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1600—1700

The Lives by H. B. Butler

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Viscount Dundee; the Warden and Fellows of New College for Bishop Ken; the Royal College of Physicians for Sir Thomas Browne, Sydenham, and Harvey; His Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G., for William III, Arabella Stuart, and Denzil Holles; the Right Hon. the Earl of Radnor for Henrietta Maria; the Right Hon. Lord Ribblesdale for Henry Marten and John Bradshaw; His Grace the Duke of Richmond, K.G., for Charles II; the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., for David Leslie; the Right Hon. the Earl of St. Germans for Sir John Eliot and John Hampden; the Right Hon. the Earl of Sandwich for Henry Ireton; Evelyn Shirley, Esq., for Ben Jonson; the Right Hon. the Earl Spencer, for George Digby, second Earl of Bristol, Algernon Sidney, and Marshal Schomberg; His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, K.G., for Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; the Principal of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, for George Fox; Lady Verney for Sir William Williams, and Sir Harry Verney, M.P., for Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales.

It would be rash to affirm the absolute authenticity of each and all of the portraits in this volume—'family tradition' is notoriously subject to suspicion. But no pains have been spared in any case of doubt, and where we have had before us two portraits of the same person, the one artistically superior, and the other of greater authenticity, we have always preferred the latter if we could obtain permission to reproduce it.

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INTRODUCTION

THE opening of the seventeenth century found an active and flourishing colony of foreign portrait-painters—many of them refugees from religious persecution in the Low Countries—established in London. Most of these artists reflected in their practice the styles of the leading masters of the painters' guilds in which they had received their education. Marcus Geeraerts the younger (1561?—1635), who had been brought as a child to England, followed the traditions of the school of Bruges to which his father had belonged. Paul Van Somer (1576—1621) received his training in Antwerp and was already a painter of established reputation when he arrived, about 1606, at the Court of King James I. Daniel Mytens (1590?—1642), whose native city was The Hague, was likewise an accomplished artist when he came to this country some time before 1618.

The taste of the Elizabethan Court, influenced by that of the Queen herself, had favoured a type of portraiture the most striking characteristics of which are a bright tone due to the absence of strong shadows, a flat effect derived from the disregard of aerial perspective, and the use of a colour scheme in which black, white, and strong red are the prevailing hues. Inscriptions, emblems, and coats of arms are introduced without any attempt to bring them into relation with the tone or perspective of the surrounding spaces in the picture, in front of which they appear, to an eye unused to the convention, to be floating in the air. In the works of Geeraerts these archaic mannerisms are frankly employed, and they linger to some

extent in many of those attributed to the other two painters mentioned.

It would be difficult to find a more striking illustration of the importance of the part formerly played by the Alps as a political and social barrier between the North and South of Europe, than the comparison of the state of the fine arts in the Cisalpine and Transalpine regions at the close of the sixteenth century. In Italy the golden age of the Florentine and Roman schools was past, and the cults of mannerism, naturalism, and eclecticism which swayed the still flourishing schools of Venice, Bologna, and other centres, had one point, if only one, in common. It was universally accepted that the effect of forcible, even violent, relief to be obtained by the use of strong light and shade, was an essential quality in a truly fine picture. In the North the ideals which had inspired an earlier age in Italy still reigned supreme. It would be beside the point to pursue in this place an inquiry as to whether consideration for the decorative effect of a picture, which is inevitably marred by the use of glittering lights and deep shades, or a love of narrative detail and gay colouring for their own sakes, or a state of imaginative development unequal to supplying the detail which is presumed to exist behind the veil of shadow, lies at the root of the preference for a pictorial style marked by minute detail exhibited in a full light. Such a preference is well known to be instinctive in all races in the more primitive stages of culture.

It would appear that in England during the sixteenth century these primitive conventions were so strong that they actually exerted some influence upon Torrigiano, Holbein, and Zuccaro, not to speak of other foreign artists possessing less commanding personalities who placed their services at the command of the Court of Britain. In the reign of King James I, a journey to Italy began to be considered essential to the education of youthful nobles, and the

picture galleries formed by Henry and Charles, Princes of Wales, the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Buckingham, and others, familiarized those who never crossed the seas with the artistic theories and taste of the South. Everybody is familiar with the bizarre results produced by the grafting of ornamental details of the High Renaissance upon Gothic construction in the architecture of this period. It was not until many ingenious and elaborate monstrosities had seen the light that Inigo Jones and his followers succeeded in evolving a style which is to some extent a compromise between the mediæval and the classic spirit.

In the field of painting, and of portraiture in particular, technical considerations helped to modify the violence of the shock when the two ideals met, and attempts were made to combine them in a single work. The mighty genius of Rubens contrived in a moment a bridge by which the art traversed the gulf between the primitive and the decadent styles then flourishing contemporaneously at either end of Europe. That two distinct artistic ideals to which circumstances had denied the full time required for natural interpenetration were welded together in the fire of Rubens's personality is essentially true. But the necessity for this amalgamation was recognized and its accomplishment aimed at by several contemporary painters who cannot—in early life at any rate—have seen many of Rubens's own works. Mytens was one of these. A list of twelve works signed and dated by him is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but very little has been done to establish the authenticity of the numerous pictures traditionally attributed to him. If he was really the author of the impressive portrait of Sir Francis Verney, preserved at Claydon House, and some other noble whole-lengths of the same class, he must have been possessed of distinguished qualities worthy of having exercised the influence upon Van Dyck with which Mr. Lionel Cust, in his life of the great master, credits him,

and even of having been the real author of several fine pictures attributed by tradition to Van Dyck, but suspected by the same writer to have been painted by Mytens.

