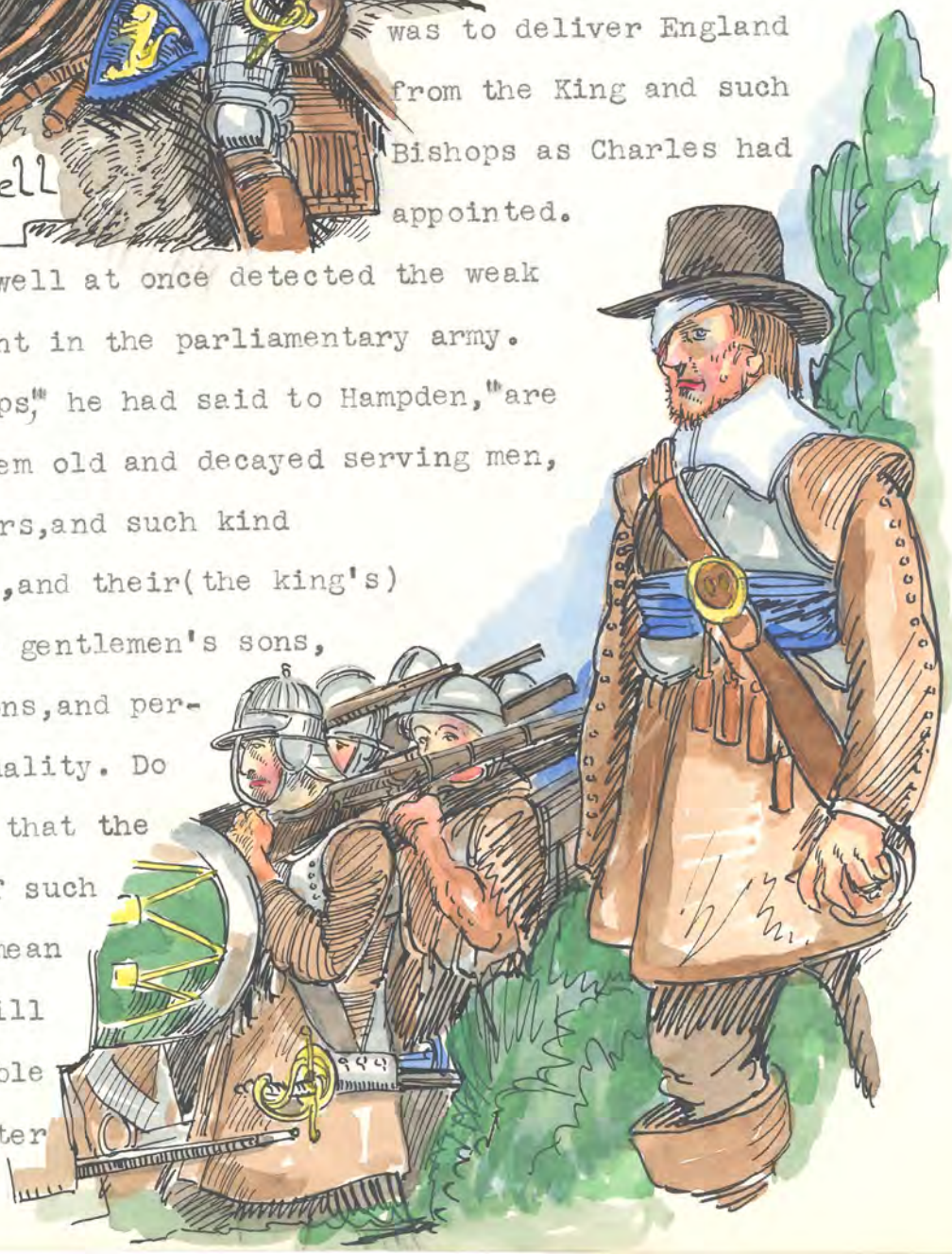
to die. But Prince Rupert's cavalry covered the plain between. So Hampden turned his horse and rode slowly back towards Thame. There he died several days later. Thus fell John Hampden, Pym's second self, and the second pillar of the cause, in a "petty skirmish on Chalgrove Field."

As yet, no genius had been displayed on the parliamentary side. But there was a man, the member for Cambridge, who was soon to supply the need. Oliver Cromwell had lived for many years in the strictest school of Puritan morality. To him the forms and ceremonies of the Church had come to be an abomination since the Laudian system had been enforced. He saw in them nothing but a human device set up as a wall of separation between him and heaven. To him God stood revealed in the Bible. His special character-

-istic was an intense love of justice to the poor and the oppressed. Into the work of the Long Parliament he threw himself heart and soul. All the iron force of his will was directed to the attainment of the one thing immediately needed, and he knew (what Falkland did not know) that that one thing was to deliver England from the King and such Bishops as Charles had appointed.

Oliver Cromwell

Cromwell at once detected the weak point in the parliamentary army. "Your troops," he had said to Hampden, "are most of them old and decayed serving men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows, and their (the king's) troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter



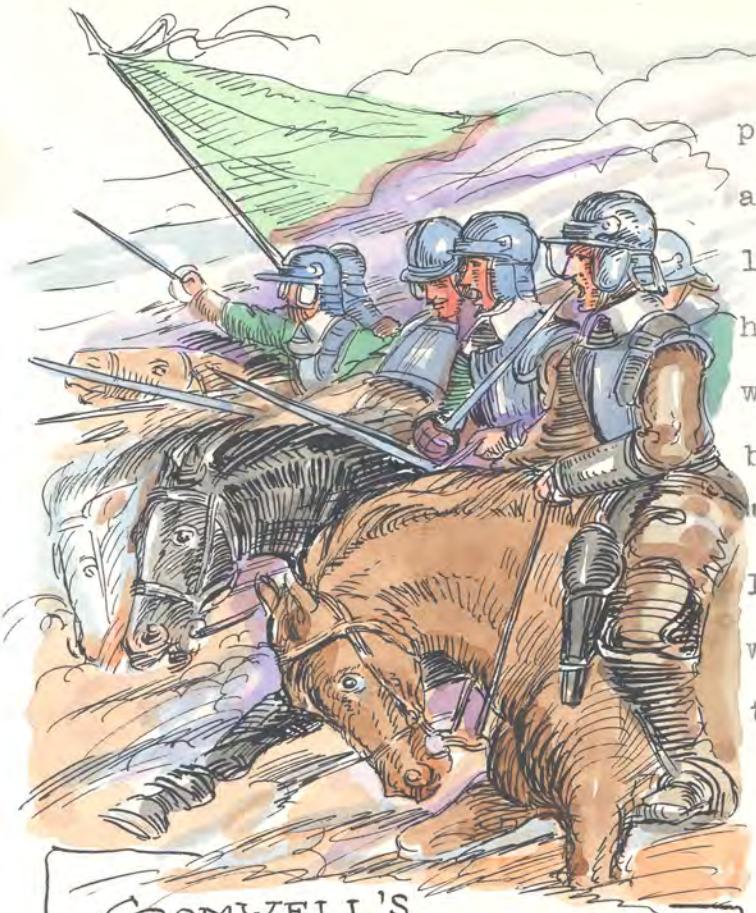
gentlemen that have honor and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit, and take it not ill what I say---I know you will not---of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go; or else you will be beaten still!" It is reported that Hampden shook his head, thought the notion good, but impracticable.

HOUSE AT MARSTON WHERE CROMWELL SLEPT THE NIGHT BEFORE THE BATTLE

However, undeterred by Hampden's doubts, Cromwell proceeded to put his idea into execution. First, as captain of a troop, then as colonel of a regiment, he refused to be served except by men whose heart was in the cause. But they must be men who were also ready to submit to discipline. He was soon master of the best soldiers in either army.

VIEW OF MARSTON MOOR FROM CROMWELL'S CAMP

At Marston Moor, in Yorkshire, he assumed leadership of the Parliamentary forces. Impassioned in his Puritan zeal, he led his troop of horse into the very thick of battle. The fourteen squadrons (in all about eleven hundred men) under his



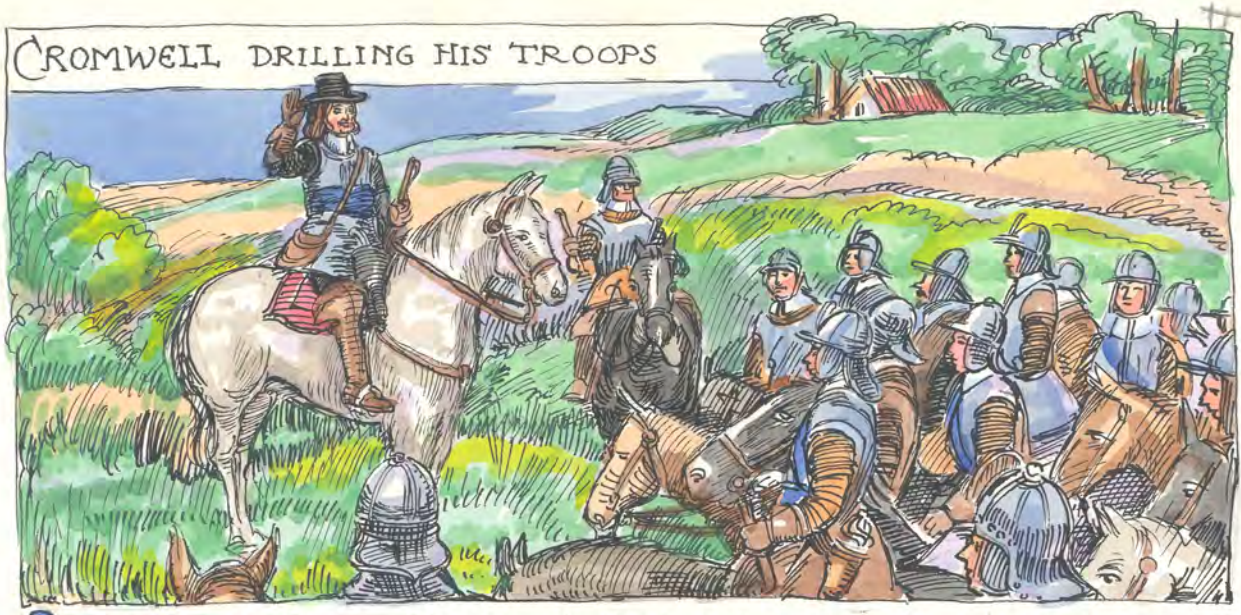
CROMWELL'S IRONSIDES

personal leadership,were men after his own heart---disciplined,united,and responsive to his will. Cromwell's Ironsides,they were called. They neither gambled nor caroused. "My troops," he wrote,"Increase. I have a lovely company. You would respect them did you know them."

The Model Army was placed in the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax,a fiery fighter,respected by all. When Fairfax marched to Oxford,King Charles had to flee! In I644,the King's best army was routed at Marston Moor,near York;and the real victor of that battle was Cromwell,whose "Ironsides" were by now the finest cavalry in the world.

Sir Thomas Fairfax

In the battle of Marston Moor, the Parliamentary forces were aided by the Scots who crossed the border under Alexander Leslie,Earl of Leven. Levin joined Fairfax in laying seige to the Marquis of Newcastle at York. At the head of I8,000 men,the fiery Prince Rupert hurried to Newcastle's aid,and the assailants were compelled to raise the seige. The Scots gave way before the charge of Rupert's



royal cavalry. It was at that point that Cromwell came in. "It had all the evidence," he wrote, "of an absolute victory, obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. God made them as stubble to our swords."


Oliver Cromwell

At Marston Moor King Charles lost the north.

Again Cromwell's "Ironsides" (the name of "Ironsides" was given by Prince Rupert) scored a memorable victory at Naseby, in Northamptonshire. Again Cromwell gave God credit for his success. After Naseby, the conquest of the country went on rapidly.


Lord Goring

Royalist garrisons were driven from many a well-defended post. Even Cornwall was won to the cause of Parliament. And in 1646 Oxford fell into the hands of the Roundheads, and the First Civil War came to a decisive end.

It is regrettable that John Pym, who was really the architect of the English Parliamentary Revolution, did not live to see the day of victory. As a practical man of business, he did not desire a revolution, but was impelled by circumstances and his own abilities to take the lead in negotiations with the King. There is no doubt that he sought to avoid civic strife; but he saw, with the statesman's faculty for grasping the essential issue, that the real problem was a government responsible King or to Parliament. When the King resolved to rule without Parliament, Pym realized that the Civil War was inevitable. He now came out openly as the organizer of the war party, undertaking all preparations--- diplomatic, financial and military; and, though stricken with cancer, carried through the negotiations to a succesful issue. Within a month of his death, he served as Master of Ordnance (Minister of Munitions), as Foreign Secretary, and Prime Minister. No wonder in these last years he became known as "King Pym". He died worn out with the burden of a colossal task.

John Pym — died in 1643.

The leader of the King's party in Parliament, the origin of the Tory Party

Lucius Cary
Viscount Falkland
who died in the same year as did Pym.

If Pym had lived, there is little doubt that he would have insisted on a civilian settlement of the issues of war---instead of the military dictatorship of Cromwell. Pym would have seen to that, for he was a civilian through and through. He had always aimed at Parliamentary govern-

-ment. Pym regarded Parliamentary government as the English form.

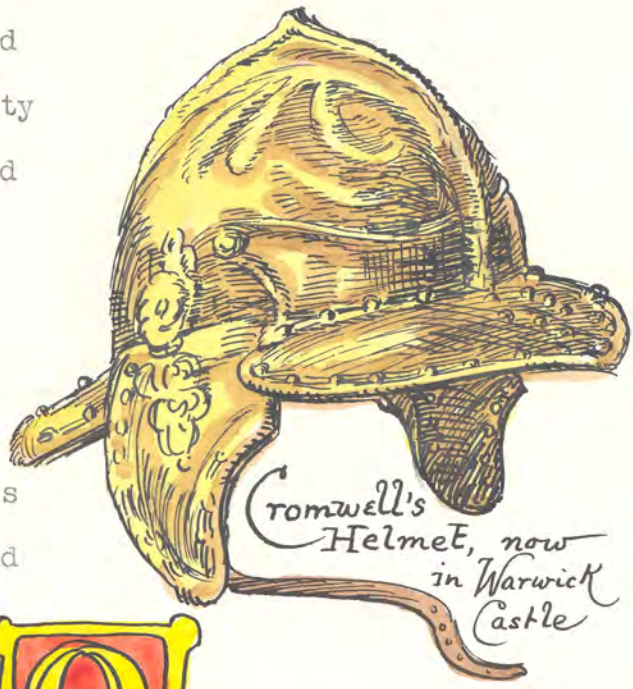
At the end of the first round of the civil war, Charles I ---puffed up with the thought that no party in the realm could do without him, determined to play off the mutual jealousies of the various groups, one against the other. He proceeded to dicker with the Scots. Then with the Parliament. Then with the Army. When the Parliament and the Army disagreed, the King attempted to make the most of it. He managed to escape from the clutches of the Army and find refuge in Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, and from the Isle wrote letters expressing his readiness to negotiate afresh. The Scottish Commissioners entered into a secret treaty with Charles. War between Scotland and England seemed imminent.

—Montrose rode across the Border to rouse the Highlanders in favor of the King. Later he was hanged as a rebel.

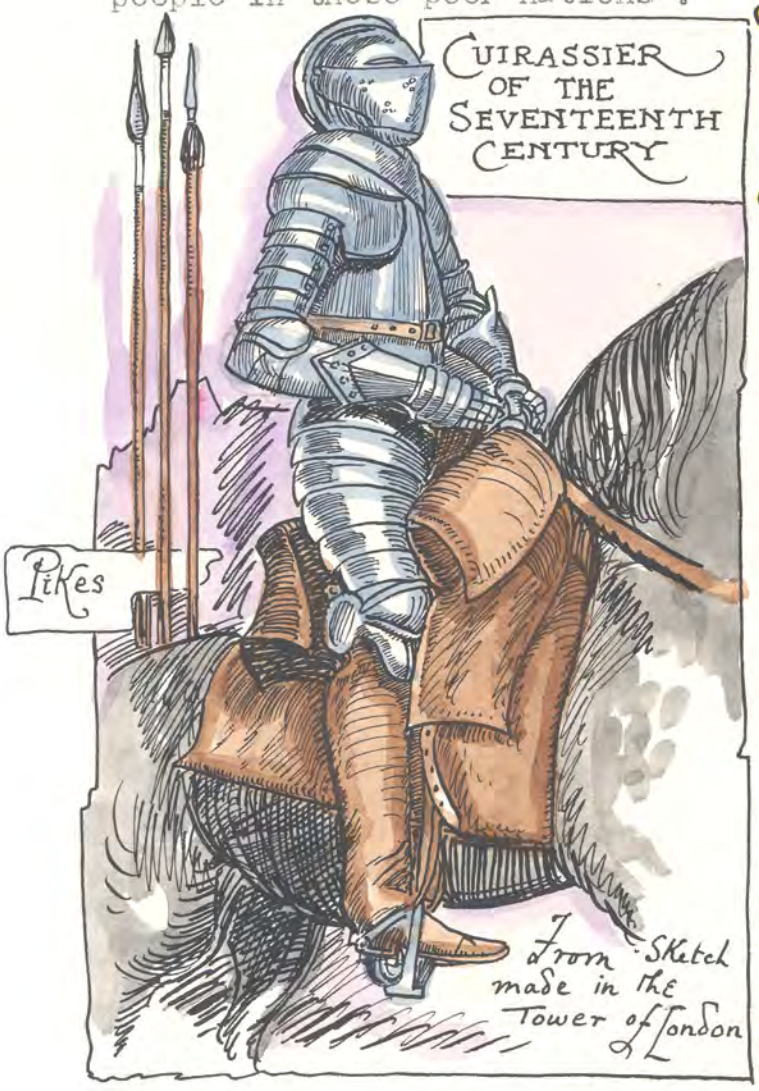
In April 1648, the Scottish army under the Duke of Hamilton was ordered to cross the border. So, at long last, Charles was about to realize the "darling wish of his heart". The armies were about to fight each other---and he would come into his own! A thrill of angry horror ran through the English ranks when they learned that the perfidy of Charles had delivered

England up to the Scottish Presbyterians!

The English soldier's mind supplied him with the answer. His first duty was to fight the enemy. His second duty, if ever the Lord brought him back in peace, was to "call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed and the mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations".



Cromwell's Helmet, now in Warwick Castle

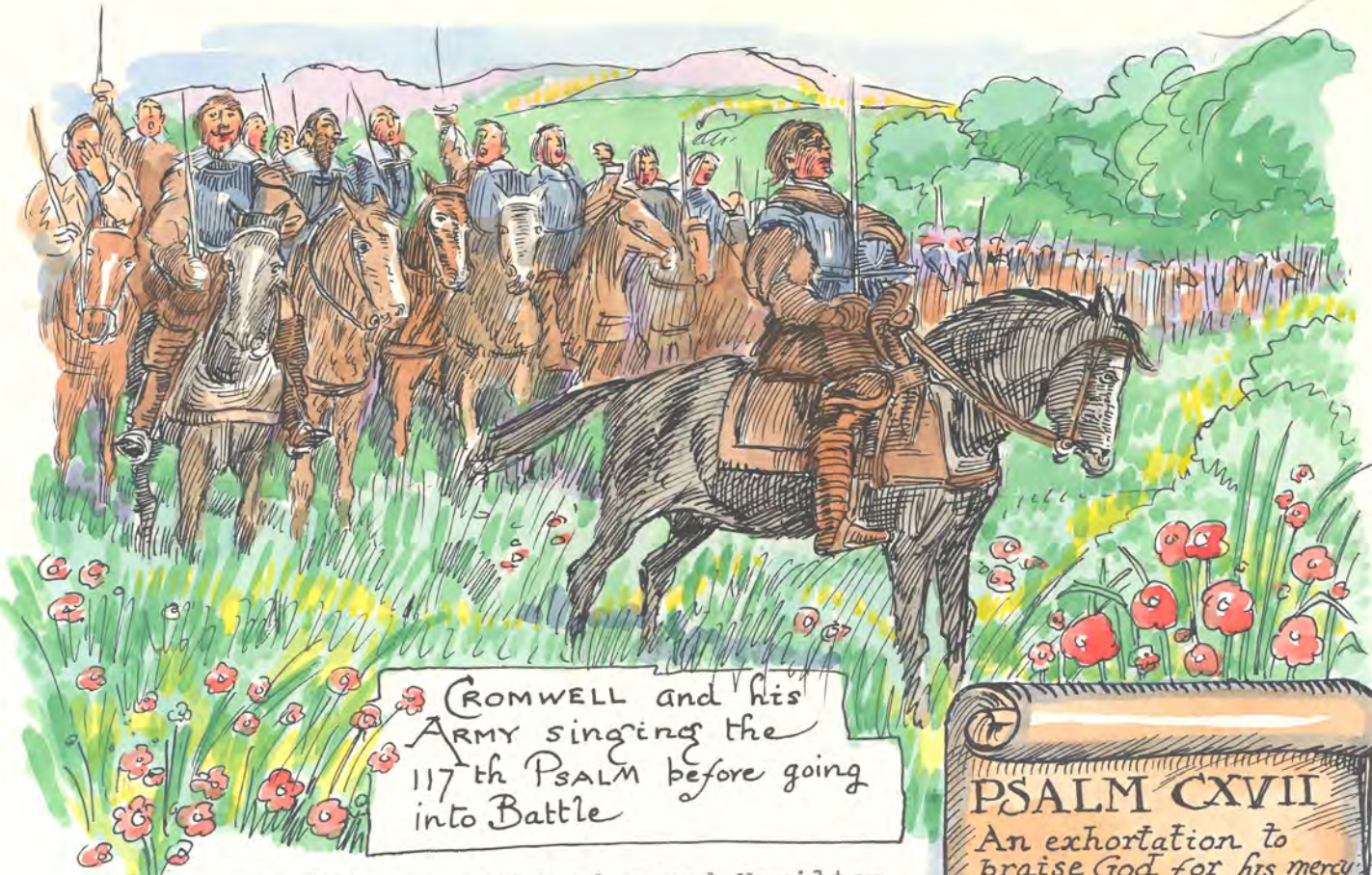


On every side Royalist insurrections blazed up in anticipation of the arrival of the Scots. Wales was the first to rise. Cornwall and Devon came next. Kent was soon in revolt.

Cromwell hurried down to Wales.

Fairfax suppressed the Kentish rising.

By the middle of July, Cromwell had suppressed the Welsh revolt, and was marching northwards, with 9,000 men. At Preston, he swept down upon



CROMWELL and his ARMY singing the 117th PSALM before going into Battle

PSALM CXVII

An exhortation to praise God for his mercy

O PRAISE the LORD all ye nations: praise him, all ye people.