An artist of equally great historic interest was Cornelius Janssens van Keulen. He was born in London in 1593 of a family which is believed to have come from Antwerp, and his training was doubtless obtained amongst the Netherlandish colonists in London. But he went further than any of them in his efforts to give his portraits an air of natural roundness and aerial perspective. It is creditable to the taste of the time that although Janssens eliminated from his pictures all accessories which interfered with the tonal value of the whole, and in pursuit of this quality constantly confined his colour scheme within the limits of black, white, and grey as supports to his flesh tints, he obtained a large share of the Court patronage and divided with Mytens the position of the foremost portrait-painter of the time.

The brief visit of Rubens (1629-30) and of Honthorst about the same time must have contributed to familiarize the British Court with prevailing continental fashions in art. In particular, the portraits of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia and her family by Honthorst, which passed into the possession of King Charles I and are still at Hampton Court, showing as they do the painter's exaggerated chiaroscuro (amounting almost to a caricature of contemporary Italian taste), must have appeared in this respect greatly in advance of anything which had been seen in England up to that time.

Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641) passed a short time in London in 1620-1 and again in 1626 and 1627, but little is known of his occupations on these occasions. The history of his career and work is so well known that it is unnecessary to recapitulate them here or even to recount the circumstances which are supposed to have led to his settling in London in the spring of 1632. Van Dyck

possessed, as is well known, an exceedingly impressionable and various artistic temperament. At each step of his career—in Antwerp, in Genoa, and in London—he absorbed and reflected all that was most striking and most noble in the styles of contemporary painters. Thus, as we have seen, his learned biographer Mr. Lionel Cust lays much emphasis on the formative influence exercised upon Van Dyck by Mytens, who taught him, as it were, the form of appeal to which English taste might most surely be expected to respond. So completely did Van Dyck identify himself in spirit with Mytens that it has been found impossible, even by a student of Mr. Cust's experience in such matters, to determine whether certain pictures are actually the work of Mytens or of Van Dyck exercising himself in the same manner. It is scarcely surprising therefore to find that the portraits of Van Dyck's English period show on the whole characteristics which differentiate them so entirely from his earlier work as to make it permissible to consider them as the production of a distinct artistic personality. For this reason the English visitor to the Hermitage Gallery, to the Prado, or the Louvre feels himself greeted with the familiar welcome of a compatriot by the portraits of the Wharton family, the Countess of Oxford, and the Duke of Richmond, which single themselves out by their indefinable English air from the faces of other nationalities, immortalized by the same hand, by which they are surrounded on the walls.

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made, in alluding to the careers of Mytens and Janssens, to show how they accomplished the transition between primitive and modern portraiture on its technical side. In the case of Van Dyck we have to deal with a revolution equally profound in its consequences—a revolution of sentiment. In a passage of great insight Mr. Cust has indicated the character and scope of this change, and it is impossible to describe it better than in his words. Mr. Cust has chosen as an illustration of

his argument the portraits of King Charles I and his Queen. 'A peculiar sympathy,' he writes, 'seems to have linked together the King and the painter, and it is difficult to separate them in the mind. . . . One does not seem to know Charles in his early portraits as Duke of York and Prince of Wales, or even in the very excellent portraits of the King which Mytens painted. In the portraits of Mytens Charles appears, no doubt, as he was seen, his short stature and other minor defects being in no way disguised. . . . But with the arrival of Van Dyck the King appears as it were transformed. Instead of the rather gawky youth depicted by Mytens, there appears a hero of romance with an indefinable look of destiny and sadness in his eyes. . . . It is the Charles I of Van Dyck whom the historian pictures to himself defying the House of Commons, receiving the news of Naseby or Edgehill, the captive of Hampton Court or Carisbrooke, the prisoner at bar in Westminster Hall or the Royal Martyr, pacing with undiminished dignity and pride through the snowy morning to the last scene on the scaffold of Whitehall. . . . For the presentment of Henrietta Maria in history Van Dyck is again responsible. In the dry and uncompromising portraits of Miereveldt and his school she would have been but one of a long series of uninteresting royalties. Had she instead of her sister been Queen of Spain, she would have been one of the charming dolls in unspeakable dresses, on which Velazquez expended his inimitable skill as a portrait-painter. Van Dyck transformed Henrietta Maria into a heroine of romance.'

The magic by which the artist effected this transfiguring process in the Royal portraits and, in their own degree, in those of every cavalier and lady who sat to him was, of course, that of rhetoric. Sir Sidney Colvin has acutely observed that portraiture in the seventeenth century came to grief by associating with more ambitious forms of art. Rubens, although not the originator of the combination

of allegory and portraiture, was the first to achieve brilliant success in this branch of art in the north of Europe. In France his influence was directly spread by the great series of pictures painted to decorate the Luxembourg palace, and the rhetorical school, while only occasionally introducing allegory itself into portraiture, entirely dominated the art until the time of David and actually in certain hands survived the Revolution. Van Dyck once or twice, as in the picture of Venetia Lady Digby, at Windsor Castle, and that of the Countess of Southampton, most familiar in the version belonging to Lord Lucas and now lent to the National Gallery, gave a definitely allegorical turn to his portraits. During his lifetime the rhetorical school was firmly planted in England, where it flourished, especially in Court circles, until the time of Lawrence. But concurrently with it there always existed a home-spun type of portrait-painting, derived in the first instance from the Netherlandish artists whose clients lived outside the range of the Court and its fashions, and continued by a series of conscientious painters, many of native birth, who were as incapable of adopting a rhetorical manner as their customers were of appreciating it. The contrast between the aims of the two schools is inimitably suggested in the description of the Primrose family group in the *Vicar of Wakefield*.

Before proceeding to trace the course of the rhetorical school during the second half of the seventeenth century we may briefly summarize the conditions under which the innumerable pictures now ascribed to Van Dyck were produced. It is necessary to recall that the whole period between the painter's arrival in this country and his death was only nine years and a half; and, after allowing for the interruption of more than one expedition to the Continent, it has been estimated that he was not at work in London for more than six years and a half. Gigantic as must have been his industry and amazing his versatility, it would have been impossible for him even

to have touched upon more than a small proportion of the canvasses now bearing his name. Mr. Cust, in his life of the painter, has demonstrated with great learning and ingenuity how the personages whose portraits were indubitably painted by Van Dyck may be linked to one another or to the artist by some tie of consanguinity or of social relationship; and hence that some degree of scepticism is permissible where pictures representing sitters who can in no way be connected with this circle are assigned to the master on any but the strongest evidence. Even the numerous repetitions and variants of portraits belonging to this group can often only be classed as school pieces. For there is ample evidence that Van Dyck kept, in fact, a picture manufactory, similar to that conducted by Rubens, and little less prolific. Many portraits can be shown on good documentary or ancient traditional authority to have come from his studio which do not appear to have about them one touch of the brush recognizable in finer works as that of Van Dyck himself. The very curious correspondence between Elinor Countess of Sussex and Mr. Ralph Verney, printed in the *Verney Memoirs*, and reproduced with an illuminating commentary by Mr. Cust, makes it clear that there issued from the painter's studio portraits for which he had received few sittings or none at all, tricked out with costumes and accessories based upon stock models or invented for the occasion.

Everything, in short, tends to prove that Van Dyck was surrounded by a considerable band of assistants, copyists, and imitators who, after his premature death, continued to produce repetitions of his portraits and to paint others in a manner as close to his as their abilities allowed them to approach. Of the individual members of this throng we have little knowledge; amongst their extant productions many works of William Dobson (1610-46), Robert Walker (*d.* 1658?), early paintings by Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), and the entire output of several artists whose names have been for-

gotten, await identification. The fame of Dobson is based almost entirely upon pictures whose authorship is attributed to him by traditions that have neither been confirmed nor demolished by critical examination. The beautiful portrait of James Duke of York in the Royal collection at Windsor Castle, assigned to him with very great probability, is the work of a highly accomplished artist. Walker's title to remembrance is founded on the group of portraits of Oliver Cromwell, his family and adherents. These are executed in a distinctive style which does not betray the influence of Van Dyck as clearly as the three variants of the painter's portrait of himself in the Royal collection, the National Portrait Gallery, and the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, the last-named bearing the artist's signature. Here we see Walker in the light of an imitator of the great Fleming and a follower of the rhetorical school.

In the case of Sir Peter Lely we are brought face to face with a body of pictures probably even more extensive than that attributed to Van Dyck and far more various in style and quality. Lely, whose family name was van der Faes, had been educated in the school of Haarlem, and was at the age of twenty-three a painter of sufficient accomplishment to be chosen to accompany William the Second, Prince of Orange, to England when he came to be wedded to the Princess Mary. This was in the last year of Van Dyck's life, and the exquisite painting now in the Royal Gallery at the Hague, in which he portrayed the youthful bride and bridegroom, was probably one of the last that he completed. Lely's portraits, painted about the same time, are in the collection of the Earl of Crawford. Lely would seem to have accommodated his style to that made fashionable by Van Dyck; and there can be little doubt that most of the pictures which he painted before the Restoration are now classed amongst those of Van Dyck and his school. Of the few which have preserved the name of their actual author the most important is the superb

group of King Charles I with James Duke of York, painted whilst the King was captive at Hampton Court in 1647. The original is in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland; contemporary repetitions are at Castle Howard and elsewhere.

Passages in the works of contemporary writers such as Pepys testify to the fame of Lely in his lifetime and to the extent to which he was overwhelmed by commissions from Royal and aristocratic sitters. Evidence for authenticating his work is abundant; not only did he occasionally sign his pictures and the studies for them, but we have several series of pictures:—the Flagmen of the battle of Solebay, executed in 1665-6 for James Duke of York, and now at Greenwich Hospital; the beauties of the Court of Charles II, commissioned probably about the same time by Anne Hyde Duchess of York, and now at Hampton Court Palace; and numerous family portraits of the North family, who were close friends and patrons of the artist. Moreover towards the end of his life the development of mezzotint gave a stimulus to the production of engraved portraits, and the identity of many of his works has been preserved in this way. Notwithstanding this, ludicrous ascriptions to Lely of pictures clearly by other artists, contemporary and even later, are to be found in almost every collection of portraits. Attempts have recently been made to elucidate this confusion with the aid of the science, as it has been called, of connoisseurship or comparative criticism; and certain conspicuous pictures have been conjecturally transferred from Lely to other painters. But hitherto no catalogue or set of illustrations of his easily authenticable work has been formed as a groundwork for the study of his characteristics.