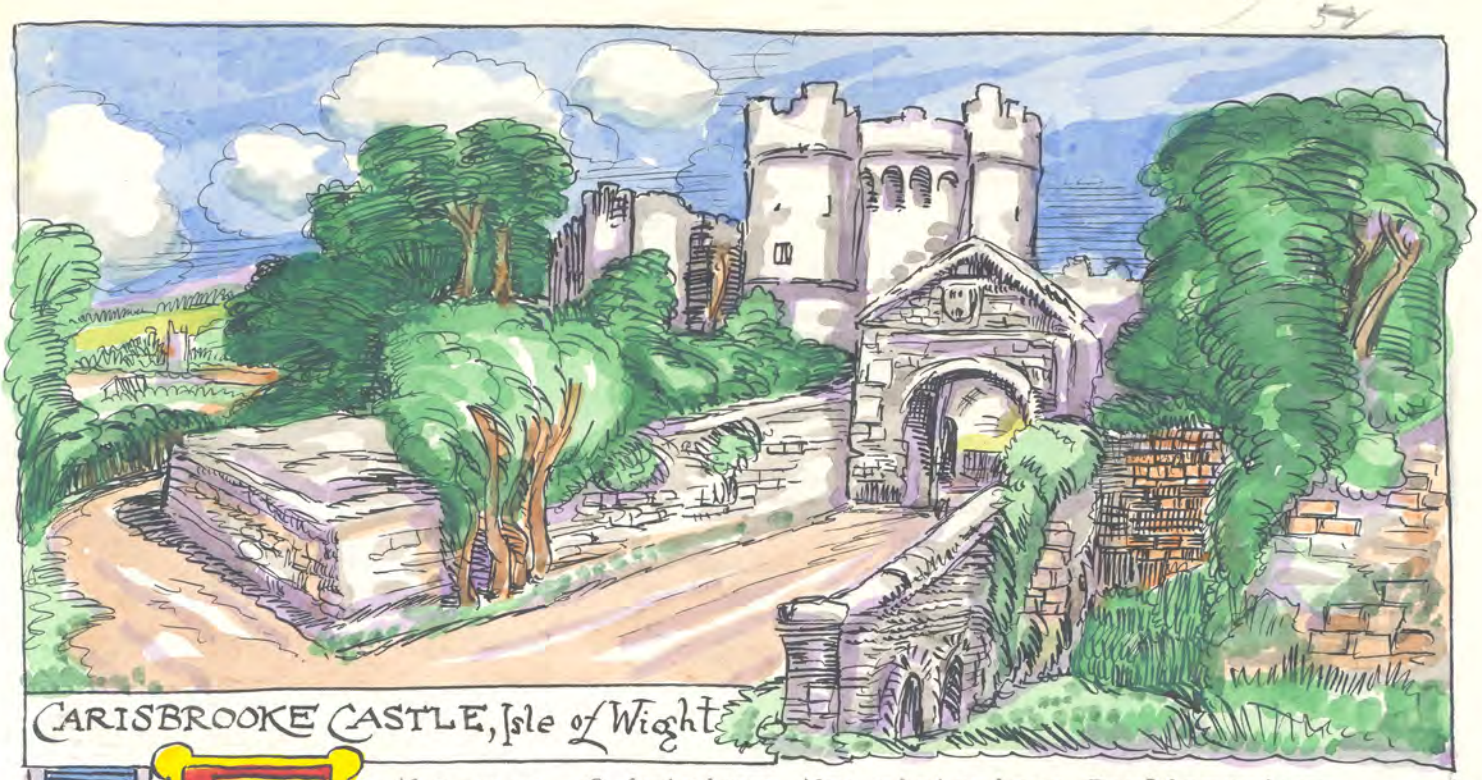
FOR his merciful kindness is great toward us:

AND the truth of the LORD endureth for ever.

Praise ye the LORD.

the 24,000 men gathered round Hamilton, and after a three days' battle Hamilton's army was "swept out of existence". On August 28, Colchester surrendered to Fairfax after a terrible siege. And the second Civil War came to a swift end.

But even the defeat of his Scottish allies wrung no submission from Charles. He had no mind to come to terms with the Parliamentary Presbyterians. His negotiations (called the Treaty of Newport) were all a sham. He had fresh hopes from Ireland, or from Holland; and he returned to his old game of arguing much and concluding nothing.



CARISBROOKE CASTLE, Isle of Wight

To the game of intrigue, the victorious Parliamentary army determined to put an end.

In a long statement, the English soldiers laid down the case of the English people. A King, they declared, was but the highest functionary of the state. If he deliberately abused his trust, he was liable to be called to account.

But it was evident that Charles could not be bound by any ties or pledges. He regarded the nation as something with which he could deal as he pleased. The Army Remonstrance, therefore, made it clear that the King should be brought to justice.

Closer View of Hurst Castle

St. James's Palace

Where Charles spent the night before his Execution

Having gained possession of the King's person, the Army made arrangements for the trial. Charles was safely lodged at Hurst Castle, a desolate spot at the end of a spit of land running out into the sea. Then

Hurst Castle, Hampshire, (now a fort). In these dreary quarters, Charles remained a fortnight

From here the King was led to the Scaffold at Whitehall

the leaders of the army set out to overcome whatever resistance there might be in the Parliamentary ranks. Colonel Pride was stationed at the door of the House of Commons, to turn back such members as were displeasing to the army leaders. In all ninety-six members were excluded. (This was called "Pride's Purge").

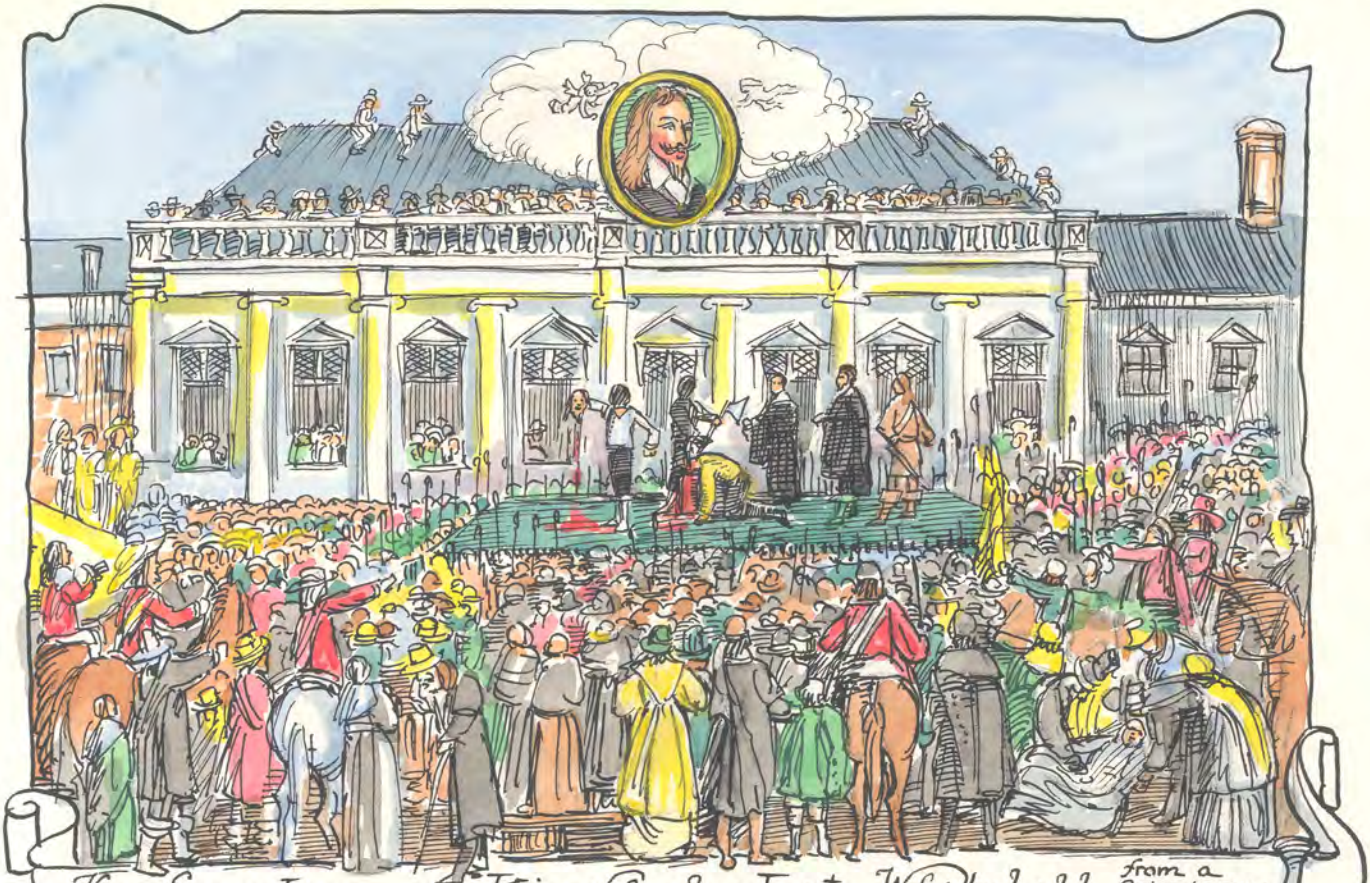
Pride's Purge
Colonel Pride commanded the guard stationed in the lobby of the House, and Lord Grey pointed out the members to be kept out.

Charles was brought to Windsor under a strong guard. On the first day of the new year 1649), a High Court of Justice was appointed by the Commons for the trial of the King.

The House of Lords refused to have any part in the act. On January 4, the Commons declared that the people of England were, under God, the source of all just power, and that the Commons, being chosen by the People, formed the supreme power in England, and had no need of the concurrence of King or the House of Lords.

The Lord President of the High Court of Justice that tried the King

Jo: Bradshawe



The Execution of King Charles I at Whitehall

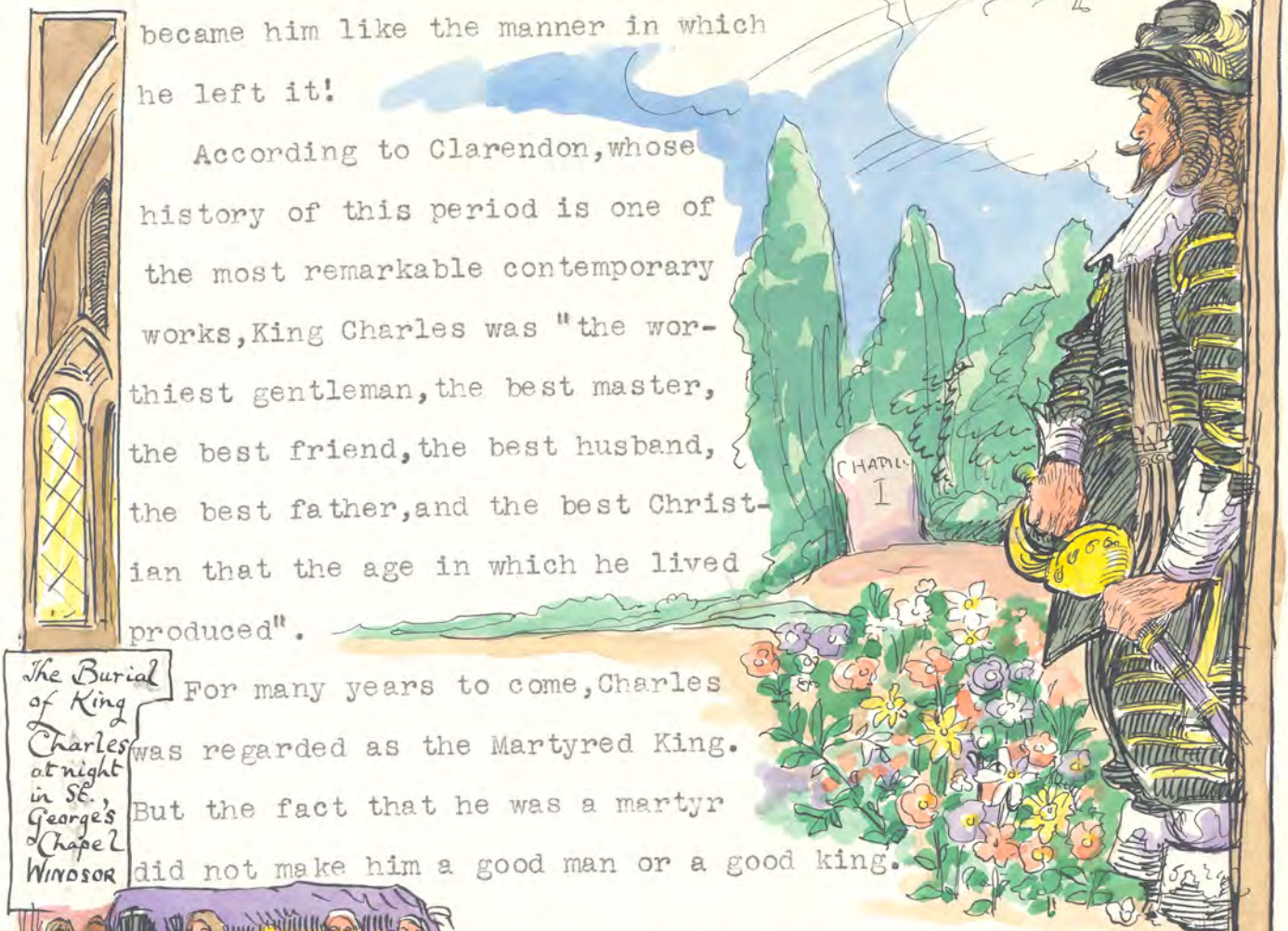
from a Contemporary Dutch Engraving

On January 19, Charles was brought to Whitehall. The next morning his trial was started. Of 135 members of the Court, only sixty-seven (Cromwell being one of them) were present. To the charge brought, the King replied by simply denying the authority of the Court. As he refused to plead, the trial was reduced to a mere formality. On January 27, the King of England was sentenced to death. On the 29th., the sentence was carried out. Charles stepped firmly on the scaffold, bent his head upon the block, and all was over. Nothing in his life

King Charles on the way to the Block

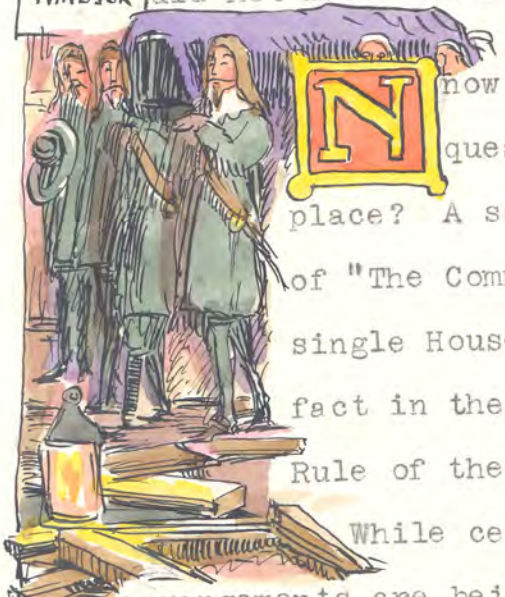
became him like the manner in which he left it!

According to Clarendon, whose history of this period is one of the most remarkable contemporary works, King Charles was "the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian that the age in which he lived produced".



The Burial of King Charles at night in St. George's Chapel Windsor

For many years to come, Charles was regarded as the Martyred King. But the fact that he was a martyr did not make him a good man or a good king.



Now that the King was no more, the tremendous question was, what had the Army to put in his place? A sort of Republic, which went under the name of "The Commonwealth", with a Council of State, and a single House of Parliament, was set up. The one real fact in the government was the Army, which meant the Rule of the Sword.

This Pocket-Pistol was owned by W. T. Stead

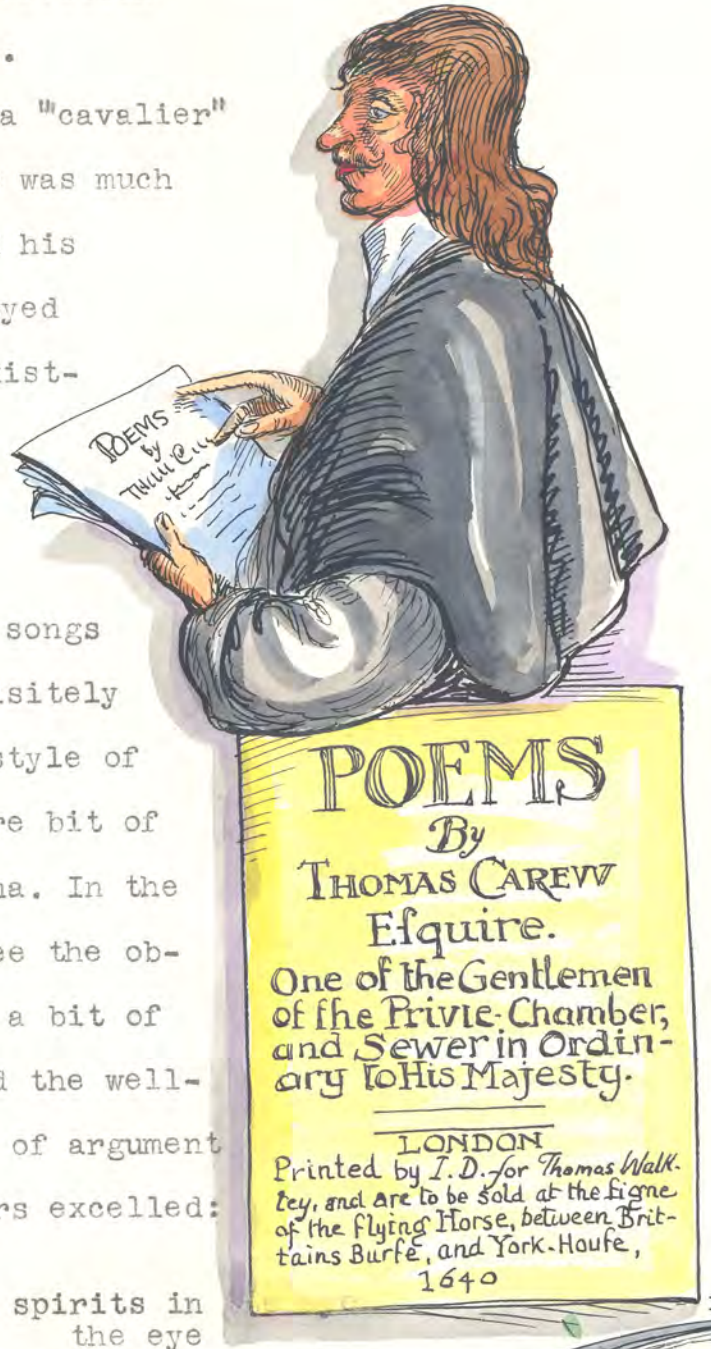
CROMWELL'S POCKET-PISTOL

While certain arrangements are being made for the new government, may we take a little time off to tell about some of the young Cavaliers who contributed a

few songs and poems,and,like Herrick and others,suffered as a result of their devotion to the Royalist cause.

Thomas Carew was a "cavalier" or "courtly" poet,who was much liked by the King and his fellow wits. He enjoyed an easy,idle,witty existence at Court,and died before the War got started.

It is said of his songs that they were "exquisitely finished",after the style of Ben Jonson,like a rare bit of old furniture or china. In the following lines we see the obvious simplicity,and a bit of ingenious imagery,and the well-balanced pro-and-con of argument in which the Cavaliers excelled:



If the quick spirits in the eye
Now languish,and anon must die;
If every sweet and every grace
Must fly from that forsaken face;
Then,Celia,let us reap our joys
Ere time such goodly fruits destroy.

Or,if that golden fleece must grow
For ever free from aged snow;
If those bright suns must know no shade,
Nor your fresh beauties ever fade;
Then,fear not,Celia,to bestow
What,still being gather'd,still must grow.
Thus,either Time his sickle brings
In vain,or else in vain his wings.

Another Cavalier singer was Richard Lovelace, a gay fellow. .A good example of of Lovelace's "cavalier style" is found in his famous "To Lucasta, Going to the Wars":

TELL me not, Sweet, I am unkind,
That from the nunnery
Of thy chaste breast and quiet mind
To war and arms I fly.

True, a new mistress now I chase,
The first foe in the field;
And with a stronger faith embrace
A sword, a horse, a shield.

Yet this inconstancy is such
As you too shall adore;
I could not love thee, Dear, so much,
Loved I not Honour more!

In 1642, Lovelace was imprisoned at Westminster for demanding that the King should be restored to his rights; and while there he wrote "To Althea from Prison", which contains the well-known stanzas:

STone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage.

If I have freedom in my love,
And in my soul am free,
Angels alone that soar above
Enjoy such liberty.

Another Cavalier poet, true to type and form, is swaggering Sir John Suckling, a knight's son, who brought his talents to Court by way of Cambridge and the law, and there "made a lively spot of color", gaming, soldiering and singing. He was famous for his saucy love-songs, such as "Why so

pale and wan,fond lover?" and "Out upon it, I have loved---Three whole days together".

Like Herrick and Lovelace and Suckling, another Royalist poet was a skilful craftsman in verse. Here is Waller at his cavalier best as a poet:

GO, lovely Rose!
Tell her, that wastes her time and me,
That now she knows,
When I resemble her to thee,
How sweet and fair she seems to be.

TELL her that's young
And shuns to have her graces spied,
That hadst thou sprung
In deserts, where no men abide,
Thou must have uncommended died.

SMALL is the worth
Of beauty from the light retired;
Bid her come forth,
Suffer herself to be desired,
And not blush so to be admired.

THEN die! that she
The common fate of all things rare
May read in thee:
How small a part of time they share
That are so wondrous sweet and fair!

These Cavalier lyricists are remembered for a very few poems which were the by-products of their gay and sometimes adventurous lives at Court and in their country places. Their subject, as we have observed, is courtly love, which they treat with lightness and grace. They were young Englishmen of wealth,

high social position and royal favor. They were well known for their personal charm, their wit, and their ability to ride well and read Greek poetry. As gallant soldiers and swordsmen, they distinguished themselves in the King's cause.

The Great Seal of Protector Cromwell, 1655-1658
From a Cast of the original in the British Museum

With the death of King Charles in 1649, England became in form what she had been in effect since the King's surrender in 1646---a Republic. At the end of 1649, the Long Parliament declared England to be a "Commonwealth and Free State" without any King or House of Lords. Scotland and Ireland were merged into this consolidated Commonwealth.

No government ever undertook its tasks with a clearer conception of the principles of popular sovereignty. But to translate these principles into

facts was difficult, and even impossible.

For the first time, England was the scene of an extensive attempt to break with the monarchical past. For the first time, the British Isles came under an organically united Government, quite different from the personal union of three states under one ruler. The period is of note as well because it furnished the Puritans with an opportunity to proscribe the Church that had persecuted them, and to experiment with a Bible Commonwealth. Considerable difficulties faced the innovators. Domestic opposition was reenforced by the Continental attitude toward the regicide revolutionaries.

The two nearest continental states---France and Holland---were by no means friendly to the English Commonwealth. In France, Cardinal Richelieu had just completed his work of making the nation a strongly centralized and absolutist monarchy; and Louis XIV was just about to begin a long, brilliant reign

under the direction of Cardinal Mazarin, thus paralleling the time in England when the Stuart despotism was being overthrown with the most brilliant days of Bourbon absolutism. France was naturally a congenial refuge for the defeated followers of the defunct English King.

CARDINAL MAZARIN

The Dutch government was also sympathetic with the Royalist cause. Charles's son---already recognized as Charles II---was a refugee in Holland.

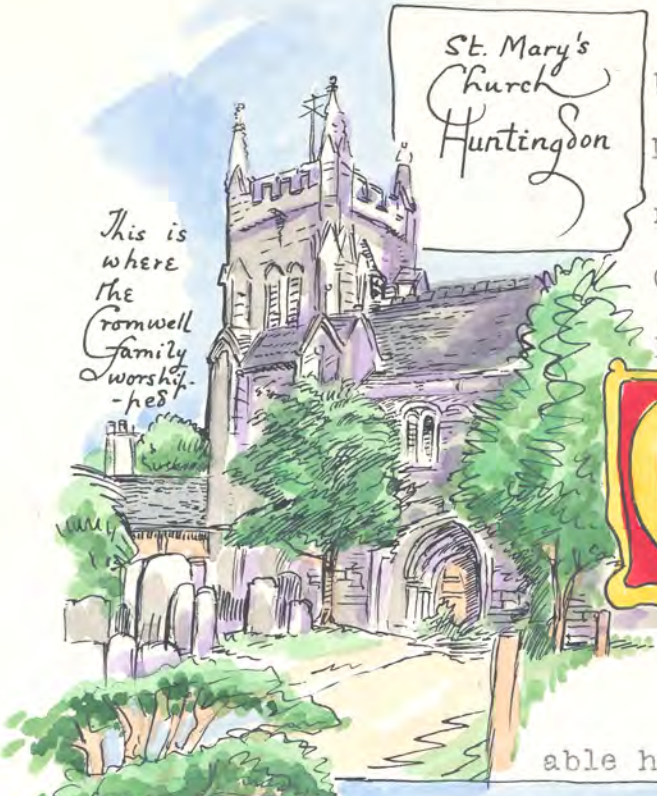
From the Bust in the National Gallery, modelled from life by Ed. Pierce Jr.

"The People are, under God, the Original of all just Power; and the Commons in England have the Supreme Power in the Nation."

Nevertheless, the men in power in England boldly set about their precarious task of establishing the English Commonwealth.

As General of the Commonwealth, Cromwell undertook the conquest of the enemies of the government. He was called upon to conquer Ireland. Then he proceeded to the conquest of Scotland. The "crowning mercy" of Worcester put supreme power within his grasp. After a pause, he made himself Protector.

Of Cromwell's genius there is little question. Clarendon himself could not be blind to the fact that such a presence as that of this Puritan leader had seldom



St. Mary's Church Huntingdon

This is where the Cromwell family worship-ped

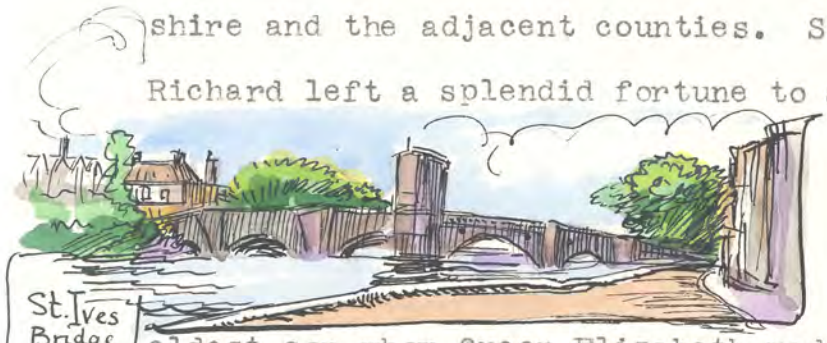
been felt upon the scene of history. Necessity, "who will have the man and not the shadow," had chosen Oliver Cromwell from among his fellows, and placed her crown upon ~~her~~ his brow.

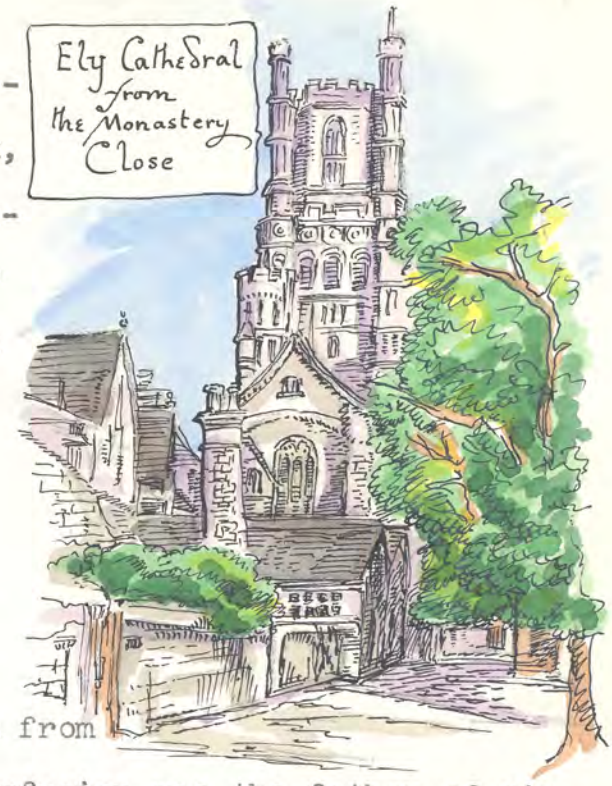
Cromwell is an interesting human type. He may, perhaps, be called the reluctant dictator. "I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity." Such was Cromwell's account of himself. He was the descendant of Richard Cromwell, whose earlier name was Richard Williams, a Welshman from Glamorganshire. In the deed of jointure on his marriage the future Protector is described as Oliver Cromwell, alias Williams. Hence those who insist that what is called a Celtic strain is needed to give fire and speed to an English stock find Cromwell a case in point. The original Richard Cromwell was one of the agents of Thomas Cromwell, the iron-handed servant of Henry VIII, the famous Sledge-hammer of the monks, and the master builder of the Church of England. Richard came in for much of the spoils of the Church, and he received from

Hinchingbrooke Manor, home of Sir Oliver Cromwell

Sir Oliver Cromwell uncle of Oliver the Protector from the original painting at Hinchinbrook

Henry VIII the manors and revenues belonging to the priory of Hinchinbrook, and the abbey of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire and the adjacent counties. Sir Richard left a splendid fortune to an eldest son, whom Queen Elizabeth made Sir Henry. This, the Golden Knight, so called from his profusion, was the father of Sir Oliver, whose younger son, Robert, in turn became the father of the mighty Oliver of history.


St. Ives Bridge

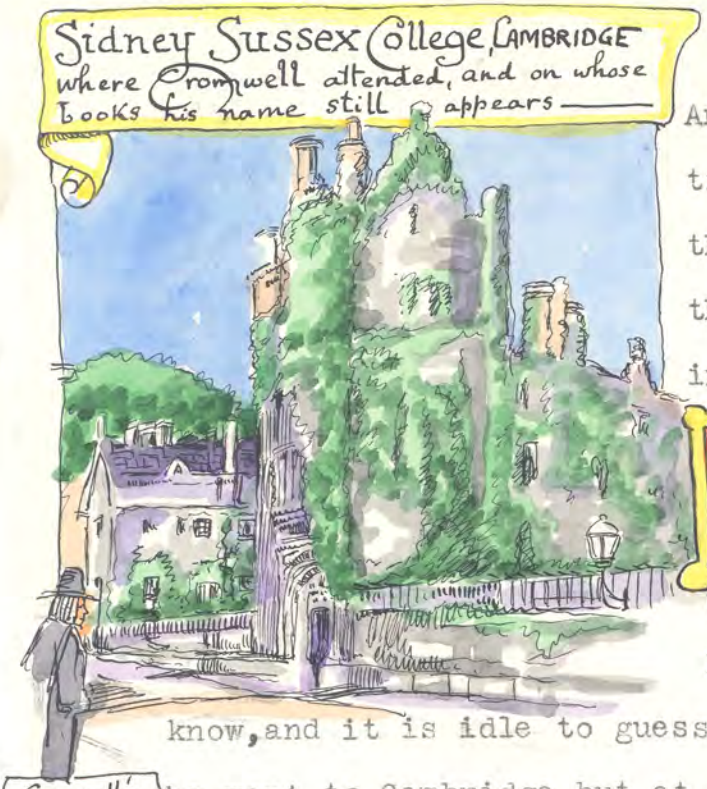

Ely Cathedral from the Monastery Close


St. Mary's Church Spire

Romwell's Home at Ely (Cathedral Tower is in Distance)

Born at Huntingdon (April 25, 1599), Oliver Cromwell was one of ten children, and the only son of his parents. Homer has a line about the disadvantages of being the only brother among many sisters, but Oliver showed no default in either the bold and strong or the tender qualities that belong to manly natures. He was sent to the public school, whose master was a learned and worthy divine, the preacher of the word of God in Huntingdon, and the author of a treatise that the Pope is

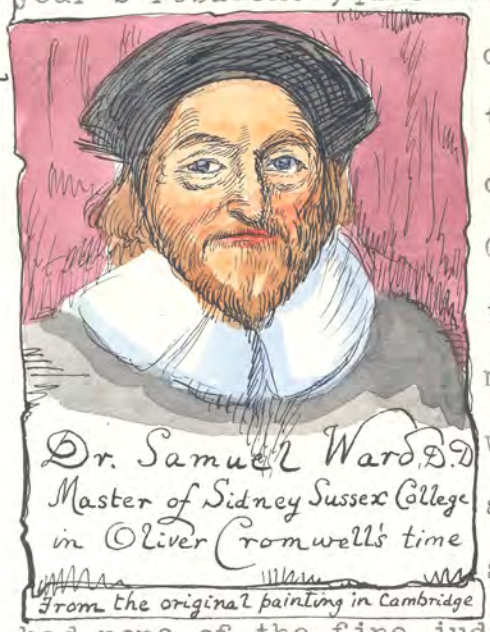

The Cromwell Barn, St. Ives.

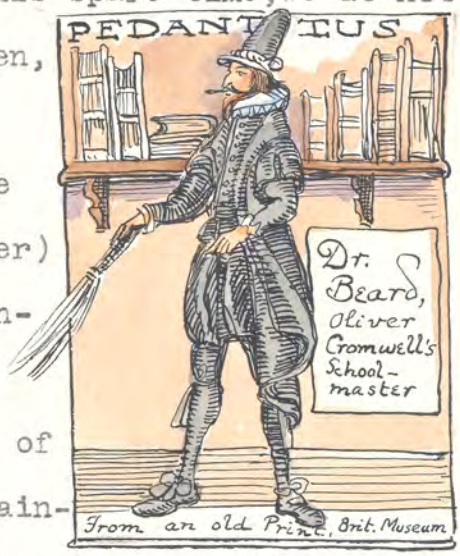


Cromwell's rooms were in the building on left of the picture

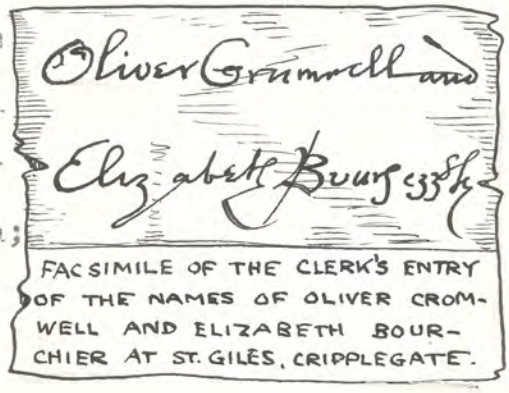
Antichrist. Thus the youth of Huntingdon drank of the pure milk of that stern word which bade men bind their kings in chains and their nobles in links of iron.

How long Oliver Cromwell remained under Dr. Beard, what proficiency he attained in study, how he spent his spare time, we do not know, and it is idle to guess. At seventeen, he went to Cambridge, but, at the end of a year's residence, quit college (owing to the death of his father) to read law at Lincoln's Inn.





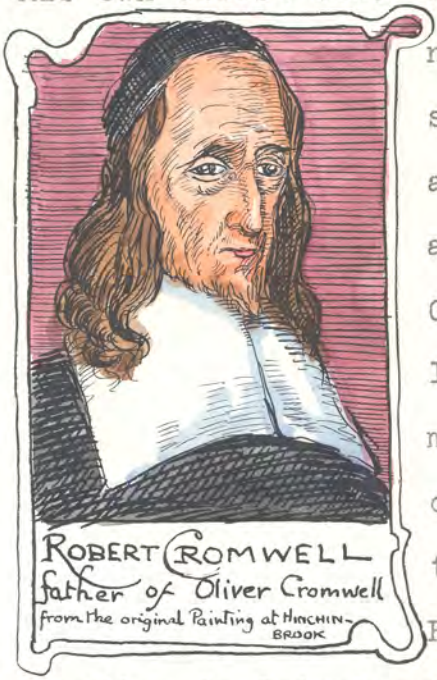
Cromwell had none of the tastes or attainments that attract us in many of those who fought by his side, or who fought against him. The spirit of the Renaissance was never breathed upon him. He had none of the fine judgment in the arts which made King Charles one of the most judicious art collectors of his time. We cannot think of Cromwell as of Sir John Eliot, beguiling his heavy hours in the Tower with Plato and Seneca; or Hampden pondering Davila's new "History of the Civil Wars of France". No,

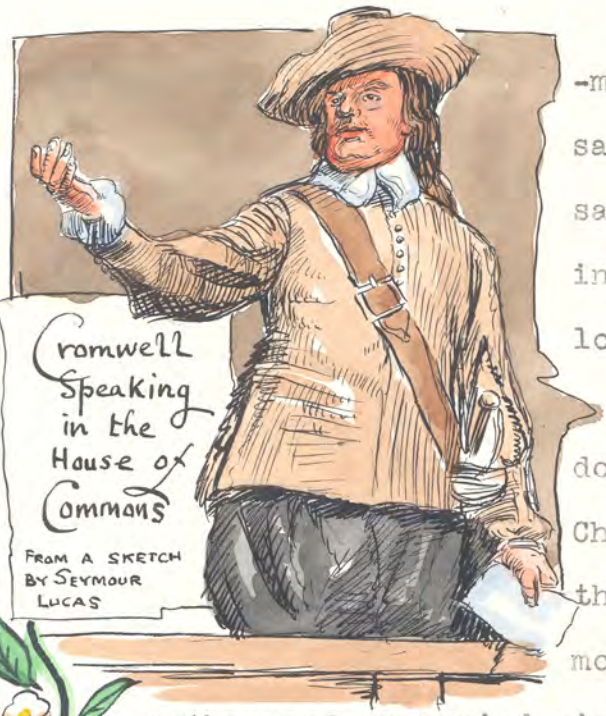


FACSIMILE OF THE CLERK'S ENTRY OF THE NAMES OF OLIVER CROMWELL AND ELIZABETH BOURCHIER AT ST. GILES, CRIPPLEGATE.

Cromwell

Cromwell was of another type. We get a glimpse of his views upon education in his advice to his own eldest son. "I would have him mind and understand business," he says. "Read a little history; study the mathematics and cospography. These are good with subordination to the things of God...These fit for public services, for which man is born. Take heed of an unactive, vain spirit." In his twenty-second year, he was married to Elizabeth Bourchier, at the Church of St. Giles in Cripplegate, London, where, fifty-four years later, John Milton was buried. After his marriage, Cromwell returned to Huntingdon, and there for eleven years took care of the modest estate his father had left. In I628, he was chosen to represent Huntingdon in Parliament. This was the Third Parliament of the reign, the great Parliament that fought and carried the Petition of Right. Here the new member, now at twenty-nine, saw at their noble and hardy task the first champions of English civil rights. He saw the zealous and high-





Cromwell Speaking in the House of Commons

FROM A SKETCH BY SEYMOUR LUCAS

-minded Sir John Eliot. He saw the sage and intrepid Pym. By his side sat his cousin, John Hampden, a standing symbol for civil courage and lofty love of courage.

In 1631, Cromwell sold his Huntingdon property and moved to St. Ives. Children came in due order, nine of them in all. In 1636, the Cromwells moved again---to Ely, where his old mother and unmarried sisters kept house for the whole family. Ely became the home of Cromwell and his large household until 1647.

Thus, at forty-one, Oliver took his seat in the Long Parliament, and from the very outset stood stoutly for Puritanism and Parliamentary freedom. A harsh-featured, red-faced, powerfully built man, whose dress appeared slovenly in the eyes of the courtiers, his great power soon began to impress friends and enemies alike.

Cromwell leaving Parliament

The Installation of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector in Westminster Hall, June 26, 1657

When he became head of the new Commonwealth government, Cromwell acted with his customary vigor.

In the civil capacity he now assumed, he issued numerous ordinances to correct abuses---dueling, cock-fighting, bear-baiting, and horse-racing among them. Swearing and drunkenness were severely dealt with. Sincere, resolute and earnest in his desire to promote the welfare of his countrymen, the Lord Protector seemed more concerned with the righting of specific cases of social conduct and behaviour than in advancing any great principles of constitutional government.

Richard Cromwell
Eldest son and Successor of the Lord Protector

Henry Cromwell
son of the Protector and Governor of Ireland

When the First Parliament of the Commonwealth (I654) refused to take decisive action and submit to administrative authority, Cromwell dismissed them. A Second Parliament was summoned in I656, and the elections were sharply contested by the groups that disagreed with his autocratic tendencies. Again the Protector arbitrarily excluded from the assembly nearly one hun-

dred persons who were doubtfully loyal to the Instrument. Thus purified, this Second Parliament was more disposed to support the Protector than his first had been. Relations between Protector and Parliament were smooth enough. Money was voted. The Major-Generals were withdrawn. Then came a plot, by no means the first, for the murder of the Protector. This roused Parliament to a sense of the insecurity of a government that depended so much for its success on the single life of Oliver. After long debate, an amended constitution was voted by Parliament. There was to be a new House of Lords to serve as a check upon the despotic tendencies of the Commons. The Petition revived the kingly office, and offered the title to Oliver. After some consideration, he declined the title, whilst he accepted the remainder of the Petition and Advice. On June 26, Oliver Cromwell was installed more solemnly than before as Protector, and the session came to an end. On February 4, 1658, the Lord Protector dissolved his second Parliament, as he had dissolved

General Henry Ireton

the first. "The Lord," he said, judge between me and you!"

For the rest of his life, Cromwell assumed full control of the nation. He gave England a strong and efficient government, but not to the taste of his subjects. In his domestic policy, he ignored and violated many English traditions, but very noble was the ideal which he set before him. To maintain right and justice, to take care of the people of God, as he termed them, and to maintain religious liberty throughout the realm. But the nation, as a nation, wanted other things. The Puritan rule was too strict, too regardless of human weaknesses, too firmly persuaded that there is no truth and no goodness outside its own conceptions, to impose itself by force for ever upon a great nation.

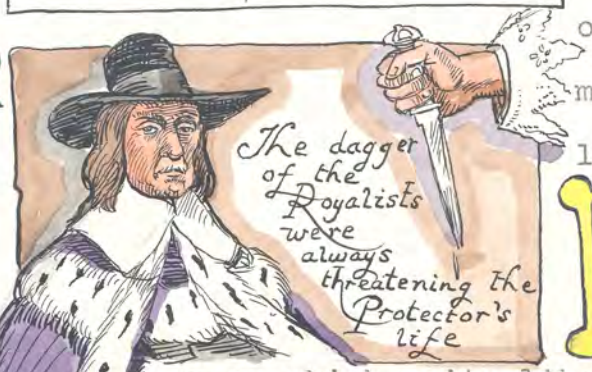
"Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out last, and ordering the doors to be locked, he departed to his lodgings." — HUME

It is true that the highest Puritan minds

CROMWELL'S HOUSE in Whitehall

Cromwell's Long Parliament Hat
from the original in the Collection of the Rev. T. Cromwell Bush.

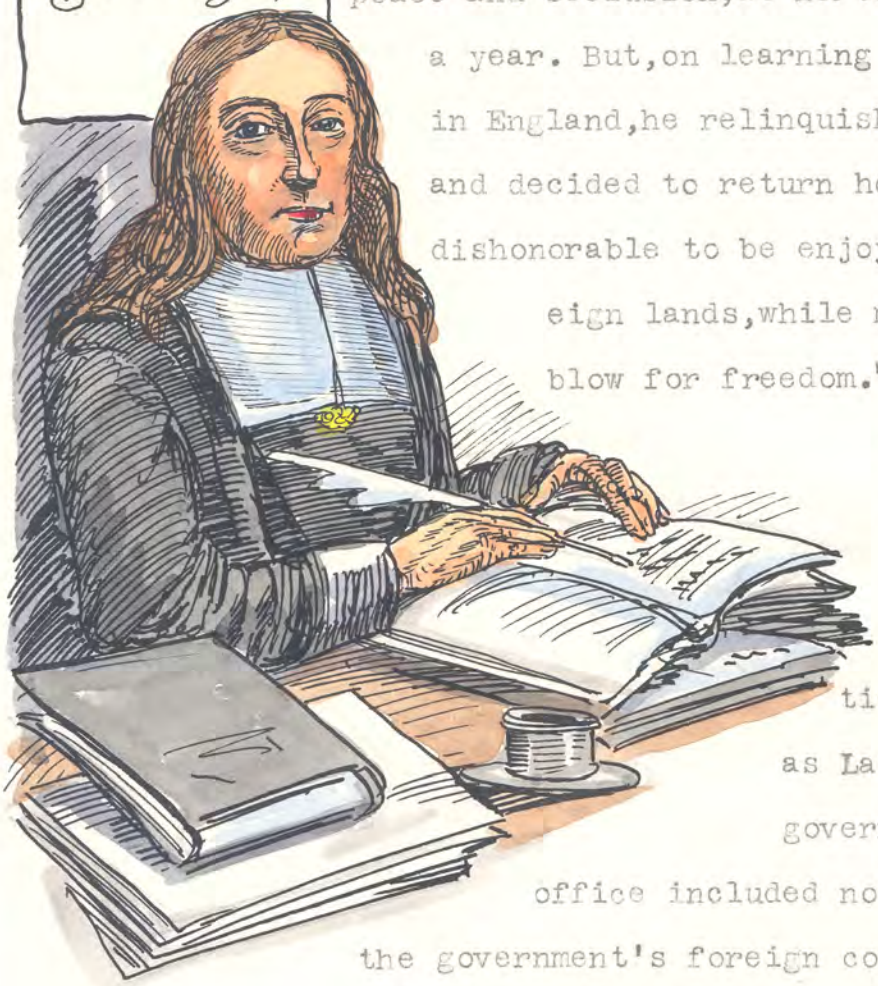
were not morose or disregardful of the lighter charms of life. But there was a seriousness in them which deepened in lesser men into sourness. And the general run of Englishmen missed the cakes and ale, the dance round the maypole, the open theater, and all the various modes of enjoyment which they had loved well if not always wisely.



Some Englishmen turned savagely upon the hypocracy which waits like a dark shadow upon religious fervor, and upon the frequent use of cant phrases as a substitute for the devotion of the heart.