Besides numerous assistants, mostly, like himself, immigrants from the Netherlands, Lely had a number of rivals both British and foreign. Amongst those of English birth John Greenhill (1644?-76), who studied under Lely himself, John Riley (1646-91), Mary

Beale (1632-1697), and John Michael Wright (1625?-1700?) were the most eminent. And works of Willem Wissing (1656-87), Jacob Huysmans (1636?-96), Henri Gascar (1635-1701), and Gerard Soest (d. 1681) amongst the foreigners, still stand out from the mass of pictures summarily attributed to Lely and his followers. An interesting group of paintings by Greenhill, to be seen in the Dulwich College Gallery, provides a touchstone of his merit. A pair of Royal portraits, with two of Elias Ashmole in the Museum bearing his name at Oxford, are ascribed, with great probability, to Riley; and other isolated pictures of his have been identified by the aid of contemporary engravings. By the same means certain dull but not ill-executed portraits, notably those of Dr. Thomas Sydenham and of John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, can be definitely assigned to Mary Beale. Wright is principally famous or notorious for the pictures, painted about 1670-73, representing twenty-two judges who examined into claims arising from the great fire of London; these were commissioned by the Corporation and are still at Guildhall. His painting of John Lacy, the actor, in three characters, at Hampton Court Palace, is a favourable example of his talent. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the productions of Lely's foreign rivals; they all practised in the rhetorical style, some of them imparting into it an additional theatrical touch borrowed from the French school of Mignard and Largillière. The works of Soest stand on a somewhat different plane and have indeed been deemed worthy of being given, in spite of their strongly marked style, not only to Lely but even to Van Dyck.

Five years before the close of Lely's career another foreign artist, destined to eclipse, more completely perhaps than Lely, his British and foreign contemporaries, made his appearance in London. This was Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723). A native of Northern Germany, Kneller had received his education in the school of

Rembrandt at Amsterdam, and had acquainted himself, by travelling, with the older and contemporary art of Italy. Coming to London in 1675 he was introduced to the notice of the Duke of Monmouth, and commissioned to take advantage of some sittings being given by the King to Lely, to paint a portrait of Charles II. His position at Court was soon strengthened by the death of Lely, and he remained through changes of reign and dynasty the most fashionable and busily-employed painter in this country until his death. Ten reigning sovereigns sat to him for their portraits, and for nearly forty years a never-ending procession of the noblest, wealthiest, and most intellectual personages in English society swept through his painting-room. This is not the place to assess Kneller's merits and defects as an artist, but there is one criticism upon all his works, except the earliest, considered solely as presentments of certain men and women, which it is difficult to forgo. After allowing for the disguising uniformity effected by the vast periwigs which the fashion of the time compelled his male sitters to wear, and by the characterless style of hair-dressing and drapery affected by painters when immortalizing ladies who never wore anything like it in real life, it seems incredible that so large a number of human countenances can ever have resembled one another so completely in a complete lack of all distinguishing characteristics, as they appear to do in the portraits of Kneller and his contemporaries. Indeed, not only does every one of his men and every one of his women resemble the rest, but if all but the faces of his sleek clean-shaven lords and round-faced ladies were covered over it would often be a puzzle to decide upon the sexes of the subjects of his pictures. Fortunately for posterity many of the less fashionable of Kneller's sitters—the men of letters and artists of that Augustan Age—dispensed with their wigs when posing before the painter, so that the colour and growth of their hair gives them a certain look of individuality.

An instructive example of the tendencies of pictorial rhetoric and generalization is presented by a comparison of Kneller's well-known portrait of Addison and that by Simon du Bois (d. 1708), a painter of the same school (in the possession of Queen's College, Oxford), with the presentment of the same personage by Dahl in the National Portrait Gallery. In the last-named may be recognized certain definite characteristics of the sitter which have been blotted out in the endeavour to impart dignity, charm and beauty to the other expressionless masks. Scores of Kneller's portraits bear every sign of having been painted against time, as they may well have been, with extraordinary dexterity and economy of means; yet, and this is one of the most curious points about him, the artist never makes use of the short cut of caricature, the easiest way of securing a likeness with rapidity and one of which a painter of Kneller's experience must well have understood the use. It would seem as if his patrons and those of his imitators, whose name is legion, really preferred to see their features reduced to one common denominator of fashionable insipidity; for to this the romance of Van Dyck had degenerated in the reign of Queen Anne.