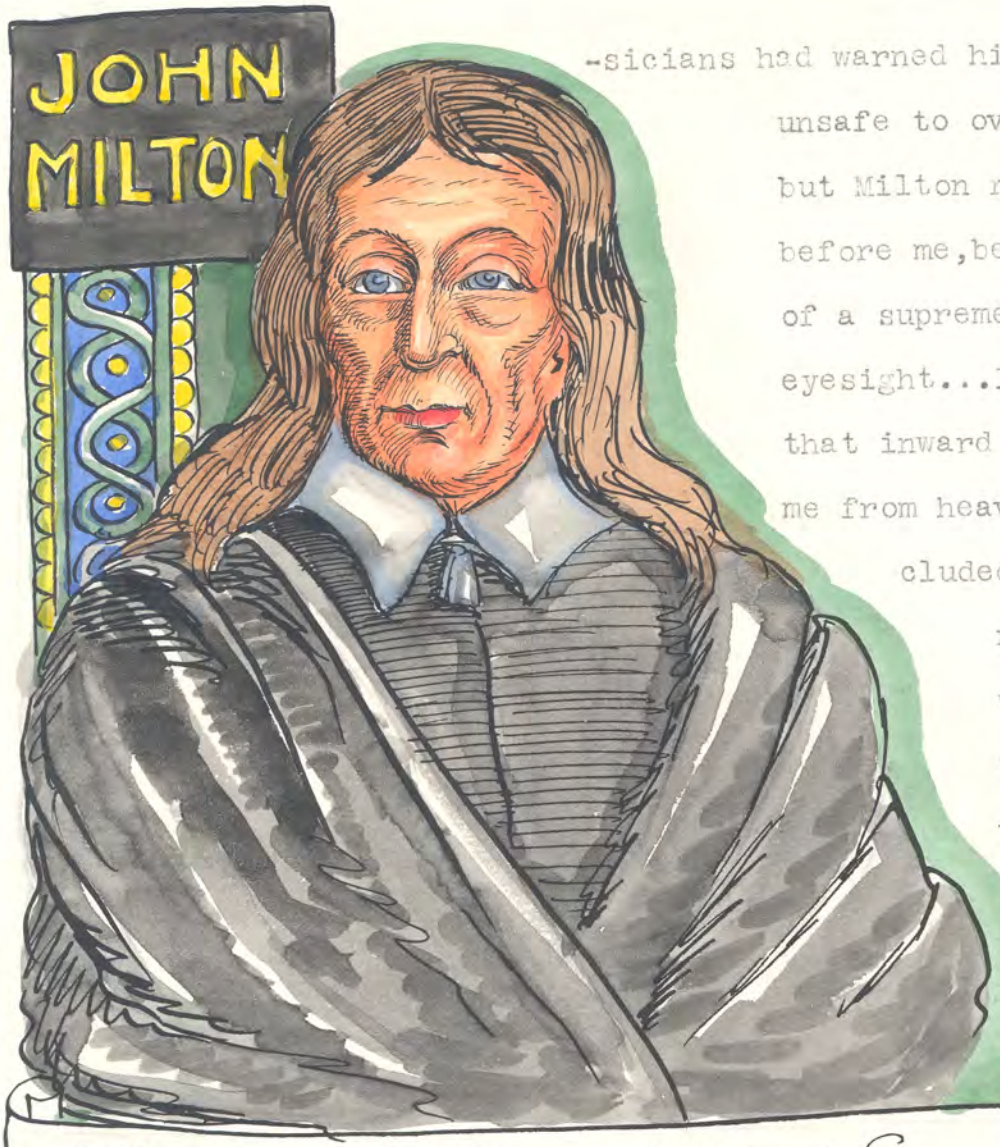
The Protector's rule was constantly threatened with a series of plots against his power and his life. The ground on which his throne was reared heaved on all sides with conspiracy and rebellion. The plotters were not only Royalists but fanatical Republicans. Many of his old companions looked sourly upon Cromwell. But, one man among them all was very loyal---his hard-working and brilliant Latin Secretary, John Milton.

The Latin Secretary



In the days when the King and Parliament were engaged in conflict, young John Milton was living in peace and seclusion, at Horton. Then he went abroad for a year. But, on learning about growing disturbances in England, he relinquished his plan to visit Greece, and decided to return home. He said: "I consider it dishonorable to be enjoying myself at my ease in foreign lands, while my countrymen are striking a blow for freedom." He took a quiet house in Aldersgate, on the edge of London, and for a time occupied himself with tutoring.

In 1649, after the execution of Charles I, he had a part as Latin Secretary in Cromwell's government. The duties of his office included not only the conduct of all the government's foreign correspondence, but also the defense of its principles by the mightier pen, now that the sword had accomplished its work. When Salmasius, a Dutch scholar, wrote in Latin an indictment of the English Commonwealth, entitled Defensio Regia, the Council of State in some alarm ordered that "Mr. Milton do prepare something in answer to the book of Salmasius". Milton's answer was the famous Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio (Defense of the English People)---which silenced all critics, but cost the author a great price. Milton's phy-



On November 24, 1644, Milton wrote & issued his AREOPAGITICA, advocating the Liberty of the Press. In consequence of his intense devotion to the service of the State, as the Latin Secretary of the Commonwealth, he lost his eye-sight.

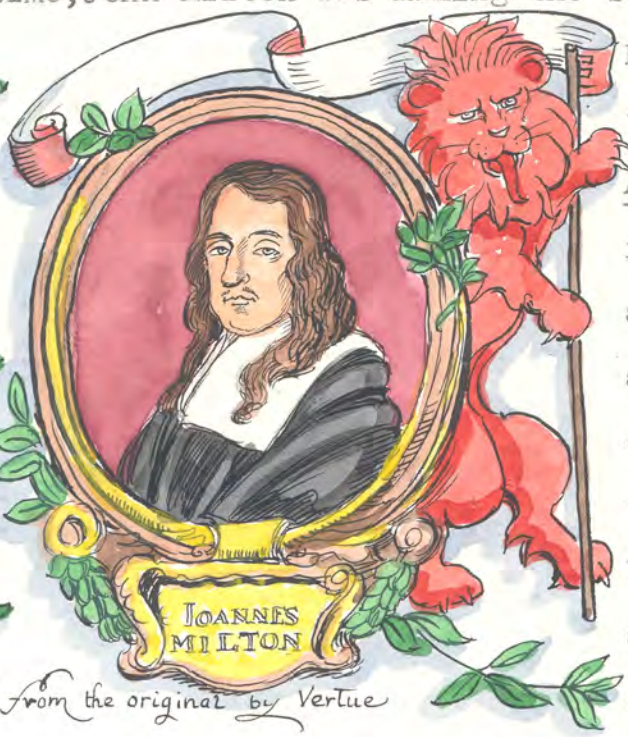
-sicians had warned him that it would be unsafe to overuse his right eye; but Milton replied:"The choice lay before me,between the direliction of a supreme duty and the loss of eyesight...I could not but obey that inward monitor that spake to me from heaven...and therefore concluded to employ the little remaining eyesight I was to enjoy in doing this,the greatest service to the common weal it was in my power to render".

He fearlessly bent himself to his labor,and rose from it blind. He was but forty-five,in the full vigor of his great mind,and his poetic masterpiece,to which he had long since dedicated himself, hardly begun. The famous sonnet on his blindness utters his patient despair at the moment; but in time he discovers that,for light denied to the sensuous eye,he has gained a compensating poetic power:

> So much the rather thou,Celestial Light,
> Shine inward,and the mind through all her powers
> Irradiate,there plant eyes,all mist from thence
> Purge,and disperse,that I may see and tell
> Of things invisible to mortal sight.

Beyond all doubt,Milton's intellect was a grander one than Cromwell's,

in the sphere of idealism. Three months before Marston Moor, Cromwell had earned for himself the title of "the great Independent"; and at the same time, John Milton was making the same advance in his political philosophy. Near the end of I644, he published Areopagitica, that noble plea for human freedom, in which, among other things of deeper and more durable concern, bishops and presbyters were declared to be just the same to Milton both in name and thing---each a dominion no better than the other, and neither of them a friend to the seeker after truth. Both Cromwell and Milton, like Vane, Blake, Ireton and others, considered themselves public servants engaged in the supreme cause of England. Like Cromwell, Milton was a patriot who was pushed to the front on the Roundhead side under the double impulse of the emotional turmoil of the time and the special opportunity opened to talent by civil war and revolution.



from the original by Vertue

At this point may we devote a few pages to this most earnest of Cromwell's supporters---John Milton.

When Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and others were making merry

SIGN OF THE SPREAD EAGLE

at "The Mermiad", the boy Milton---refined of face and gentle of demeanour, was playing in one of London's narrow streets, and attending St. Paul's School. His home was in Bread Street, in the parish of All Hallows. The Sign of the Spread Eagle, which hung over his father's door, was the armorial bearing of the family; but the sign indicated that the house was one of business, and that the business of Milton Senior was that of a Scrivener. It was the boy's good fortune to have an understanding father who evidently realized the genius of his son. Both father and son loved poetry and music and the drama.

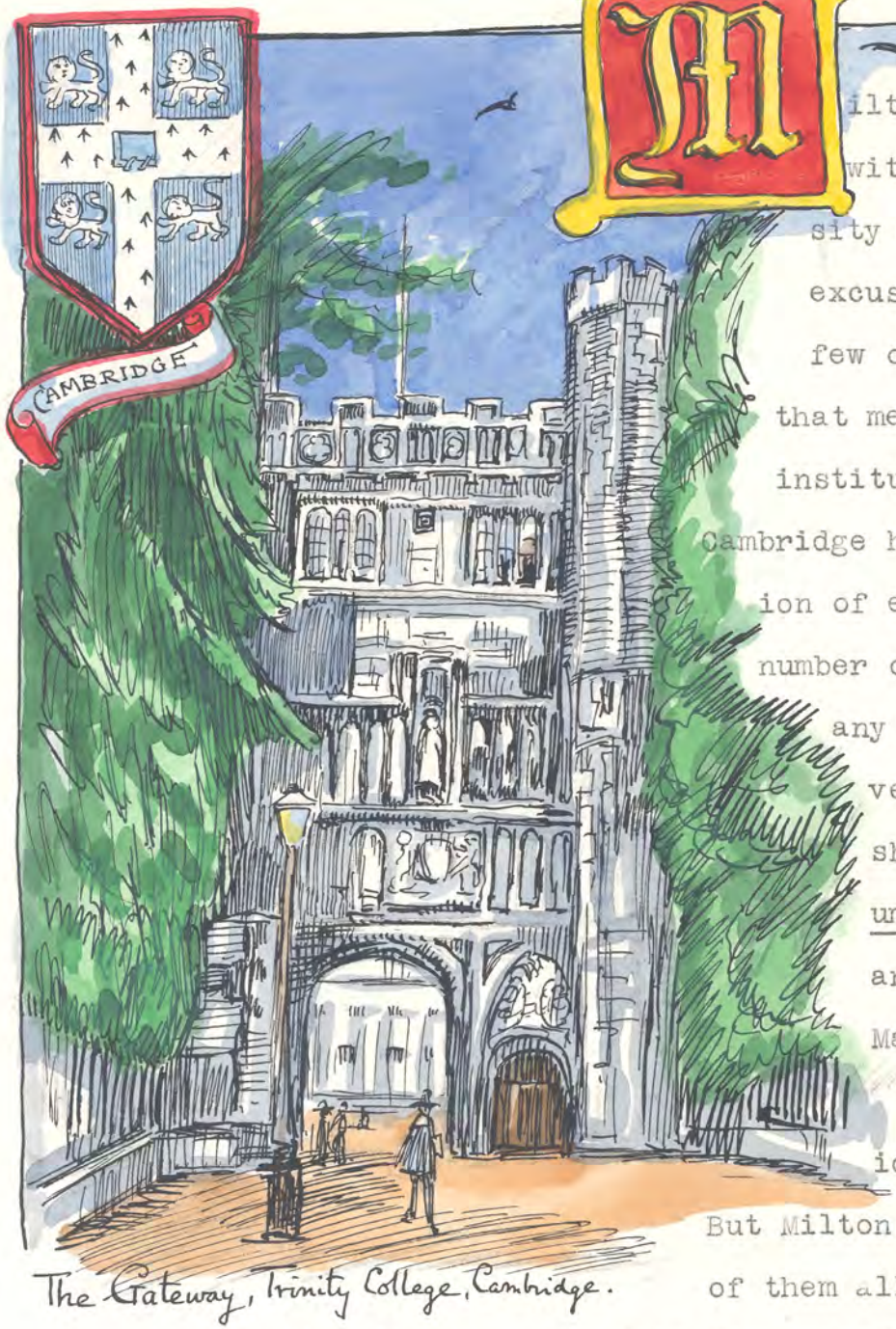
Milton at the age of ten, 1618

From the painting attributed to Cornelius Janssen

It is more than likely that the boy Milton saw Shakespeare pass his father's house, for Bread Street was a direct route between Shakespeare's lodging and his theater. Milton was eight years old when the great dramatist died in 1616.

Milton at the age of twelve

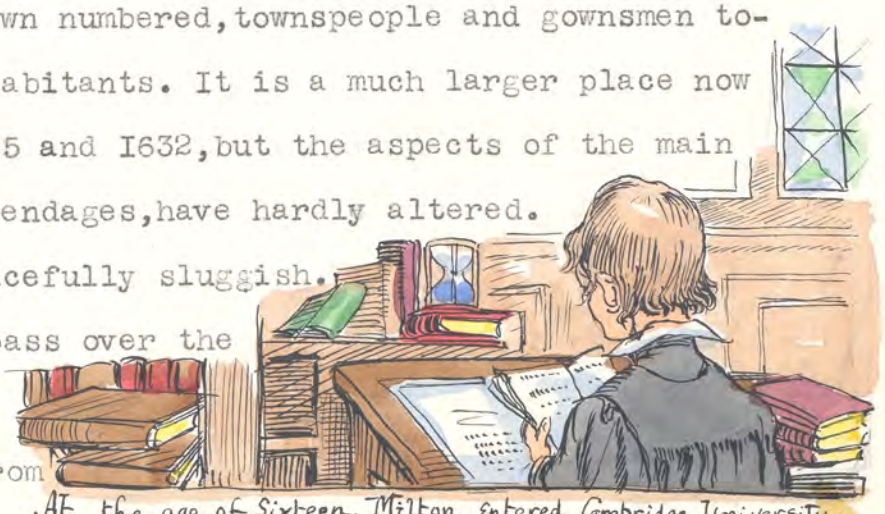
At St. Paul's School, young Milton studied with ardour, and early began the habit of burning the midnight oil. His private tutor, a Puritan minister named Thomas Young, prepared the boy for admission to Christ's College, Cambridge.



The Gateway, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Milton's associations with Cambridge University afford us sufficient excuse for indulging in a few observations concerning that memorable and famous institution of learning. Cambridge has had the distinction of educating a far larger number of English poets than any other English University---counting as she does among her alumni Chaucer presumably, and certainly Spenser, Marlowe, Cowley, Dryden, Gray, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron and Tennyson. But Milton is still the greatest of them all.

In Milton's time, the town numbered, townspeople and gownsmen together, about 10,000 inhabitants. It is a much larger place now than it was between 1625 and 1632, but the aspects of the main streets, and of the appendages, have hardly altered. The Cam flows past, peacefully sluggish. The changing seasons pass over the flat English scenery that stretches away from



At the age of Sixteen, Milton entered Cambridge University.

banks of the river. The sixteen colleges of Milton's time (with every one of which he must have been familiar) are still extant, each with its extended history of the many years that had elapsed since he looked upon them. Above all, his own college of Christ's survives, and much as it was. It was at Christ's that he wrote verses, Latin and English, and among them the famous "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity".

John Milton, aged 21, of Christ's College, Cambridge

During the seven years of his residence at Christ's, Milton won the place of First Scholar. Old Anthony Wood says that the slender youth, with fair hair and bright cheeks (nicknamed by his fellows as "the Lady of Christ's") was esteemed a sober and virtuous person. Yet then, of course, no one realized that he had written one of the great lyrics of England, singular in its majesty of thought and manner, and also a sonnet---- that, on

How soone hath Time the suttle theefe of Youth
Stolne on his wing my three & twentieth yeere
my hasting days fly on with full careere
but my late spring no bud or blossome sheweth
Perhaps my semblance might deceyve ye truth
that I to manhood am arriv'd so neere
& inward ripenesse doth much lesse appeare
that some more timely-happie spirits indu'th
Yet be it lesse or more or soone or slow
it shall be still in strictest measure even
to that same lot however meane or high
toward wch Tyme leads me & the will of heaven
all is if I have grace to use it so
as ever in my great task-maisters eye

From the original MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge.

arriving at the age of twenty-three---which, in his works, is now "one of the best remembered where all are memorable". (I have taken the liberty to reproduce the original manuscript, to show the young poet's style of handwriting. Note the spelling of that day).

Whatever honor the possession of Milton does reflect upon Cambridge is best realized when we station him at Christ's, which may be cited as a fair specimen of the normal Cambridge college. The Hall is in good Gothic style, with an oriel full of excellent portrait glass representing all the worthies of the college, from Lady Margaret Beaufort,

"Lady of Christ's

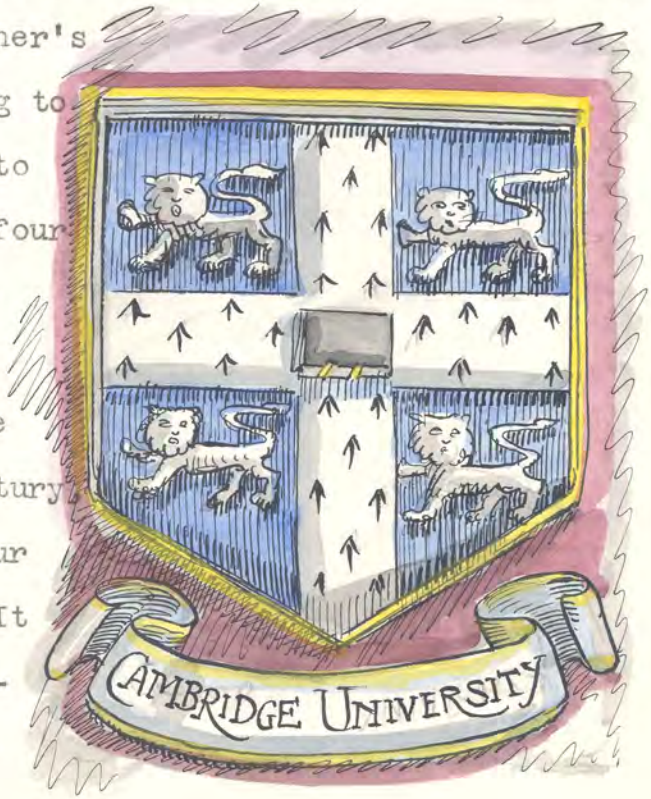
His college companions, noting his fresh-colored oval face, his flowing auburn hair, his slender frame, his fastidious manners, nicknamed him "Lady of Christ's.

Concluding lines of LYCIDAS from original draft at Trinity College Library.

Thus sang the uncouth swaine to th'oakes & rills
while ye still morne went out with sandals gray
He touch't the tender stops of various quills (
with eager thought warbling his Dorick lay
and now the sun had stretcht out all the hills
and now was dropt into ~~wayte~~ the westerin bay
at last he rose and twitcht his mantle blew
To morrow to fresh woods and pastures new

the founder and friend of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who rescued the college from destitution in 1505---down to Paley in his archdeacon's apron and Charles Darwin in his doctor's gown. The Chapel, north of the Court, is the chapel of Lady Margaret's foundation.

The story of the founding of Christ's is more or less typical of the origin of Cambridge colleges. At first (way back in 1436), William Bingham, a rector of a London church, founded a small hostel or Grammar college, in connection with Clare College. Having found quarters in Preacher's Street, the thoroughfare leading to the Dominican Friary, he hoped to maintain a Proctor and twenty-four scholars, under the picturesque name of God's House. In time, the revenues languished. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the society maintained only four scholars besides the Proctor. It was at this time that Lady Margaret became patroness, and re-



established God's House, and "from her singular devotion to the name of Jesus Christ", founded the college under the invocation of Christ. From its foundation onwards, the history of Christ's College has been peaceful and comparatively uneventful.

Old Mulberry Tree at Christ's College

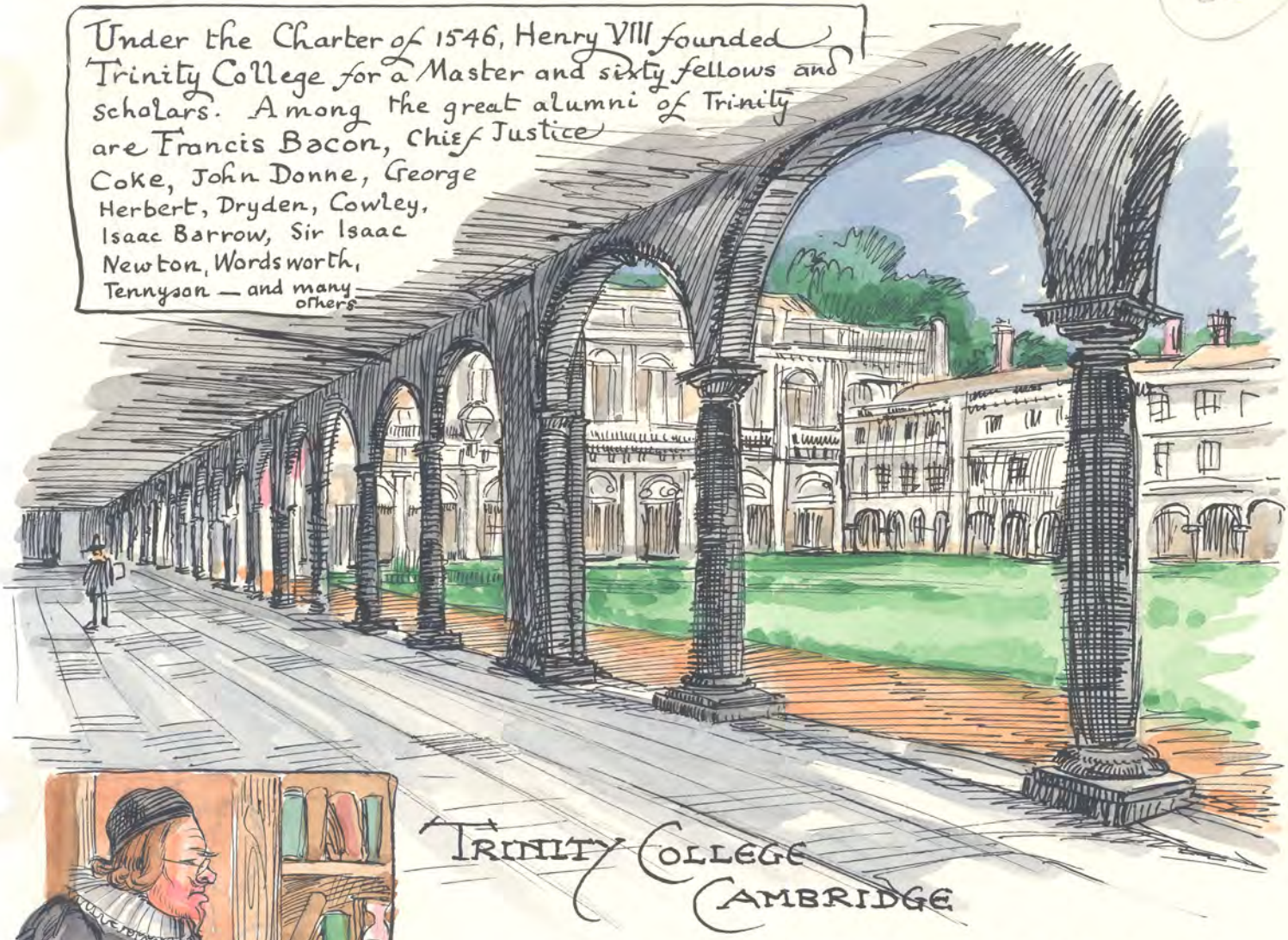
In the grounds behind the College, stands the gnarled, but still branching, remains of an old mulberry-tree, called "Milton's Mulberry", from a fancy that Milton in particular must have often sat under it and eaten of its fruit. Better, however, than any mulberry-tree, or any remains of stone and lime, in authentication of Milton's seven years and five months at Cambridge, are the relics

Clare Bridge

from his own pen which those Cambridge days have left us. These include the noble Ode already referred to,an Elegy on the Death of a Fair Infant,and an Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester--- all breathing the atmosphere of Cambridge. His verses on Hobson,the University carrier, are well known; and"Lycidas",the elegy on his college friend,Edward King,appeared at Cambridge in I637.

The presence of Milton reminds us of other contemplative scholars and philosophers who,in his time,were the ruling influence at the University,and now lie beneath the chapel floor. The course of the reformed and Puritan doctrines were largely determined by the study of Platonic philosophy; and Platonism in Cambridge was the result

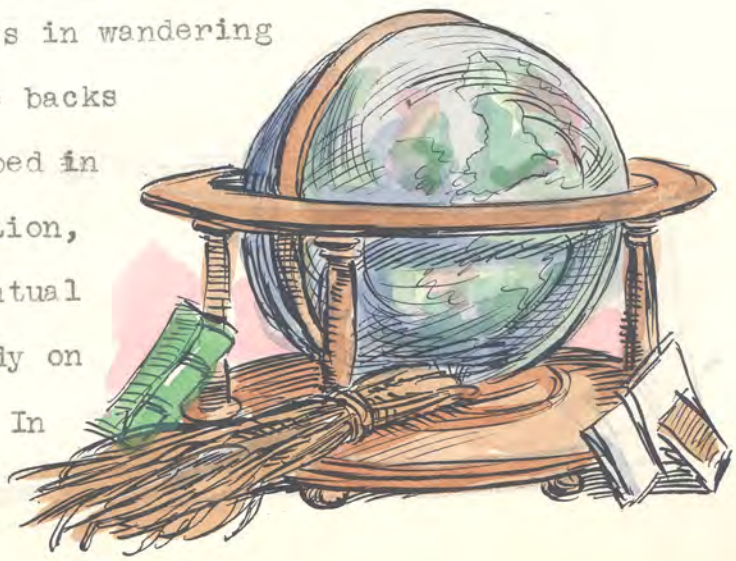
Under the Charter of 1546, Henry VIII founded Trinity College for a Master and sixty fellows and scholars. Among the great alumni of Trinity are Francis Bacon, Chief Justice Coke, John Donne, George Herbert, Dryden, Cowley, Isaac Barrow, Sir Isaac Newton, Wordsworth, Tennyson — and many others.



TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

It is reported that Milton resented the overbearing manner of his tutor, Mr. Chappell, whereupon his tutor "whipped him" [MILTON WAS ONE OF THE LAST STUDENTS THAT SUFFERED THE INDIGNITY OF CORPORAL CORRECTION AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

(on the positive side)of the teaching of Erasmus; and (on the negative side)of the publication of Hobbe's "Leviathan"(I65I). The first of the Cambridge Platonists was the meditative Mede,who died in I638. He was a fellow in Milton's time, and spent his days in wandering about the college backs and fields,absorbed in mystical speculation, of which the eventual work was the study on the Apocalypse. In

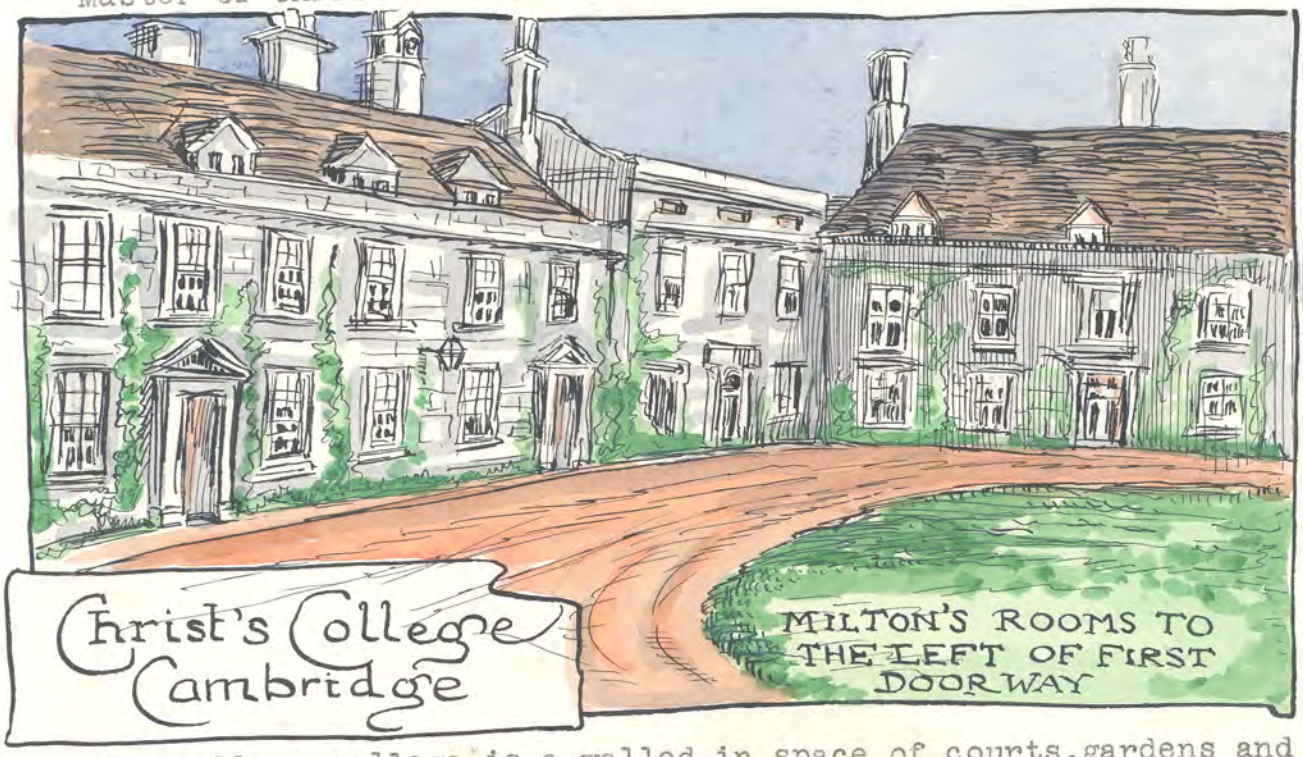


the evening, members of the College would resort to Mede's room, and he would ask them "Quid dubitas?" What doubts have you met in your studies today? And, having heard their answers, would set their minds at rest and dismiss them with prayer.

The University Church St. Mary the Great
Begun in 1474. Turrets completed in 1608, "Cambridge Chimes" in Tower: 1790

Entrance to Christ's College (1436)

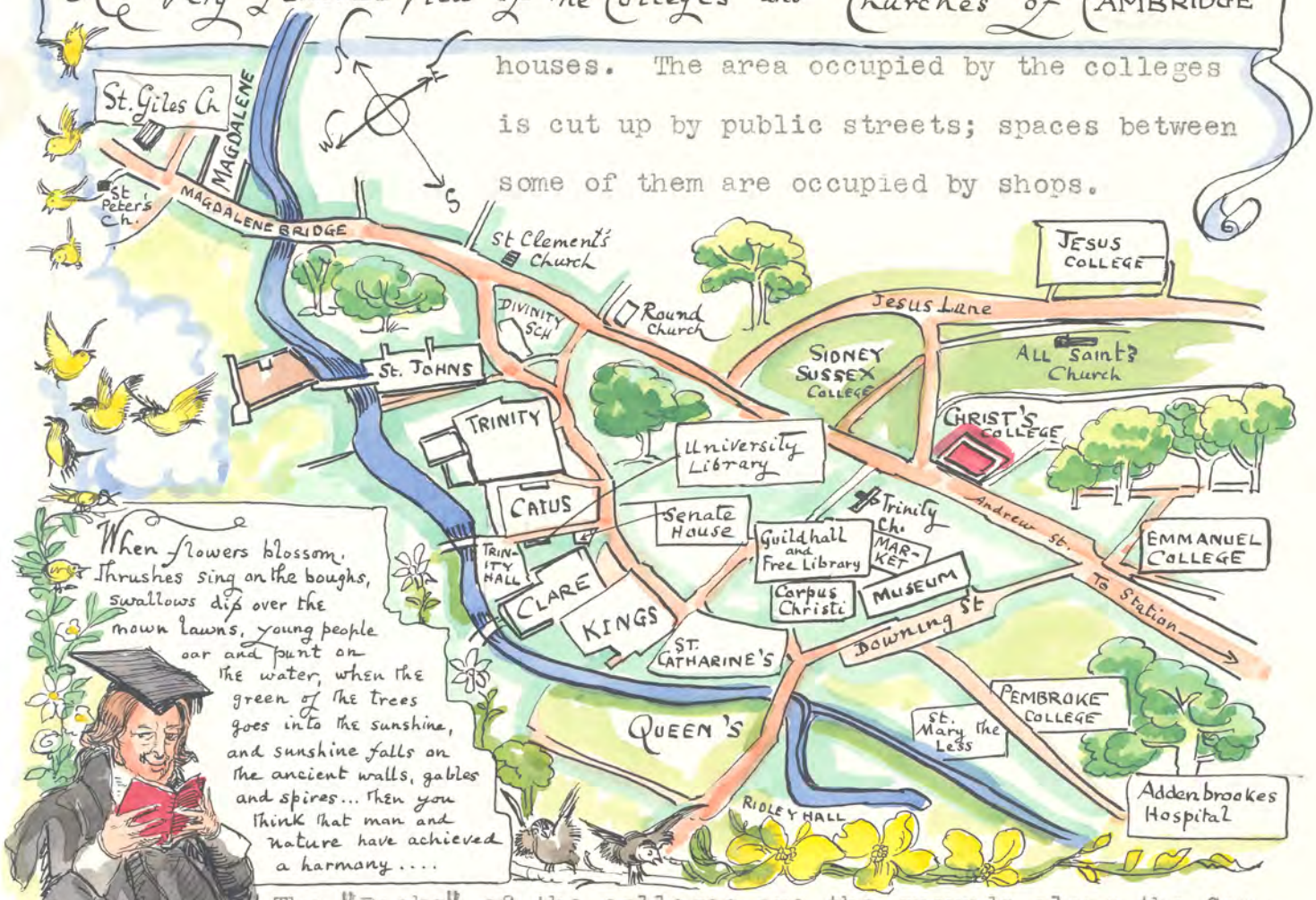
But Mede was scarcely as remarkable as Henry More, the author of the "Mystery of Godliness", who devoted his life at Cambridge to Platonic speculations. The third important figure among the Cambridge Platonists was Ralph Cudworth, Master of Clare for some time, and Master of Christ's until his death in 1688.



Physically, a college is a walled-in space of courts, gardens and

A Very General View of the Colleges and Churches of CAMBRIDGE

houses. The area occupied by the colleges is cut up by public streets; spaces between some of them are occupied by shops.

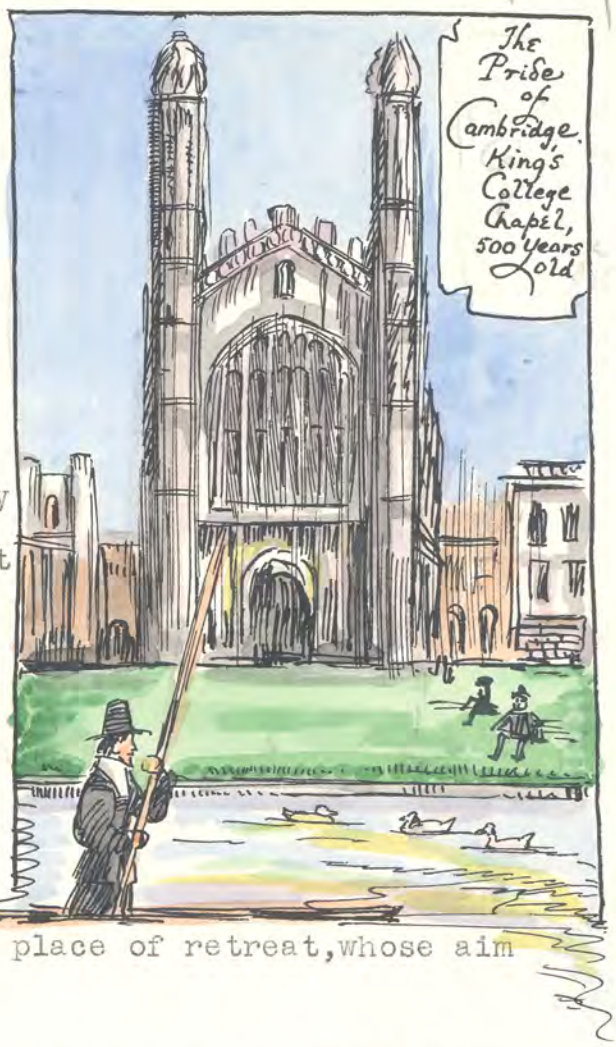


When flowers blossom, thrushes sing on the boughs, swallows dip over the mown lawns, young people oar and punt on the water, when the green of the trees goes into the sunshine, and sunshine falls on the ancient walls, gables and spires... then you think that man and nature have achieved a harmony....

The "Backs" of the colleges are the grounds along the Cam, and surely these are among the most gracious and most pleasant gardens in the country.

On a lazy afternoon students absorb sunshine & fellowship on the "Backs."

Of course, Cambridge University did not come into esistence by executive decree or legislative act. Like Topsy, it just grew! The first college (Peterhouse) was founded in 1284. Some of the colleges supplanted monasteries that flourished on the border of the Fenland (which

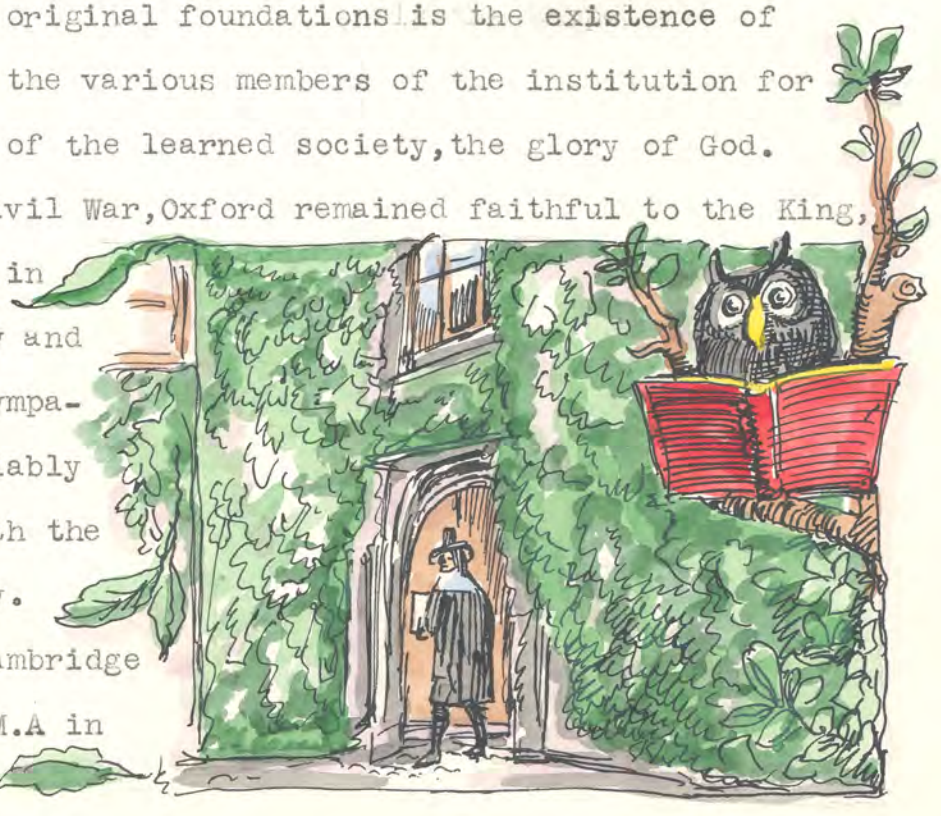


contained the richest abbeys in all England).

Life in the Fens must have been hard in those days. Hard and dismal. Even Peterborough, the Medehampstead or Goldenburgh of Saxon times was largely under water for the greater part of the year. During the middle ages Cambridge bristled with small religious houses, and in these the young monks received their education. This was the beginning of the University---a place of retreat, whose aim was learning.

The one link which connects the colleges with the original foundations is the existence of a Chapel, uniting the various members of the institution for the prime object of the learned society, the glory of God.

During the Civil War, Oxford remained faithful to the King, but two colleges in Cambridge (Sidney and Emmanuel, whose sympathies were undeniably Puritan) sided with the Cromwellian party.



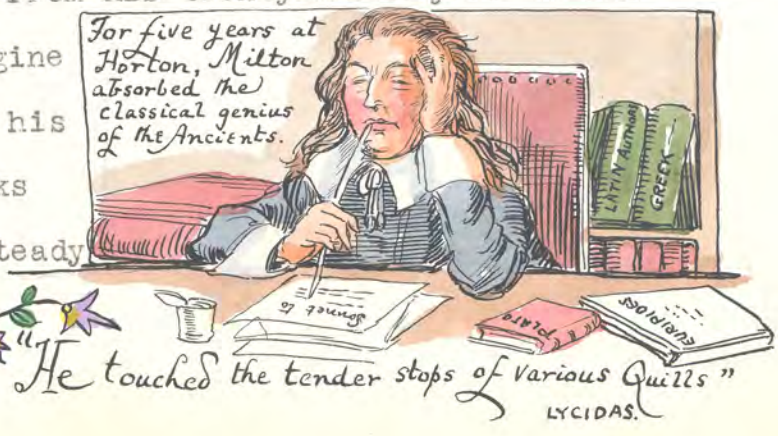
Milton left Cambridge a fully-fledged M.A in 1632.

The historic Castle of Ludlow on the Welsh Border

On leaving Cambridge, Milton went to reside at Horton, a quiet country village in Buckinghamshire, about twenty miles from London, and four miles from Windsor. To Horton, his father, now approaching his seventieth year, had retired, with ample acquired means, for rest and leisure after the cares of his London business as a scrivener.

LUDLOW CASTLE, where "Comus" was presented

To both father and mother it must have been somewhat of a disappointment to know that John, "who was designed for the Church", had abandoned all thoughts of the Church or of any other profession. But their deference (wise parents that they were!) to John's wishes was boundless. They acquiesced in what John himself proposed. This was that he should lead thenceforward, in his rustic seclusion with them, a purely intellectual life--- the life of a student and a man of letters. Accordingly, from July 1632 to April 1638,---from his twenty-forth year to his thirtieth---we have to imagine John Milton domiciled with his parents at Horton, with books of all languages for his steady



"He touched the tender stops of various Quills"
LYCIDAS.

Entrance to the village of HORTON

occupation within doors, and music for his favorite recreation, and with walks or rides over the surrounding country for his habitual exercise, and sometimes a visit to London for some special purpose.

Horton afforded the calmest and most idyllic experiences of Milton's whole life. To the

By the Thames A mile from HORTON

Horton days belong three of the young poet's preserved Latin letters, his fine Latin poem Ad Patrem, and the exquisite companion poems, "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso". In these poems we breathe the free air of spring and summer and of the fields round Horton. Milton more probably reveals himself in these compositions than we realize. Here is the young man at his lonely midnight studies:

Or let my lamp at midnight hour
Be seen in some high lonely Tower,
Where I may out-watch the Bear,

With thrice great Hermes, or unsphere
The spirit of Plato to unfold
What Worlds, or what vast Regions hold
The immortal mind that hath forsook
Her mansion in this fleshly nook....

The picture of the Nightingale and of the midnight moon is unforgettable:

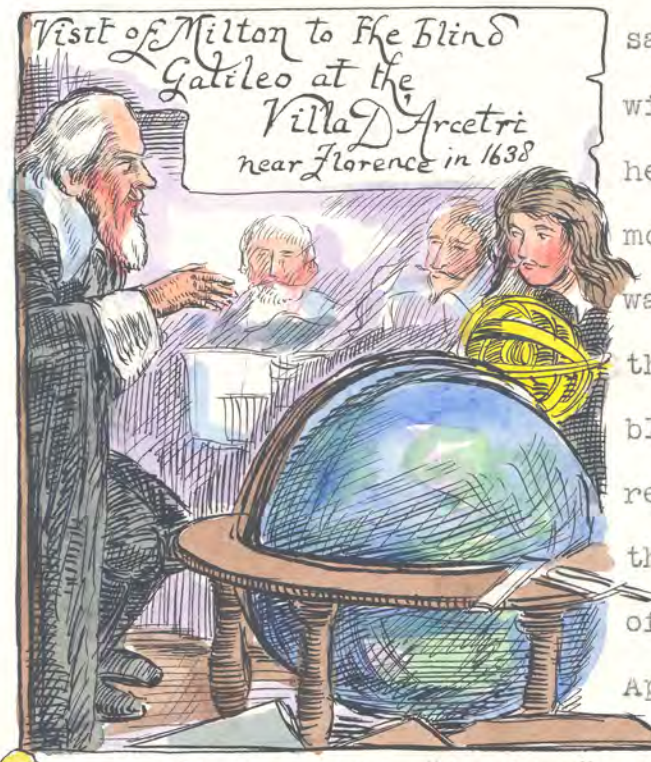
Sweet bird that shun'st the noise of folly,
Most musical, most melancholy!
The chauntress of the woods among
I woo to hear thy even song;
And missing thee I walk unseen
On the dry smooth shaven green,
To behold the wand'ring Moon
Riding near her highest noon,
Like one that hath been led astray
Through the Heaven's wide pathless way,
And oft as if her head she bowed
Stooping through a fleecy cloud.

The poem "Lycidas" belongs to 1637, and was occasioned by the drowning of a college friend, Edward King. The closing lines contain great beauty and pathos:

Weep no more, woful Shepherds, weep no more,
For Lycidas your sorrow is not dead,
Sunk though he be beneath the watery floor;
So sinks the day-star in the Ocean bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled Ore
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.
So Lycidas sunk low, but mounted high,
Through the dear might of him that walk'd the waves
Where other groves and other streams along
With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves,
And hears the inexpressive nuptual song,
In the blest kingdom's meek of joy and love.