Allusion has already been made to the existence of a school of commonplace unaffected portraiture patronized by the middle-class citizens and provincial gentry, who demanded something not so much naturalistic in effect as simple in design and modest in scale. Doubtless this desire found its fulfilment to some extent in the work of pastelists and miniature-painters, but throughout the seventeenth century many painters in oil earned recognized professional positions either in travelling from place to place or by settling down in the university and county towns. The unpretending works of such artists still survive in great numbers, often attributed absurdly enough to famous hands. Now and again one of them signed a picture, as Edward Bower signed his pathetic presentment of King Charles I as he sat

at his trial, or painted a sitter of sufficient wealth or importance to make it worth while to produce an engraving of the portrait. Excepting for such scattered records the history of this school is a blank, which will be gradually filled up as researches into ancient civic and family accounts, and comparison of signed or otherwise authenticated paintings with others reasonably presumed to derive their origin from similar sources, lead to the rehabilitation of these forgotten artists. The artistic personalities of two provincial painters of some interest, Gilbert Jackson and John Taylor, have in this way been recovered from oblivion. In the case of the former, the recognition of identical details in the accessories and forms in the inscriptions of two signed and four unsigned pictures seems to justify the isolation of a small group of works which will probably receive additions as the interest in this line of study spreads, since there is some reason to believe that Jackson may have been one of those wandering portraitists who moved from city to city as he found his services required. Taylor, on the other hand, represents the type of an established provincial artist; he reached the dignity of Mayor of Oxford; but his connexion with the very striking group of portraits in the Town Hall there had been completely lost sight of until researches in the municipal accounts brought his name to light once more.

Portrait-painting in pastel or coloured chalk is a comparatively late development of the art, which took its rise in Italy towards the close of the sixteenth century amongst the painters of the eclectic school. The technique of pastel proper is more elaborate than anything to be found in the crayon drawings of Holbein or of the school of Clouet and Dumoustier, and involves the use of a wider range of tints than was ever known to those artists. Certain works by Federigo Baroccio (1528-1612) show pastel painting fully developed, but the history of its early growth, as of its introduction into the

North of Europe, remains obscure. In England from the middle of the seventeenth century to the close of the eighteenth, and even somewhat later, pastel painting has flourished more widely and continuously, although less brilliantly, than in France or any other country. Unfortunately little is known of its practitioners during the earlier period. Samuel Cooper (1609-72), the great miniaturist, executed some portraits in this manner; his head of himself, formerly at Strawberry Hill, is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Dyce Collection). Edmund Ashfield (fl. 1675-1700) likewise combined the practice of pastel with that of miniature-painting; an exceedingly fine head of a man attributed to him is in the Print Room of the British Museum. The name of Edward Luttrell (fl. 1670-1710) has been preserved by his work as an engraver in mezzotint as much as by his pastels, although his pictures are not uncommon; his portraits of Samuel Butler, one of which is in the National Portrait Gallery, are well known. It seems probable that the numerous anonymous works of this class to be found in old country houses were mostly executed by miniaturists. They are invariably small in scale, and the interaction of the technique of pastel and of miniature-painting in opaque or gouache pigment, which came into general use during this period, is sufficiently obvious.

Of miniature-painting itself this epoch was the golden age. The productions of the school led by Isaac Oliver (1556?-1617) and his son Peter (1594-1648), John Hoskins the elder (d. 1664) and his son of the same name, and Samuel Cooper (1609-72), may be accounted the greatest glory of British art, as they are assuredly its most unique achievement. The parents of Isaac Oliver came to London about 1568 as Protestant refugees from Rouen, when the painter was a boy about twelve years of age. The influences under which his artistic training were obtained were wholly English, and there is reason to believe that he was a pupil of Nicholas Hilliard. His earlier works

mark a considerable advance upon those of his master, not only in strength of colour and roundness of modelling, but in their ambitious and successful manner of dealing with whole length figures, rich costumes and accessories, and landscape backgrounds; his more developed style shows the influence of Mytens as that of his son displays the fruits of a close study of Van Dyck. Both were prolific painters and generally signed their work, but, unfortunately, outside the group of Royal personages, whose features and attributes are easily recognizable, the famous series of portraits of Sir Kenelm Digby and his family (divided at the Strawberry Hill sale between the late Lady Burdett-Coutts and Mr. Wingfield-Digby), and a few others, the identity of their subjects is only too often uncertain or unknown. The greater number of the seventeenth-century miniatures in public and private collections are, of course, named; but even with a liberal allowance of credulity it is impossible to admit that more than one quarter of them have any solid claim to authenticity in that respect. In no branch of iconography is so much caution and scepticism required as in dealing with miniatures.

In the case of Cooper we have also numerous signatures and dates to guide us in the study of his genius and its development. The earlier history of his celebrated portraits of Oliver Cromwell and his family, now in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch, and of the superb presentments of Charles II and some of his courtiers, preserved at Windsor Castle, Goodwood, Ham House, and elsewhere, is well known, and they have served as touchstones for naming similar miniatures. Quite recently the discovery of a beautiful and important miniature (in the collection of Mr. Henry J. Pfungst, F.S.A.) representing apparently a handsome young cavalier but inscribed by Cooper with the name of Margaret Lemon—Van Dyck's imperious mistress—has disclosed an interesting probability of some connexion, hitherto unsuspected, between the two great artists.