The visitor to Horton, as he walks through the village, or anywhere round it, feels that, at all events, he is on the ground with which Milton's footsteps were familiar through more than five years of his early manhood. This was the ground that

once knew his figure and his voice,and sustained(and partly prompted) his daily musings. The house in which Milton lived is no longer extant.(It was pulled down in I798) They still,however,point out the site---occupied by a modern mansion,within a gateway. The old parish church of Horton is a venerable-looking piece of English ecclesiastical antiquity,dating in the main from the thirteenth century,with walls still strong,a solid square tower,and a fine old Norman arch in the entrance porch. In the cemetery near by stands two very old yew trees;and between these trees and up the path through the cemetery,Milton must have walked on Sundays,to attend service and listen to the discourses of Mr. Goodal,then rector of Horton Parish. Up the

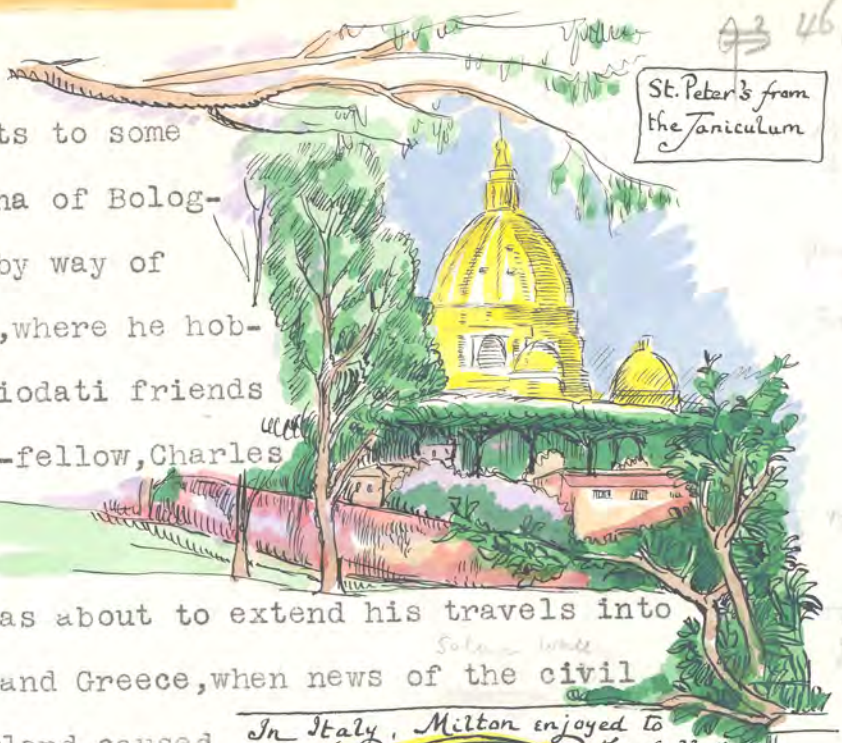

Visit of Milton to the Blind Galileo at the Villa D'Arcetri near Florence in 1638

same path, Milton must have walked with his brother Christopher, at the head of the little procession of mourners (April, 1637) when his mother was buried within the church. On the chancel floor we see the plain blue stone that covers her grave, and read the inscription: "Here lyeth the body of Sara Milton, the wife of John Milton, who died the 3rd of April 1637."

Soon after writing "Lycidas", Milton visited Italy. But the memorials of his travels are scanty. He is reported to have met Galileo, just liberated from prison, and to have received compliments from literary men in Florence.

Sir Henry Wotton
English Ambassador to the Court of Venice; a Scholar of elegant and various accomplishments; poet and wit, who could match phrases in Latin, French, or Italian.

Thirty years old, and equipped in all needed languages and scholarship, Milton carried letters from Sir Henry Wotton. The young poet was hoping to profit by further study and observation. He saw the great Hugo Grotius at Paris; he visited the sunny country of olives in Provence; he saw, too, what was unforgettable at Rome, ---St. Peter's, just then brought to completion, and in the first freshness of its great tufa masonry. Milton was feted by studious young Italians. He enjoyed the freedom of the Accademia della Crusca. He blazed


St. Peter's from the Janiculum

out in love sonnets to some dark-eyed signorina of Bologna. He returned by way of Venice and Geneva, where he hobnobbed with the Diodati friends of his old school-fellow, Charles Diodati.

Milton was about to extend his travels into Sicily and Greece, when news of the civil commotions in England caused him to change his purpose. "For I thought it base," he says, "to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home." On his arrival in London, he was not called upon to serve the state in any official capacity for some time.


Cypresses on the Palatine ROME


In Italy, Milton enjoyed to the full the treasures of Art and beauty of that fair land. Doubtless the frescoes of Michael Angelo and Raphael remained in his memory....

In the meanwhile, he rented a spacious house in which he conducted a private school. Though modestly laboring as a teacher, the patriotic Englishman's talents and learning were sincerely devoted to the service of his country. "Avoiding the labors of the camp," he says, "in which any robust soldier would have surpassed me, I


Milton's early home in London

betook myself to those weapons which I could wield with most effect; and I conceived that I was acting wisely when I thus brought my better and more valuable faculties, those which constituted my principal strength and consequence, to the assistance of my country and her honorable cause."

John Milton
from the miniature by Samuel Cooper, with a facsimile of the inscription on the back of the Miniature

The Scotch were at this time marching over the border with battle-drums. The Long Parliament was about to be summoned. Strafford and Laud were on the road to impeachment and trial and execution. Milton's old father was drawing to his end. Bloody war tainted all the air.

Now, at thirty-two, Milton was compelled to make a living for himself. He settled in London, first in Fleet Street, then near Aldersgate, as an instructor of youth. His pupils included his nephews, John and Edward Phillips. It is to the Aldersgate home that Milton brought his young bride, Mary Powell, daughter of a loyalist family near

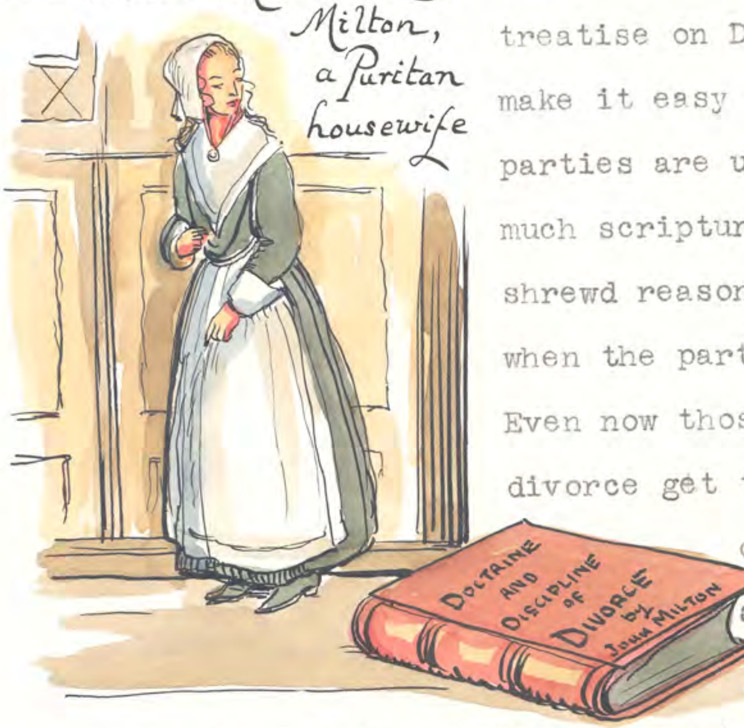
~~of a loyalist family near~~

Oxford. After a month in the quiet student's house---perhaps two months ----Mary goes down for a visit to her mother. She is to come back at Michaelmas. But Michaelmas comes, and she stays with her own family. Milton writes, and she continues to stay. Milton writes again; he sends a messenger---and she stays.

Mary Powell, a Cavalier's daughter—

What is up, then, in this new household? Milton, the scholar, the poet, is up, straightway, to a treatise on Divorce, whereby he would make it easy to undo yokes where parties are unevenly yoked. There is much scriptural support and much shrewd reasoning in favor of divorce, when the parties are incompatible. Even now those who contend for easy divorce get their best weapons out of the old Miltonian armory.

—becomes Mrs John Milton, a Puritan housewife



However, it happens that through the advocacy of friends on both sides, this great family breach was healed. For two years, Milton and his recreant, penitent wife lived together. She became the mother of three daughters---Anne, who was crippled, never even learned to write,

"If the Law make not a timely provision, let the Law, as reason is, bear the censure of the Consequences." (TETRACHORDON by John Milton)

and used to be occupied with her needle; Mary, who was her father's amanuensis and reader most times; and Deborah, the youngest, who came to perform similar offices for her father at a later date.

Sketch of Milton dictating his poetry from a painting by J. C. Horsley

By the time the Civil War was well under way, Milton had become possessed of a fixed idea. He was writing tractates on religion and on education, and was making ready to share in the politics of the period. He had little time for wife and children--- which, in my opinion, was a tremendous misfortune to all concerned. There is something sordid and unpleasant in the great man's treatment of his three daughters, and if they turned out to be rebellious and peevish, I don't think the fault was entirely their own!

Four years after the death of his first wife, Milton married Catherine Woodcock, who must have made him very happy, for he wrote a sonnet to her memory. But she lived only a short while.

TO CATHERINE WOODCOCK

Methought I saw my late espoused Saint
Brought to me like Alcestis from the grave,
Whom Jove's great Son to her glad husband gave,
Rescu'd from death by force though pale and faint.
Mine as whom washt from spot of child-bed taint
Purification in the old Law did save,
And such, as yet once more I trust to have
Full sight of her in Heaven without restraint,
Came vested all in white, pure as her mind:
Her face was veiled, yet to my fancied sight,
Love, sweetness, goodness in her person shin'd
So clear, as in no face with more delight.
But O, as to embrace me she inclin'd,
I wak'd, she fled, and day brought back my night.

As we have already said, Milton's public fame began after the execution of Charles I. All Europe stood aghast at such a deed.

It was just at this moment(that is,on February I3,I649)that Milton sent forth from his house in Holborn a pamphlet on which he had engaged during the King's trial. The document bore the portentious title:"TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES: proving that it is lawful,and hath been held so through all ages,for any who have the power,to call to account a Tyrant or Wicked King,and after due conviction,to depose and put him to death,if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected or denied to do it."---

A sKetch from the Bust at Krist's College Cambridge

--- which,in fact,was a most daring defence of the Regicide in all its circumstances,and the first manifesto by an English citizen of adhesion to the new Republic. The consequence was natural enough. In March,I649,Milton(then in his forty-first year)was appointed Latin Secretary,or Secretary for Foreign Tongues,to the new Commonwealth government. His salary was £288. I3 s. 6 d. a year--- which was excellent pay in those days(and worth about five thousand dollars today). The appointment necessarily involved a change of residence. Official rooms were provided for the Secretary in White-

A passage from AREOPAGITICA for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.

> Lords and Commons of England! consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are governours; a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to.
>
> Behold now this vast City; a city of refuge, the mansion house of Liberty, and surrounded with God's protection; the shop of War hath not more anvils and hammers waking to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguered Truth, than there be Pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching revolving new ideas wherewith to present the approaching Reformation.....

-hall itself.

Milton's command of Latin (the diplomatic language of that century) was notable. His periods were turned with skill. His vocabulary was wonderful, especially for abuse! As we have already noted, he was fully competent to silence Salmasius with a prodigious Latin Defensio pro Populo Anglicano, which was read all over Europe as the reply of the English people and Commonwealth to the villifications of them that had been published by the Leyden scholar.

Salmasius, a World-famous scholar and a Mighty man of Latin — who wrote Defensio Regia, and was answered by Milton in Defensio pro Populo Anglicano.

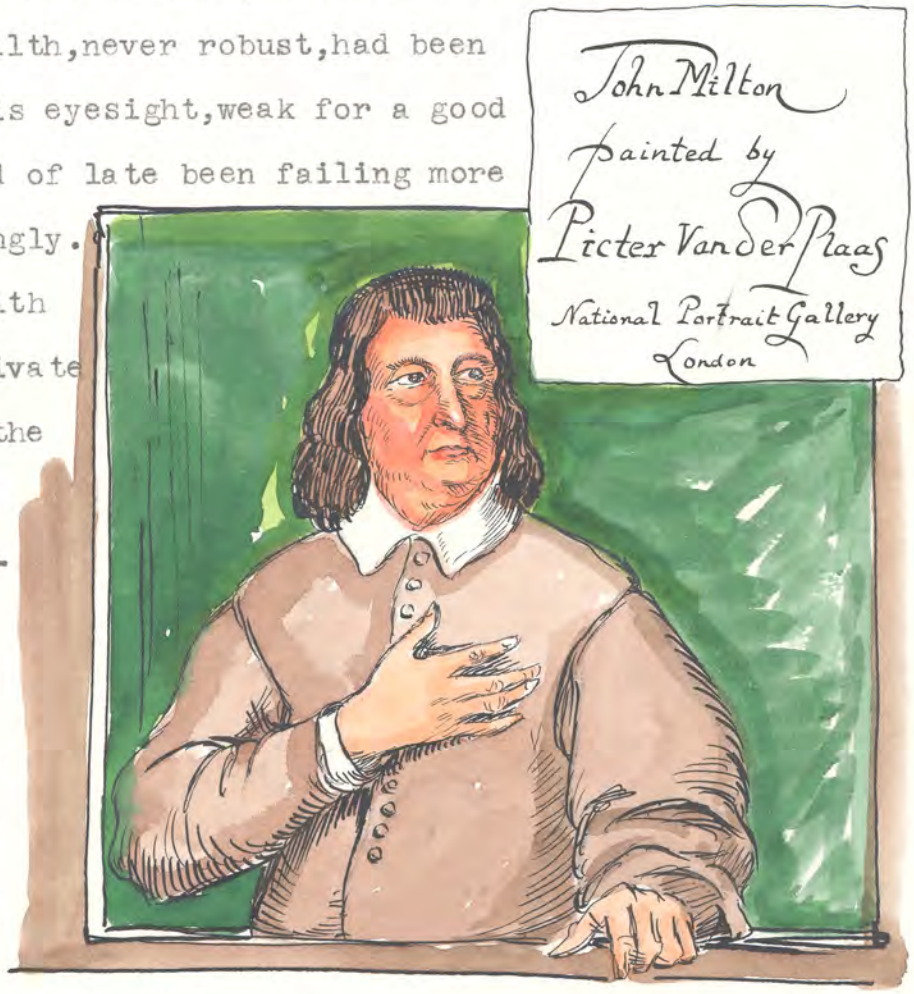
Nor did Milton's literary services cease with the Latin correspondence. A fact not generally known is that through the year 1651 Milton edited a London newspaper, acted as licenser, and wrote all sorts of important tracts. When Cromwell proved himself victorious in Scotland, after the great Battle of Dunbar (1650), and completely shattered the royalist forces at Worcester (1651), Milton hailed the leader of the Commonwealth Army with an ever-famous sonnet:

Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,

To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plowed,
And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
Hast reared God's trophies and His work pursued:

Whilst Darwen stream,with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field,resounds thy praises loud,
And Worcester's laureate wreath: yet much remians
To conquer still; Peace hath her victories,
No less renowned than War!

When this sonnet was written,Milton was no longer resident in Whitehall. His health,never robust,had been giving way. And his eyesight,weak for a good many years past,had of late been failing more rapidly and alarmingly. Milton had moved with his family to a private dwelling house in the neighborhood of Whitehall,a garden-house in Petty France,Westminster (next door to Lord Scudamore's home). In this place, the Milton family lived for at least eight years.



There are many who believe that,as Cromwell's personal secretary, Milton had an opportunity to be on very intimate terms with the Protector. One would like to imagine the conversations of two such extraordinary men. But,as a matter of fact,there is not even a scrap of historical evidence to show that they ever met! There-

-fore, the famous paintings which depict Cromwell dictating letters to Milton, are interesting, but not based on any reliable evidence.

John milton

In these years, as Secretary, Milton's life took on that harshness of feature, which it retains in tradition, owing to the invectives he indulged in against the enemies of the state. For ten years, he received and wrote foreign despatches and was the official intermediary for all ambassadors and envoys. In his forty-fifth year, he became totally blind; yet he continued to perform the duties of the secretaryship, being led to the Council-room by an assistant; and there, listening, dictating, and composing, he went through the necessary business as before. At certain intervals, he wrote a sonnet or two. The one on the massacre in Piedmont is noteworthy as the first blaze of the English Muse over the violated liberties of Europe. These sonnets, few as they are, would be a mighty monument for any genius.

— if Vertue feeble were
Heaven it selfe would
stoope to her.

Coelum non animū muto
dū trans mare curro

Joannes Miltonius
Anglus.

Milton's motto from "Comus," and Autograph.

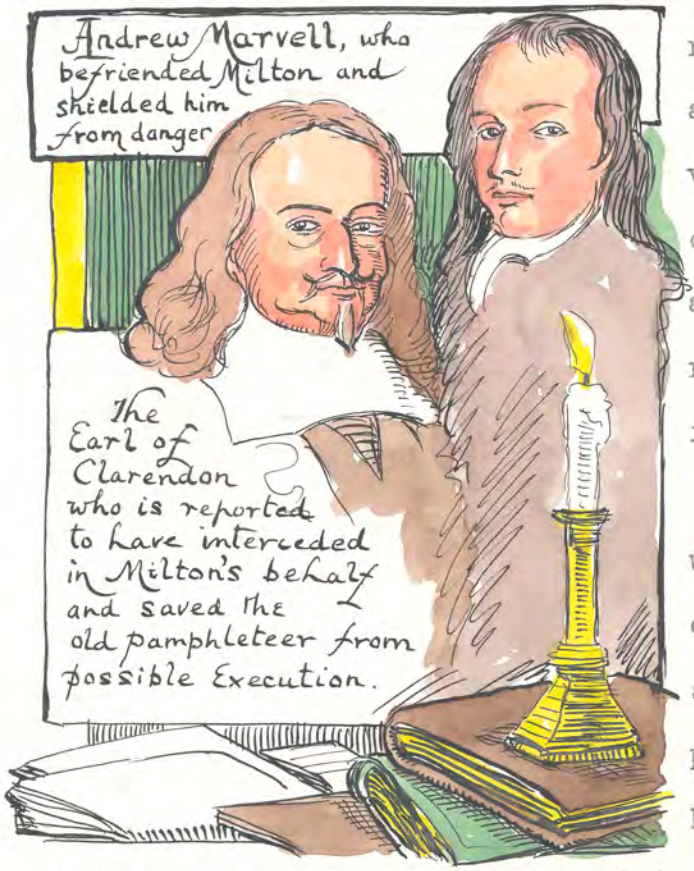
While still a resident in Petty France, Milton began the dictation of

his Paradise Lost. But he can have made but small progress, when his leisure was tragically interrupted by the death of Oliver Cromwell, on October 3, I658.

The Young Quaker, Thomas Ellwood, a faithful visitor, who read to the blind poet

Then followed the brief protectorate of Oliver's son, Richard. After Richard's abdication in April I659, Milton was really in a bad way.

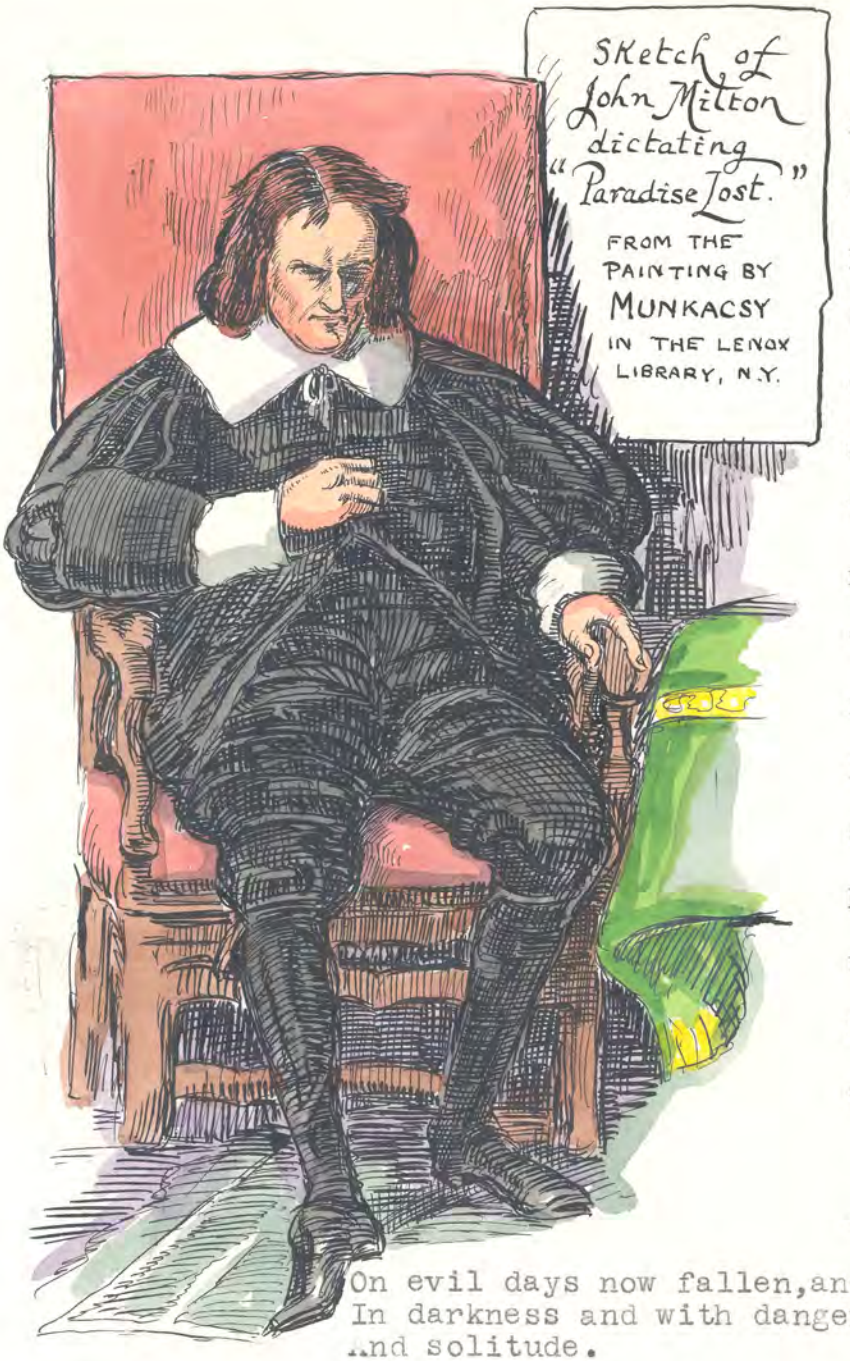
How it happened that John Milton, a prominent official of the Commonwealth Government, the most notorious defender of the trial and execution of Charles the First, the most ferocious pamphleteer to the last against the recall of the Stuarts, escaped at the Restoration from the vengeance that fell upon most of the chiefs of the Commonwealth, and upon all the Regicides within reach---is too intricate a story for us to tackle!



Andrew Marvell, who befriended Milton and shielded him from danger

The Earl of Clarendon who is reported to have interceded in Milton's behalf and saved the old pamphleteer from possible Execution.

Enough to say that Milton was specially named for prosecution and punishment. But, though some of his most offensive pamphlets were burned by the public hangman, Milton managed in some very mysterious manner managed to escape with life and liberty. He was quartered by friends in obscure houses, first in Smithfield, then in Holborn, and then in his old Aldersgate Street



neighborhood. The house in Jewin Street was occupied by Milton from I66I (when the dead bodies of Oliver Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton were dug up by the Restoration government, and gibbetted at Tyburn!) to I664. And in this house he lived in dread and poverty, and outcast from the Restoration world of men and things, and held in contempt among the courtiers of Charles II. Here Milton found himself, as he tells us,

> On evil days now fallen, and evil tongues,
> In darkness and with dangers compassed round,
> And solitude.

Still more poignant is that lamentation over his blindness which he put afterwards into the mouth of his Samson:

> Blind among enemies! O worse than chains,
> Dungeon, or beggary, or decrepit age!
> Light, the prime work of God, to me is extinct,
> And all her various objects of delight
> Annulled, which might in part my grief have eased.
> Inferior to the vilest now become
> Of man or worm, the vilest here excel me:
> They creep, yet see; I, dark in light, exposed
> To daily fraud, contempt, abuse and wrong,
> Within doors or without.

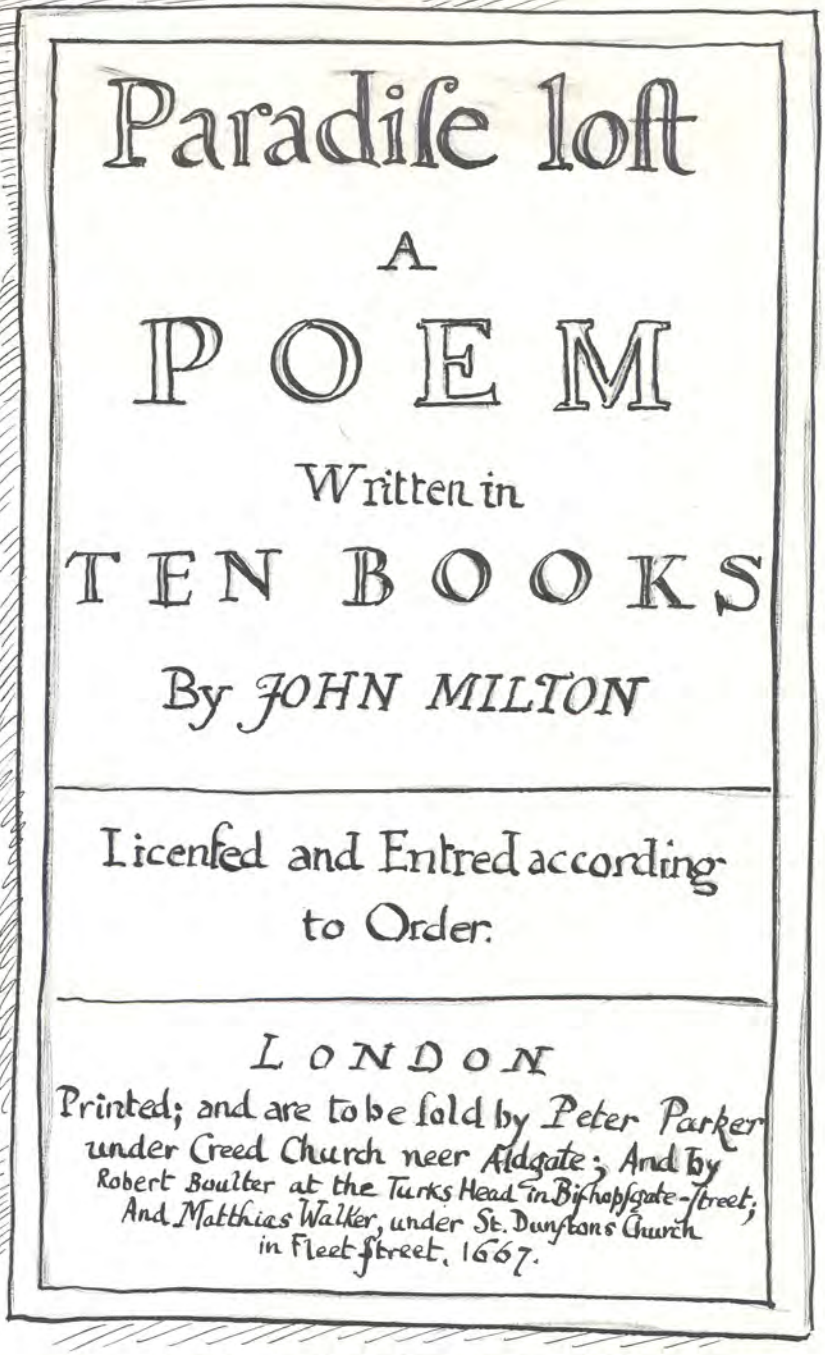
In the last lines we have a hint that Milton's three daughters ---three unfortunate girls,so long motherless---were "undutiful" to their blind father. No doubt they rebelled against the drudgery which he exacted from them. They were compelled to read daily from various books in various languages which they did not themselves understand. In time, things had come to such a pass that neighbors took notice,and a third marraige was suggested for John Milton as a possible remedy for the unhappy domestic situation. The wife recommended to the blind poet was Elizabeth Minshull,a native of Cheshire,not quite twenty-five years of age,of excellent and pious character,and very prudent as a housekeeper. The marriage,which proved to be very successful,took place in February I663. Not only were the daughters brought under better control by their young step-mother,there was greater comfort generally in the domestic management. Also there was now at hand a competent reader and a faithful amanuensis for the poet. In I664, the Milton household removed to another home, in Artillery Walk,Bunhill,still within the parish of St. Giles,Cripplegate. Bunhill was an extensive vacant region,with trees and parks and windmills in it. Here,with a Christianized stoicism,"the patience of heroic martyrdom",as he called it,Milton worked on his immortal epic,which was completed on a high note of triumph and courage. Although in peril of his life,he,whose eyes were sacri-


Milton in his Garden

-ficed in service of the Commonwealth---"lost them overplied in liberty's defense"---sat down to dictate to another's hand the masterful epic for no lesser purpose than "to justify the ways of God to man".

The first edition of "Paradise Lost" was in ten books, and the varying title-pages of eight separate bindings delight the collector. When recognition of the great epic came with the second edition (in twelve books), it came in full measure. Over and over again, "Paradise Lost" has been annotated, translated, illustrated, and expounded in the past century and a half; and today John Milton remains, after three centuries, by the side of Dante, who is perhaps the world's great, serious, lofty, purposeful poet!

Full size facsimile of the Title Page of the First Binding of the First Edition of the Epic.


Paradise loft

A

POEM

Written in

TEN BOOKS

By JOHN MILTON

Licenſed and Entred according to Order.

LONDON

Printed; and are to be ſold by Peter Parker under Creed Church neer Aldgate; And by Robert Boulter at the Turks Head in Bishopsgate-Street; And Matthias Walker, under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet Street. 1667.

Nectens aut Paphia Myrti, aut Parnasside Lauri Fronde comas, at ego secura pace quiescam.

From an engraving by J. Richardson Sr. Frontispiece in Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's "Paradise Lost," by J. Richardson, Father and Son, 1734

It is not my intention to discuss the mighty epic, or, for that matter, to go into detail about Milton's tremendous work in the later years of his life. Suffice it to say that the difference between the earlier and later poetry of Milton is very great; and the difference is evident in the expansion of the poet's intellectual powers (which may have taken place on his entrance into public debate). "Paradise Lost" shows Milton's excellence in the unbroken majesty of his style. Hence perhaps (as Hazlitt reminds us) Milton stimulates us more in the reading and less afterwards. "The way to defend Milton against all impugners is to take down the book and read it. He strives hard to say the finest things in the world, and he does say them." Among the many beauties of the first book is the terrible but grand portrait of Satan:

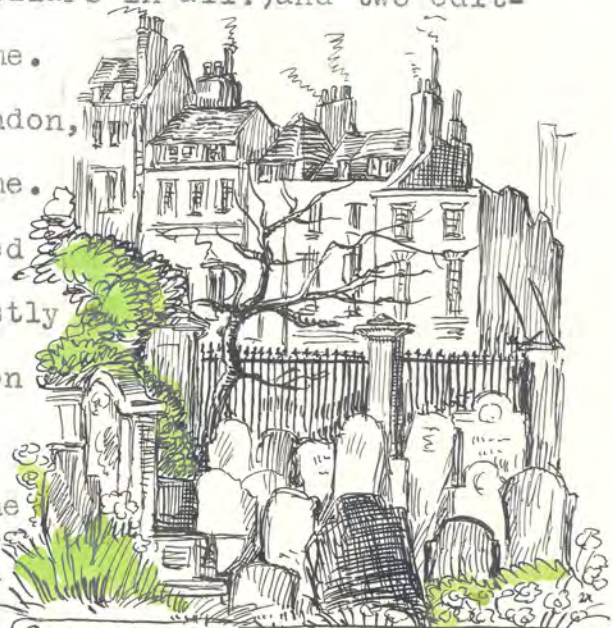
His form had not yet lost
All her Original brightness, nor appeared
Less than Arch-angel ruined, and th' excess
Of glory obscured. As when the sun new ris'n
Looks through the Horizontal misty air
Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon
In dim eclips disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes Monarchs. Darken'd so yet shon
Above them all th' Arch-Angel; but his face
Deep scars of Thunder had intrencht and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
Waiting revenge.

In the fourth book is the beautiful description of Eden:

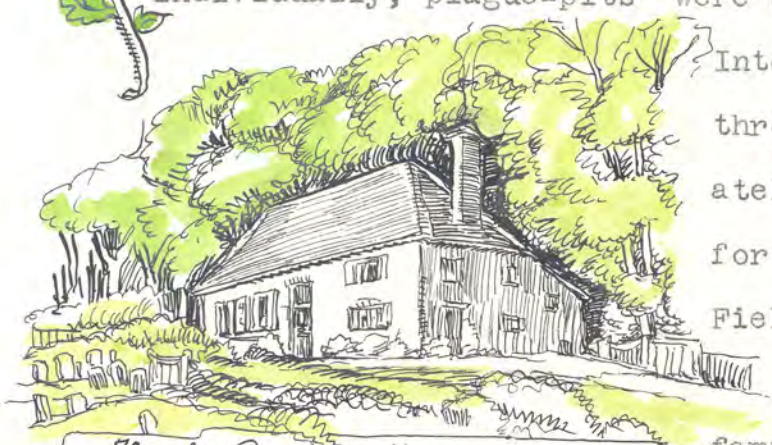
Not that fair field
Of Enna,where Proserpin gathering flowers
Herself a fairer flower by gloomy Dis
was gather'd,which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the World; nor that sweet grove
Of Daphne by Orontes,and th' inspir'd
Castilian spring,might with this Paradise
Of Eden strive....

For this marvellous performance,Milton received two payments of five pounds each (about fifty dollars in all?)and two editions were issued during his lifetime.

In I665,the Plague came to London, just as it did in Shakespeare's time. The fearful rate of mortality caused the year to be remembered with ghastly definiteness in the annals of London as "the year of the Great Plague". People who could afford to leave the plague-smitten city fled from it in thousands,dispersing themselves for safety in various parts of the country. When the rate of mortality began to exceed the possible means of burying the dead individually,"plague-pits" were opened in several suburban spots. Into these pits the corpses were thrown collectively and indiscriminately. And one of the places chosen for these "plague-pits" was Bunhill Fields,near Milton's home. Consequently,Milton and his family joined the thousands who fled from the special horror into



SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF BUNHILL FIELDS BURIAL GROUND, SHOWING OLD HOUSES



The old Quaker Meeting House and Burial Ground, near Chalfont-St. Giles

Milton's Cottage, Chalfont St. Giles, Buckinghamshire

the country. With the assistance of a young Quaker pupil and admirer of his, named Thomas Ellwood, who had made his acquaintance in Jewin Street, Milton made a hasty removal in or about July 1665, to the small and very secluded village of Chalfont-St.-Giles, in the south of Buckinghamshire. The new Milton home was "a pretty box" at the end of the village. (This cottage is the sole residence once occupied by John Milton that is now certainly extant). Here, it is reported, Ellwood read "Paradise Lost" at his leisure, and ventured, after due thanks, to remark, "Thou hast said much here about Paradise Lost,

"Upon this table a portion of "Paradise Lost" was Written.

but what hast thou to say of Paradise Found?" Whereupon, continues the report, Milton "made no answer, but sat some time in a muse". "Paradise Lost" may have been thought of at Chalfont but it was attempted and completed, on Milton's return to Bunhill.

MILTON AT THE ORGAN

Thus with the year
Seasons return; but not to me returns
Day, or the sweet approach of even or morn,
Or sight of vernal bloom or summer's rose,
Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;
But clouds instead and ever-during dark
Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men
Cut off.

John Milton

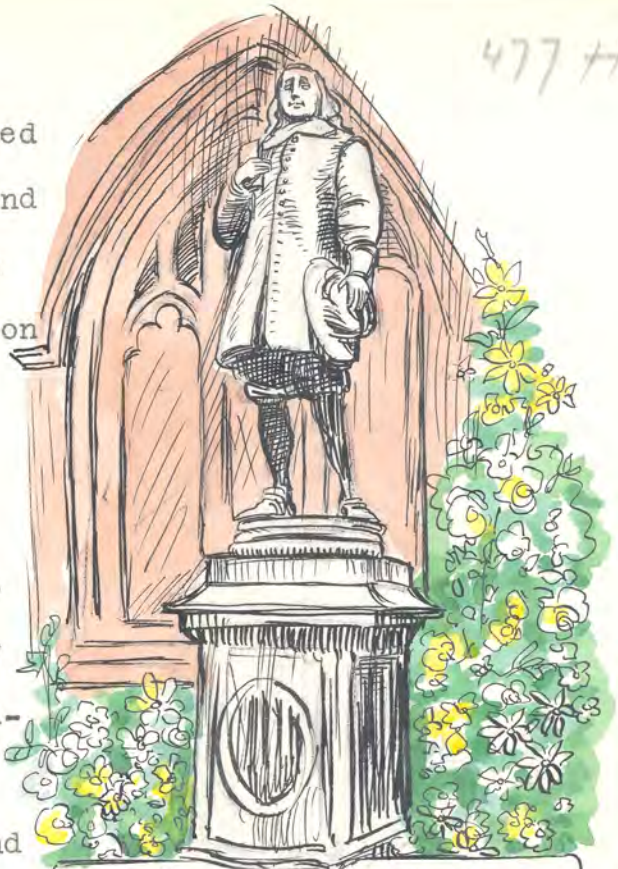
FACSIMILE OF MILTON'S SIGNATURE IN THE ELEVENTH YEAR OF HIS BLINDNESS — 1663.

Dr. Samuel Johnson has given us some interesting particulars of Milton's way of life during the latter years:

When he (Milton) first rose he heard a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and then studied till twelve; then took some exercise for an hour; then dined; then played the organ and sung, or heard another sing; then studied to six; then entertained his visitors till eight; then supped, and after a pipe of tobacco and a glass of water went to bed. One of his visitors describes him as neatly enough dressed in black clothes, sitting in a room hung with rusty green; pale but not cadaverous, with chalk stones in his hands. He said that if it were not for the gout his blindness would be tolerable...."

His daughters had left him, but his third wife took kindly care of him. Friends visited him frequently, among them some eminent for rank or literary achievement. The generous John Dryden was one; also Dryden's literary brother-in-law, Sir Robert Howard, was another. In the last days, Milton produced "Paradise Regained", and "Samson

Agonistes"---in which he portrayed and lamented his own blindness,and also the downfall of the Puritan cause. He came to the composition of these final works (says John Drinkwater)"a good scholar,the chief intellectual champion in his country of political and religious freedom,and a man deeply versed in the sorrows and disillusions of life." To read these works of Milton without haste and without question,is"to look upon the troubled world with untroubled eyes". In"Sampson Agonistes",where the actual fable is one of human catastrophe,we feel that when all is endured,mercy will come,from some common impulse of the world,to heal even the most merited suffering. Indeed,we feel that the spirit of man can mysteriously rise clear of its own limitations,and that man is,in fact, greater than the expression that he can ever give to himself, in the conduct of life. The last lines of Samson look to fuller life,not death, and are words of promise of growth as well as of faith:

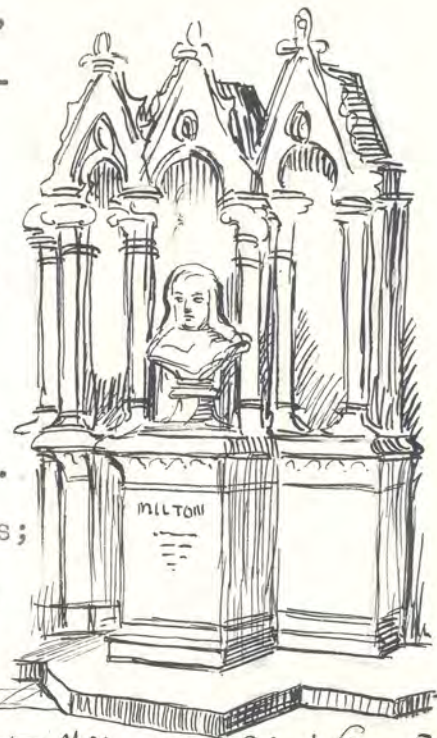


The Milton Statue in St. Giles's Churchyard, Cripplegate, London

The old Gateway to St. Giles, Cripplegate

All is best,though we oft doubt
What the unsearchable dispose
Of highest wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close.

In November I674,Milton died in peace, and was buried near his father in the chancel of St. Giles,Cripplegate. He died at almost sixty-six years of age,leaving to mankind(says George Woodberry)"a life that has been the inspiration of liberty,and these few scrolls of immortal verse". He was Emerson's ideal scholar,"Man thinking". He knew the best in the world's literatures; yet this vast learning never engulfed him, but served only to strengthen and enrich his own genius,dominant always.



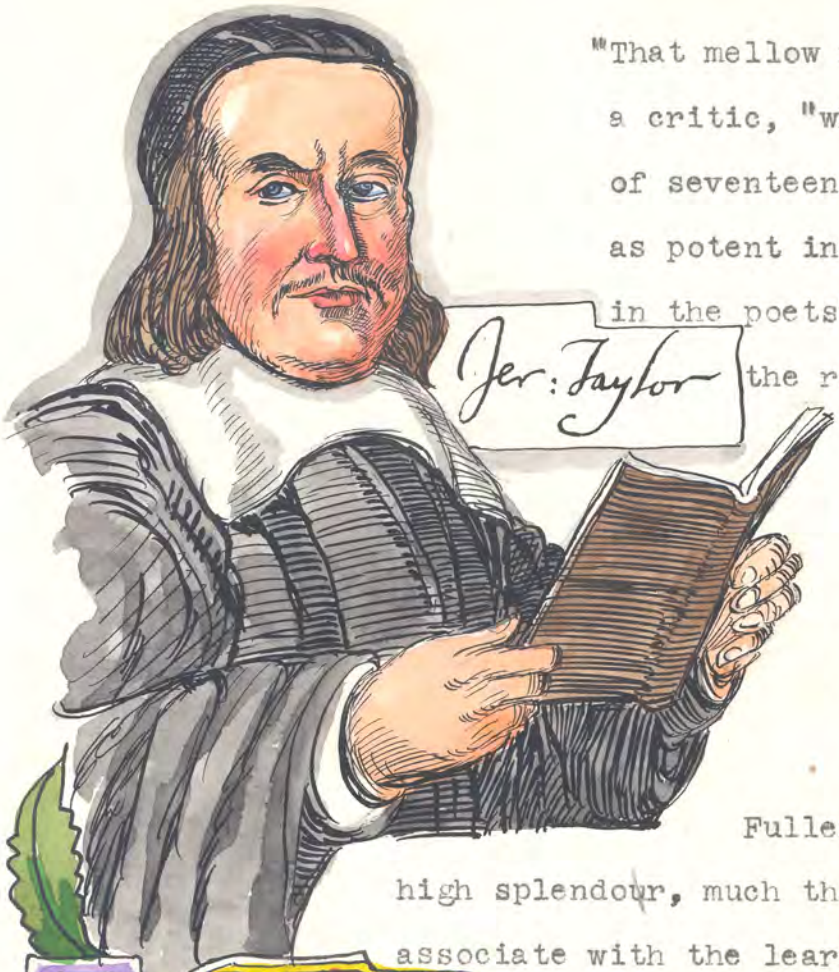
Memorial to Milton in St. Giles's Church

As we take leave of him for a while,may we remember a few lines from the immortal verse:

What though the field be lost?
All is not lost; the unconquerable will,
And study of revenge,immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield.

Now came still evening on,and twilight gray
Had in her sober livery all things clad;
Silence accompanied; for beast and bird,
They to their grassy couch,these to their nests
Were slunk,all but the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long her amorous descant sung;
Silence was leased: now glowed the firmament
Withe living sapphires: Hesperus,that led
The starry host,rode brightest,till the moon,
Rising in clouded majesty,at length
Apparent queen,unveiled her peerless light,
And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.

O Spirit....what in me is dark
Illumine,what is low raise and support,
That to the height of this great argument
I may assert eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men....."



"That mellow nameless charm", observes a critic, "which is a peculiar glory of seventeenth-century literature is as potent in the writers of prose as in the poets". This is in part due to the rich learning made warm and living by vigorous personality. The combination of charm and learning with a subtle art lends to the writings of such men as Jeremy Taylor and Thomas Fuller and Richard Baxter a very high splendour, much the same splendor that we associate with the learned poetry of Milton.

It was Milton who counted the brilliant preacher, Jeremy Taylor, among the

"Men whose Life, Learning, Faith and Pure Intent
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul".

Milton and Taylor were contemporaries at Cambridge University, Taylor entering Caius College as a Sizar(charity scholar)just one year after Milton entered Christ's. But, unlike John, Jeremy was not a Puritan. The two scholars never came to know each other. One became the great advocate of the tenets of Episcopacy in England, and the other their most effective and weighty opponent. During the Civil War, Dr. Jeremy Taylor joined the Royalists, and served as chaplain to the King. He saw battle and seige and wounds. But at the height of the strife he was known by his silvery voice, his exuberant piety, and his rare

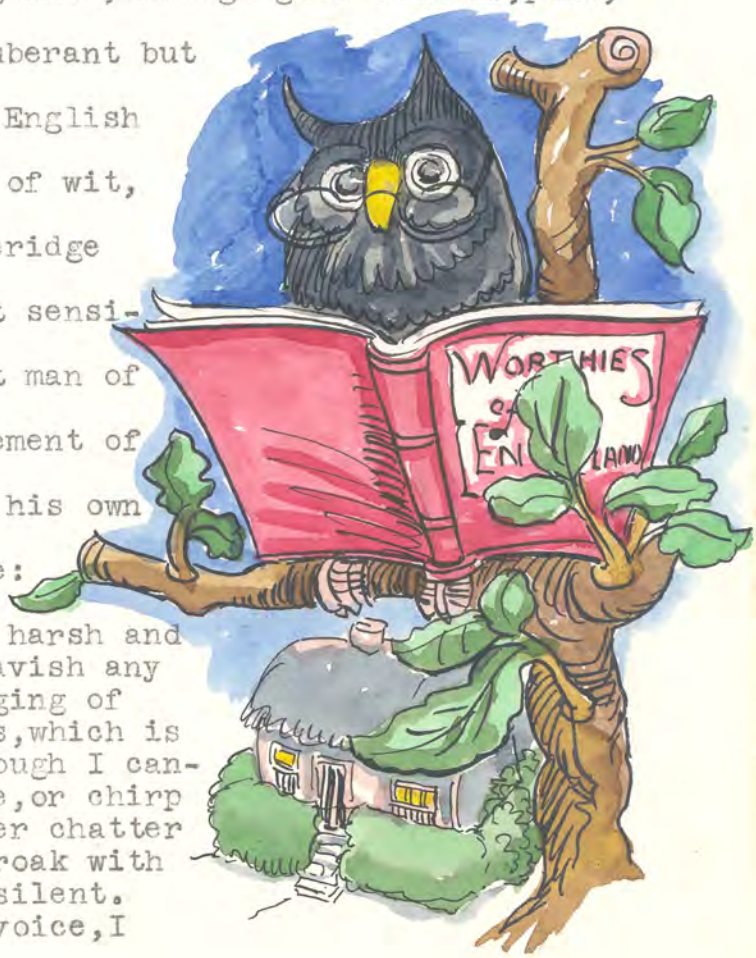
eloquence as a preacher. This rare eloquence is reported to have colored his prayers and his sermons "with the bloody tinge of war and the pure light of heaven". As a result of the "chances of battle", Taylor was wounded, and imprisoned, and stranded in a small country town near Carmarthen, in Wales. Out of this security came many great sermons, and his noble books on "Holy Living and Holy Dying", into which he poured a great deal of his warm humanity, solid sense and knowledge of everyday living.