Apart from these few instances very little is known about Cooper's relationship with society in the changeful times during which he lived; but it is probable that a great deal of his time was taken up in recording the features of prosperous middle-class citizens who would have been surprised could they have known under what great historic titles their likenesses would pass counter with posterity. Under such circumstances it is not astonishing that the accepted identifications of most of Cooper's sitters collapse under the slightest scrutiny and must be dismissed as flatly apocryphal. To add to the confusion, dealers have been tempted by the enormous prices lately paid by collectors of miniatures to repaint and furbish up damaged works by minor artists of the school, and add signatures and dates closely imitated from those of the great masters, and adjusted to support their claims to be portraits of historical personages whose names have been attached to them. The uncertain iconographic value of most of the miniatures executed by Cooper's successors--of whom Lawrence Crosse (1650?-1724) was perhaps the most meritorious--makes it unnecessary to dwell on the history of those artists here. But it may be added that miniatures in oil should be viewed with particular suspicion. There is no evidence that this medium was ever employed by any of the great British masters, or indeed that it found favour to any extent in England; most of the oil miniatures preserved in collections are clearly either Dutch or German.

A link between the work of miniaturists and that of the painter-engravers is furnished by that of the draughtsmen in plumbago and pen and ink: William Faithorne (1616-1691), David Loggan (1635-1700?), Robert White (1645-1703), Thomas Forster (fl. 1695-1712), and John Faber the elder (1660? 1721); indeed all of them except Forster were engravers also, and are better known in that capacity. The seventeenth century was the flowering time of painter-engravers'

portraiture in England. It saw the art emerge from the clumsy and archaic style of its infancy in the superior productions of Renold Elstrack (fl. 1598-1625), Francis Delaram (fl. 1615-27), Simon (1595?-1647), and Willem (1598?-1637?) van de Passe and William Marshall (fl. 1617-49); arrive at perfect maturity in the hands of line engravers like Faithorne, Loggan and White, and the earliest practitioners of the newly invented process of mezzotint, such as Abraham Blooteling, (fl. 1670-77); and finally became absorbed by translator-engraving which, under new conditions of production, gathered into its hands all classes of engraved portraiture. Those who follow the history of this branch of art during the first half of the century in Sir Sidney Colvin's book on *Early Engravers and Engraving in England* (1905) will realize that in its beginnings it was even more closely bound up with the Netherlands than was contemporary British painting. The style of Faithorne and his followers was, of course, directly formed upon that of the great French engravers Nanteuil and Edelinck, of the former of whom Faithorne was actually at one time a pupil. The Englishmen may have fallen short of their French masters in brilliancy of draughtsmanship and execution, but they achieved a certain air of picturesqueness and veracity which seems to be characteristic of many forms of English art in widely separated periods. When we remember that the work of Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-77) has also to be taken into consideration, it may well seem difficult to exaggerate the iconographic value of the engraved portraiture of this era.

The transition from a dry unemotional manner of representation to one more highly stylized and rhetorical in spirit, very sharply marked, as we have seen, in the painted portraiture of this period, is even more noticeable in the sculpture. The English sepulchral sculpture of the post-mediaeval period presents a rich and as yet almost untouched field for criticism and study. Monuments

with numerous figures and busts painted to imitate nature, such as had become fashionable under the Tudors, continued to be erected in great numbers during the earlier years of the Stuart dynasty. Too lively with their staring eyes and gaudy polychromy to give a calm and dignified rendering of death, yet too stiff to give a convincing idea of the appearance in life of those whom they commemorate, these uncouth images seem at first sight to fall short of their aim both as portraits and works of art. Yet in some instances, where the fame of the subjects has made portraits of this type the focus of critical study, the result has been to show that they possess the authentic iconographic value due to having been founded upon casts of the dead features of the persons represented. Such are the effigies (now without colour) of Mary Queen of Scots and Queen Elizabeth (1604-6) in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster, and the bust of Shakespeare (1616) above his grave at Stratford-upon-Avon. Queen Elizabeth's monument is the work of Maximilian Poutrian *alias* Colt (fl. 1600-18); the bust of Shakespeare was made by Geraert Janssen. Both of these artists belonged to the Flemish refugee colony in London.

The earlier effigies by Nicholas Stone (1586-1647), such as those of Thomas Sutton at the Charterhouse (1615), and Sir Thomas Bodley, in Merton College Chapel, Oxford (1615), are entirely in the manner of this older school. Later, under the Italian influence, transmitted no doubt through Inigo Jones as well as through Stone's own son Nicholas, who worked for a time in the workshop of Bernini in Rome, Stone abandoned polychromy and imparted to his marbles some of the freedom of contemporary Italian sculpture. His works and career illustrate very instructively the course of the transition from plastic ideals in essence those of mediaeval art, to artistic formulae of which the neo-classic style of the eighteenth century was the ultimate outgrowth. The abruptness of the change from one

key of plastic expression to another as remote from it as the pictorial manner of Marcus Geeraerts from that of Van Dyck, is broken by a series of sculptures in bronze, the work of Hubert Le Sueur (1595?-1650) and Francesco Fanelli (fl. 1610-65). Some confusion exists as to which of the group of statues and busts executed for the Court of King Charles I are to be rightfully assigned to each of these two artists. It is not impossible that they collaborated in some cases. A close resemblance in their styles is to be expected since they both received their training in the Florentine school of Giovanni da Bologna. The beautiful bust of King Charles II as a boy, signed by Fanelli and dated 1640, in the possession of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey, and the noble head of Sir Thomas Richardson by Le Sueur (1635) in Westminster Abbey, give ample evidence that both were portrait sculptors of great ability. Le Sueur's statues of Charles I at Charing Cross (1633), at St. John's College, Oxford (1634), and in Winchester Cathedral (1639), are well known; and numerous busts of the monarch in marble and bronze, more or less closely founded upon them, have been attributed to Le Sueur and Fanelli indiscriminately.

With all the advanced technical accomplishment of casting and chasing which these bronzes show, their whole effect is marked by a certain archaic dryness corresponding rather to Mytens's plain statement of fact than to Van Dyck's pictorial oratory. It was only by this oratory that English taste could have been prepared for its subjection to the Berninesque canons of plastic art. As the whole of Europe sooner or later came under the sway of Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), and remained for more than a century enslaved by the suggestion of his colossal genius, it is interesting to note, as evidence of the profound intuition of King Charles I in matters of taste, and of the close touch which he was able to maintain with the centres of artistic movement in Italy, that the commission for the royal bust

(1637) seems to have been the first recognition from across the Alps that Bernini received. From France, where his influence was ultimately, of course, far more wide-reaching and more fruitful, the order for the bust of Cardinal Richelieu was not received by the sculptor until 1642, and his famous journey to Paris, where he executed the bust of Louis XIV, was not undertaken until 1665. The actual works of Bernini in England were never more than three in number; the bust of King Charles, which disappeared in the fire at Whitehall in 1695, the bust of Mr. Baker lately in the possession of the Marquess of Anglesea and the monument of Lady Cheyne in Chelsea Church. But the widely exercised influence of the Stone family speedily carried the impress of his manner into the workshops of every English monumental sculptor of importance. In fact, British work of this kind shortly became indistinguishable from Italian, as is strikingly seen in the vast monument in Middle Claydon Church, Buckinghamshire, which is known to have been made in Rome in 1652 at the order of Sir Ralph Verney. The architectural framework of this structure is entirely in the manner of Nicholas Stone, as are the four portrait busts embedded in it, and had not the records of its manufacture and importation been preserved it is to his school that it would assuredly have been attributed.

We owe it to the Puritan predominance, and the iconoclasm it abetted on occasion, that the number of sepulchral effigies executed after 1625 became fewer year by year. We owe it to the influence of Bernini that the type of the monuments erected implied the use of large quantities of foreign marble worked with great expense and labour into complicated forms. Between these two forces a branch of popular art, whose last manifestation had been the quaintly coloured image work of the Jacobean era, was crushed out of existence. It was only after a long period of almost total sterility that a school of purely secular portrait sculpture struggled into existence to take its place.

The years between the death of Nicholas Stone (1647) and the arrival of Michael Rysbrack in London (1720) would remain blank in the history of this branch of art were it not for the scanty productions of three sculptors. Of these the royal portrait-statues of Grinling Gibbons (1648-1720) are of but slight iconographic importance; a single effigy, that of Dr. Richard Busby in Westminster Abbey, calls attention by its peculiar excellence to the otherwise unvaried mediocrity of its author, Francis Bird (1667-1731); and the reputation of the third artist, Edward Pearce (d. 1698), rests almost entirely on a single bust, that of Sir Christopher Wren, preserved in the Bodleian Library. Scarcely anything is known about Pearce or his works. It is even uncertain whether the terra-cotta head of John Milton, usually ascribed to him, or any one of the several busts of Oliver Cromwell, more than one of which has been absurdly attributed to Bernini, were modelled from life, though it seems scarcely possible that they can have been. The bust of Wren, on the other hand, is certainly a transcript direct from the life. Its amazing force and vivacity of expression anticipate the celebrated head of Rotrou by Caffieri at the Théâtre Français, or the finest productions of Houdon, and it is almost incredible that this marble was carved by a sculptor who died while Roubiliac, whose daringly animated style it foreshadows, was an infant in his cradle.

The golden age of miniature-painting in England was equally that of the somewhat kindred art of the medallist. There was, however, no logical chain of development, corresponding to that which led from Holbein to Cooper, to connect Stephen of Holland, whose brief visit to the Court of Queen Elizabeth (1562) first awakened the taste for medallic art in England, with Thomas Simon, whose genius was generously appreciated and rewarded under the Commonwealth. In the reign of King James I the place of the portrait-medal was to some extent usurped by the engraved medallions of Simon van de Passe

(1595? 1647). These are thin plates of gold or silver, generally oval in form, bearing portraits, executed in finely incised lines, of the King and members of his family, the Duke of Buckingham, and occasionally the French King and Queen, Henri IV and Marie de Medicis. It has been disputed whether these plaques were struck from dies or, as seems more probable, worked with a graver. From an iconographic point of view they are marked by originality and obvious truthfulness of characterization. The same may be said of the Royal portraits on the coinage of James I and his successor, although these are not strikingly superior to the best coins struck during the later years of the Tudors. The improvements effected by Nicholas Briot (1579-1646), a French artist who was appointed chief engraver to the English mint in 1633, were rather in the direction of delicacy and neatness of workmanship than in that of distinction and sympathy in the treatment of the portrait heads.