There is rich imagery and glorious music in his sentences. A slight fragment from one of his sermons will help to illustrate this quality in his prose:

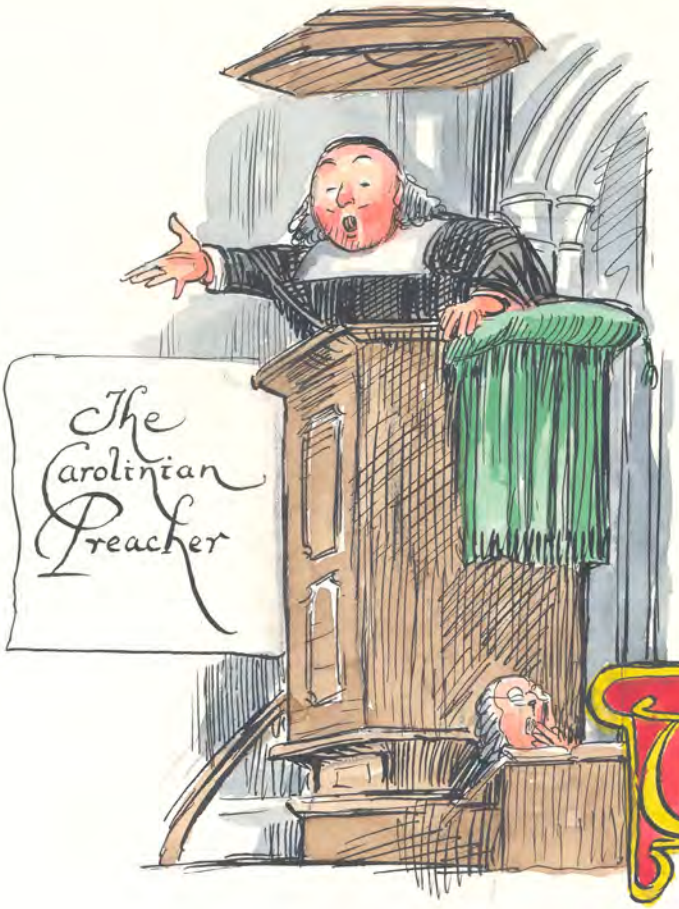
"A good man, though unlearned in secular notices, is like the windows of the Temple, narrow without and broad within; he sees not so much of what profits not abroad, but whatsoever is within, and concerns religion and the glorifications of God, that he sees with a broad inspection. But all human learning, without God, is but blindness and ignorant folly...."

Another diverting writer and preacher of the times was Thomas Fuller, another Cavalier Parson through the Civil War days. This tall man, careless in dress, with a memory that could repeat all the signs he had read in a

walk through London, rambled about England with the King's army, improving his time by collecting all the information he could gather from churches and monuments of dead celebrities. "England", he says, "is a house not very great but convenient". He treats the shires as though they were rooms in the house. "So it is out intention", he continues, "God willing, to describe the furniture of those rooms...with the persons of quality bred therin, and some other observables". And one reads on in his "The Worthies of England", through good stories, puns, proverbs, and drolleries, an exuberant but gentle and amusing account of English life. Thomas Fuller was full of wit, and "full of knowledges". Coleridge says that Fuller was "the most sensible and least prejudiced great man of his time". The following statement of the great preacher concerning his own voice has always interested me:



"Lord, my voice bt nature is harsh and untunable, and it is vain to lavish any art to better it. Can my singing of psalms be pleasing to Thy ears, which is unpleasant to my own? Yet though I cannot chant with the nightingale, or chirp with the blackbird, I had rather chatter with the swallow, yea, rather croak with the raven, than be altogether silent. Hadst Thou given me a better voice, I



would have praised Thee with a better voice. Now what my music wants is sweetness let it have in sense, singing praises with understanding. Yea, Lord, create in me a new heart (therein to make melody), and I will be contented with my old voice until in Thy due time, being admitted into the choir of heaven, I have another, more harmonious, bestowed upon me.

Fuller's wit and skill as a manipulator of language was unsurpassed.

Unlike Jeremy Taylor and Thomas Fuller, the third preacher of the times, was a Nonconformist. He was offered the Bishopric of Hereford, but Richard Baxter was not willing to conform to the Church of England. He preferred to suffer persecution and harsh treatment at the hands of Judge Jeffreys, and spent many years in prison for his faith. His ever-living "Saint's Rest", however, was an accredited book, giving consolation to many a poor soul wrestling with the fears of death and of the future judgment. In his chapel in Southwark, he preached eloquently and well---almost upon the very spot where Shakespeare, eighty years before, had played in the Globe Theater.

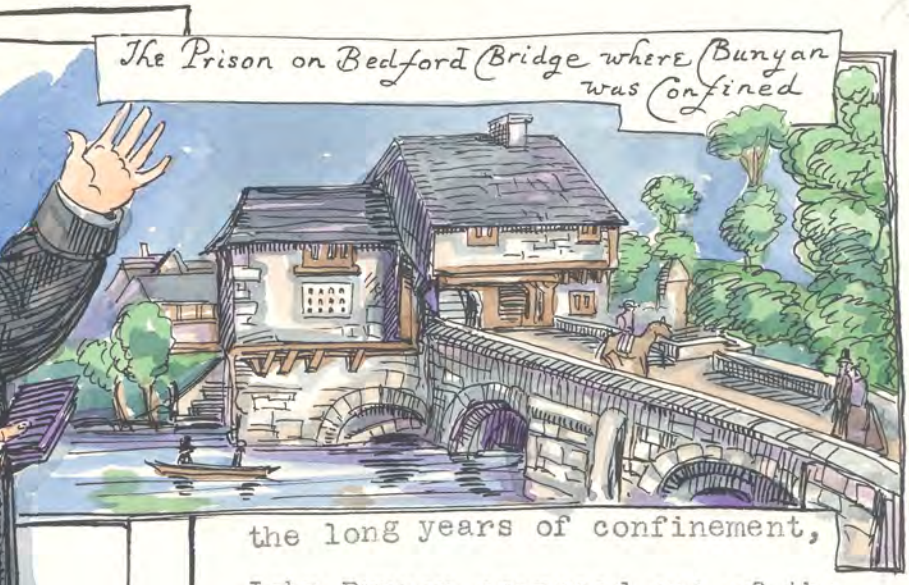
These men---Taylor,Fuller,and Baxter---were scholars of highly cultivated piety,whose utterances had the graces of art to recomment them to their readers. But John Bunyan,the famous author of "Pilgrim's Progress",was a poor tinker,and a tinker's son,with little schooling and less of the opportunities of culture. His only wish was "to be plain and simple, and lay the thing down as it was".

John Bunyan

From Frontispiece of Fourth Edition of PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, 1680

A large man,with ruddy color and a bright eye,wearing his hair on his upper lip(after the old British fashion),Bunyan grew up at Elstow,a quaint village close to Bedford. By his own account,he was a wild fellow until his marriage to a good woman who "turned his mind to more serious things". He passed through a period of spiritual agony,and,at last,won through to a deep and authentic faith. He had singular powers as a preacher, and was imprisoned for twelve years for his insistence on preaching without legal permission to do so. The time spent in Bedford Gaol,however,proved profitable. It gave him an opportunity to use his prolific pen. In

The Prison on Bedford Bridge where Bunyan was Confined

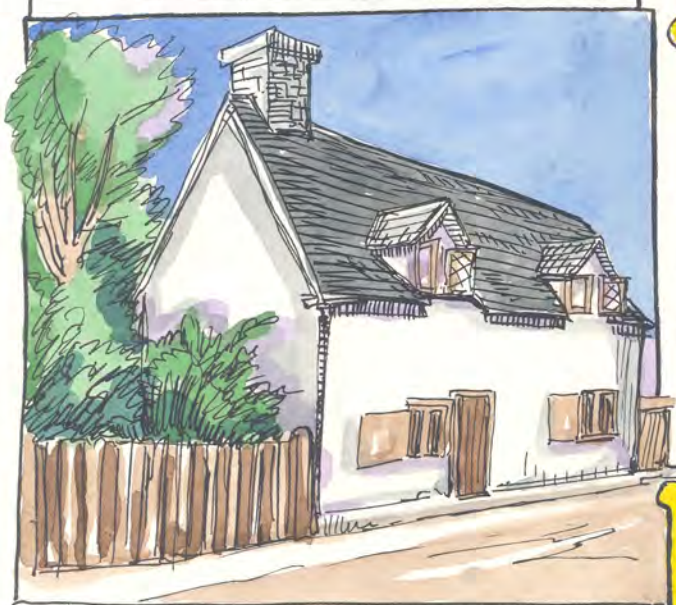


the long years of confinement, John Bunyan composed one of the most remarkable books of English literature---"Pilgrim's Progress". This book, next to the English Bible, has been one of the most enduring influences in English life.

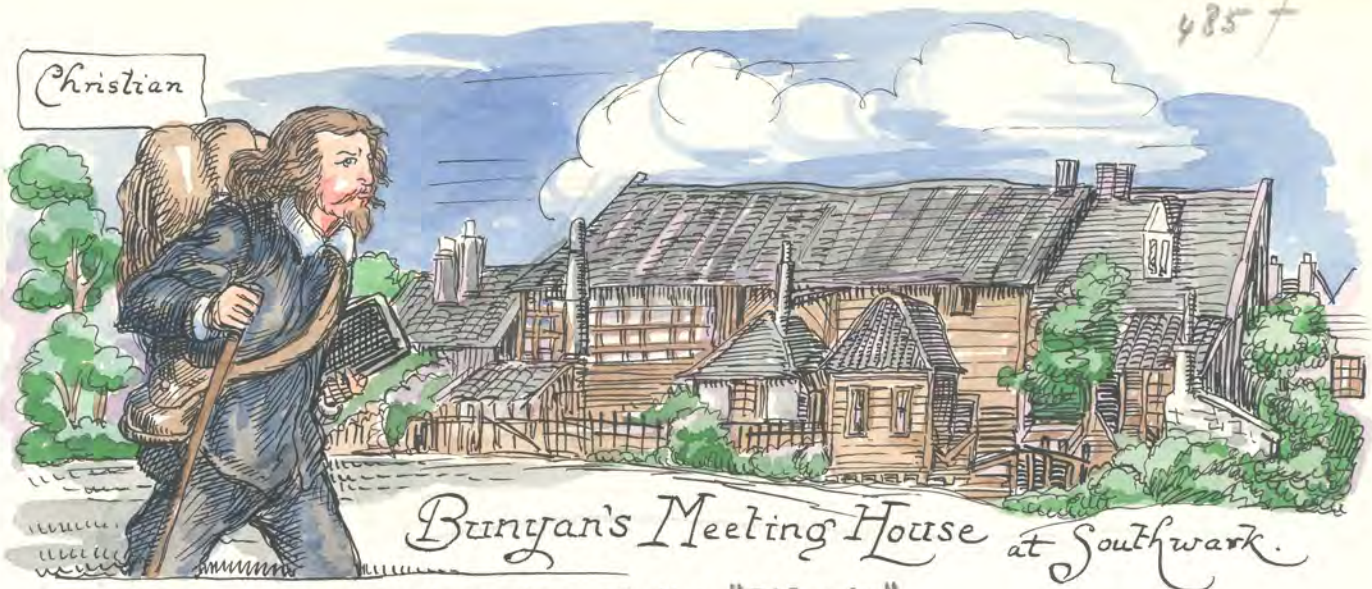
If Milton stands in literature for Puritan culture, Bunyan stands for Puritan fervor.

In "Pilgrim's Progress" (first published in 1678), we have the Puritan view of the Christian experience. The story opens with a fine passage of fine dramatic simplicity:

As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place where was a Den and I laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept I dreamed a dream.



John Bunyan's Cottage at Elstow



Bunyan's Meeting House at Southwark.

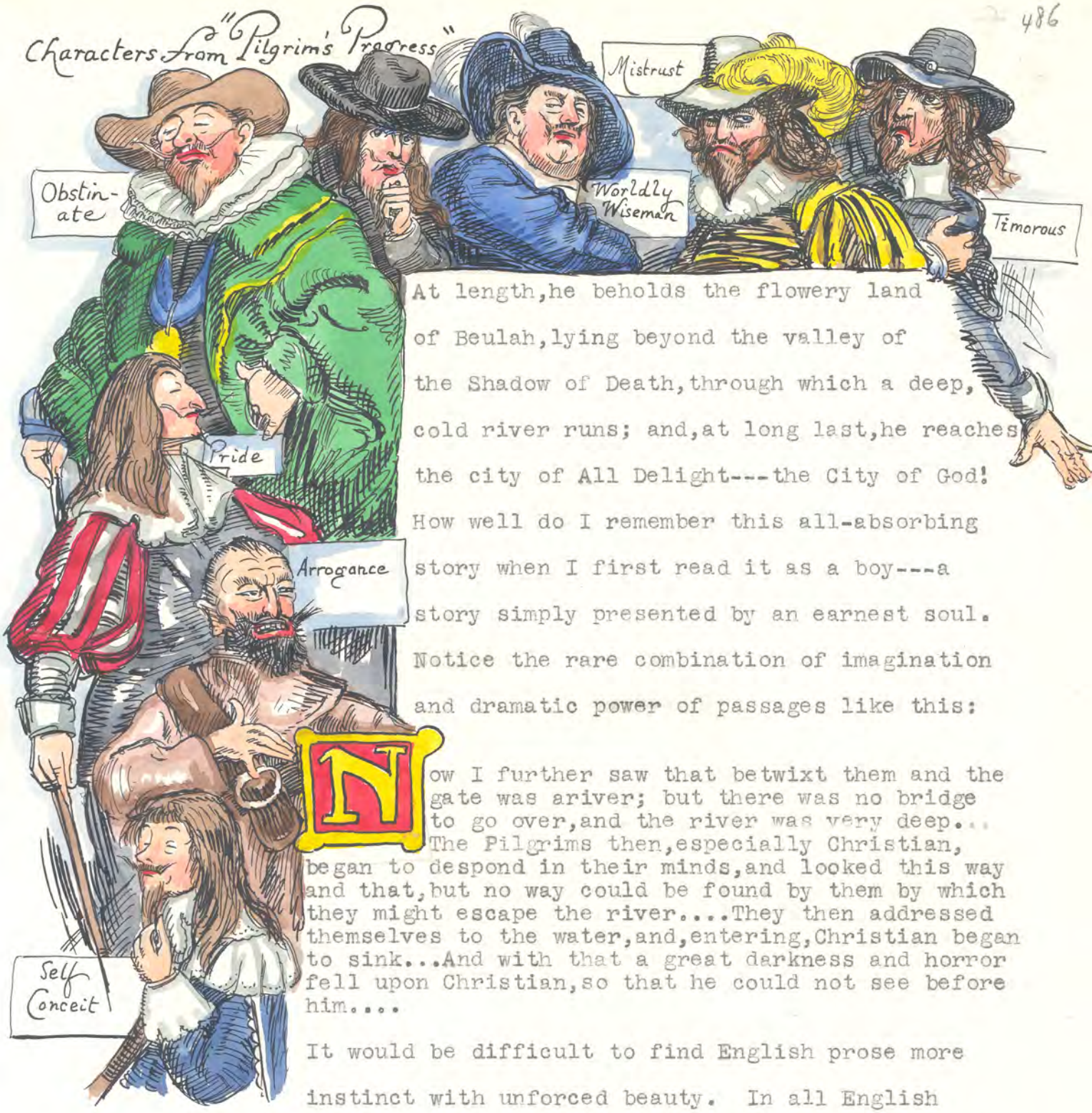
One hundred thousand copies of the "Pilgrim" are believed to have been sold in Bunyan's own day, and the story has been done into several languages ever since.

As Bunyan slept and dreamed in that "den", the Muse came to him, and he was visited by numerous characters---by Faithful and Hopeful, the fellowship of Fiends, the truculent Cavaliers of Vanity Fair, and Giant Despair with his crabtree cudgel. He saw numerous other persons who are always with us---the handsome Madam Bubble, and the young woman whose name was Dull, and Mr. Worldly Wiseman, and Mr. Facing Bothways, and Byends.

as I slept, I dreamed a dream.

BUNYAN'S HOUSE AT BEDFORD.

As Christian journeys on, there are meetings with my lord Time-server, and Mr. Anything. The pilgrim passes through the Valley of Humiliation, encounters Apollyon, and is held prisoner in Doubting Castle.



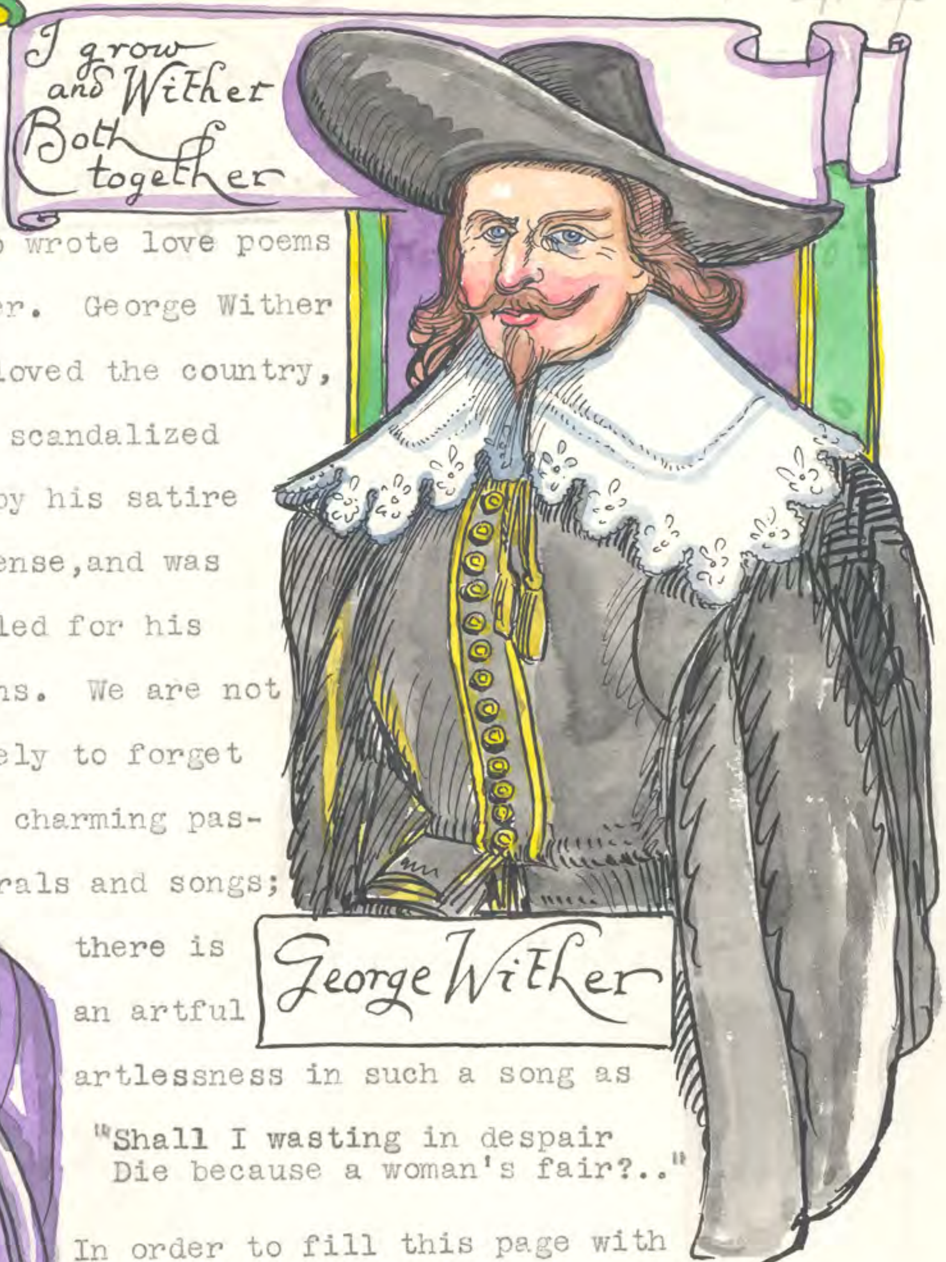
At length, he beholds the flowery land of Beulah, lying beyond the valley of the Shadow of Death, through which a deep, cold river runs; and, at long last, he reaches the city of All Delight---the City of God! How well do I remember this all-absorbing story when I first read it as a boy---a story simply presented by an earnest soul. Notice the rare combination of imagination and dramatic power of passages like this:

Now I further saw that betwixt them and the gate was a river; but there was no bridge to go over, and the river was very deep... The Pilgrims then, especially Christian, began to despond in their minds, and looked this way and that, but no way could be found by them by which they might escape the river....They then addressed themselves to the water, and, entering, Christian began to sink...And with that a great darkness and horror fell upon Christian, so that he could not see before him....

It would be difficult to find English prose more instinct with unforced beauty. In all English literature there is no finer and more inspiring description of the death of the good man than Bunyan's "So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side". Here was an English writer who felt the shaping influence of the Bible more than of all other works combined. He knew the Scriptures almost by heart.

This is as appropriate a place as any other in which to stick a note upon that Puritan poet who wrote love poems and delighted in good cheer. George Wither is hard to classify. He loved the country, yet went to the Court, and scandalized everybody by his satire of its license, and was jailed for his pains. We are not likely to forget his charming pastorals and songs; there is an artful artlessness in such a song as

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



In order to fill this page with two sketches of characteristically well-dressed poets of the times, we have stuck in portraits of Greville and Quarles. They are not so important as poets, but they have pretty clothes, and are picturesque. If the reader is really interested in reading some of their poems, he will find some specimens in any sizable anthology.