Thomas Simon (1628-65), the greatest of English medallists and one of the foremost of any age or country, belonged to a family which came from Guernsey. He was trained under Briot. His brother Abraham (1622?-92?) was a skilful modeller in wax, and is credited with a considerable share in many of the medals upon which the fame of Thomas Simon rests. Mr. Grueber, in the *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (1904), goes so far as to suggest that the share of Thomas in these works was merely that of taking and chasing metal casts of the wax models prepared by Abraham, and appropriating the credit for the completed productions. This theory can, however, never be proved, while it is certain, as Thomas Simon was sent to Scotland by the Government in 1650 expressly to execute the portrait of Cromwell for the Dunbar medal, and as he made the dies for the noble coinage of the Protectorate and for the superb 'Petition' crown piece of Charles II, that there was a firm foundation for the

great reputation which he enjoyed in his lifetime and still possesses. The admirable medals of Simon were not struck from dies but cast and chased like the works of the unsurpassed Italian medallists of the Renaissance, Antonio Pisanello, Matteo dei Pasti, and the rest.

During Simon's lifetime constant attempts to improve the mechanical means of striking from dies were in progress. The success with which they were rewarded considerably affected medallic art, as Mr. Grueber has pointed out. For this process 'limits the area in which the artist can exercise his skill, as his design has to be in low relief and his lines precise and clearly defined, thus depriving it of the freedom so pleasing in the earlier works which were cast in moulds'. The 'Petition' crown piece is indeed one of the rare instances which show how these limitations can be surmounted by an artist of commanding talent, but the productions of John Roettiers (1631-1703), whose dies were approved when Simon's die was rejected, are sufficient evidence of the general accuracy of this criticism. The medallic portraiture of John Roettiers' sons, James (1663-98) and Norbert (1665?-1727), is marred in the same way by lack of relief and freedom of handling.

In this summary account an attempt has been made to indicate the various forms of art employed in portraiture in England during the seventeenth century. A general survey of the subject leads to the conclusion that there is no period in the history of this country, or probably of any other, whose portraiture possesses greater interest or variety. The impression produced by the portraits bequeathed to us by the previous age when viewed as a whole, is rendered less imposing than their great number and individual excellence seems to warrant by the absence of connected development, or even of the homogeneity arising from the reflected influence of one set of ideas or a single foreign school of art throughout the series. Our curiosity is excited by a series of happy accidents, not sustained by a single

artistic movement. In the eighteenth century, while watching the maturing of a great school of art and responding to the aesthetic appeal of the mighty triad, Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney, and of a train of attendant stars who are reduced to secondary magnitude only by the presence of the greater luminaries, it is sometimes difficult to bear in mind that this great school was after all primarily a school of portrait painting. Questions of style and taste force themselves forward and iconographic interest retreats before them. The infusion of the grand style into a portrait too often ends in the creation of a gulf of silence and mystery between the subject and the spectator of the picture. In the case of Van Dyck, the characters of the sitters and the temperament of the artist seem to have been so completely in accord that highly stylized—conventional even—as are many features of his modes of presentation, the result never suggests the existence of anything more than a well-bred reserve separating us from the occupants of his canvases. Even the superficial affectations of Lely and his school do not really obscure the obvious veracity of their portraiture. Whatever may have been the intention of the artists their works now appeal to us as likenesses first and as decorative compositions in the great style afterwards. In the case of the painters of humbler aims, as of the miniaturists, the engravers *ad vivum*, the sculptors and the medallists, no stylistic pretensions detract from or heighten the intensity of the impression which perfect truthfulness of intention and brilliant technical accomplishment enabled them to transmit to us. An impression worthy—and can higher praise be awarded?—of the men and women of that heroic epoch.

JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND AFTERWARDS JAMES I OF ENGLAND

(1566-1625)

was the son of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, and of Mary, Queen of Scots. At the age of one he became King through his mother's abdication, and was left to the mercies of a succession of powerful nobles. Yet, in spite of the turbulent surroundings of his youth, he received at the hands of George Buchanan an education sufficiently good to render him far more learned than most sovereigns, and correspondingly vain of his intellectual abilities. This natural conceit, aided by a study of Roman law and by the necessity of ruling his Scottish subjects arbitrarily if he were to escape their dictation, convinced James that monarchy was the mouthpiece of divinity, and that its authority might be resisted and questioned of none. These views he subsequently expounded in his *True Law of Free Monarchies*, published in 1598, but during his early years he must have felt that, in Scotland at any rate, their application was mainly theoretical, a fact which perhaps explains his eagerness to give practical effect to them in the less combative atmosphere of England. Indeed, his Scottish experience was an unlucky preparation for his English kingship. Throughout he was driven to steer a difficult course between a high-handed semi-feudal nobility on the one side and a body of domineering Presbyterian ministers on the other. In this school he learnt those arts of dissimulation in speech and of vacillation in action, which were first imposed upon him by the exigencies of his position, but which soon became ineradicable

habits of mind. He played off the Catholic nobles against the clergy with such adroitness that he ultimately gained a partial victory over both, while at the same time effecting a reconciliation between them. In fact, his astuteness won him the unenviable reputation of being 'an old young man'. His policy was unscrupulous and successful. He secured from Elizabeth in 1585 an English pension by an attitude of passive protest against the coming condemnation of his mother, though it must be admitted that Mary had shown herself as indifferent to her son's interests as to those of Scotland. Even against her subsequent execution James's protests remained verbal; whether they would have been backed by any threat if (i) Mary had not bequeathed all her claims to the King of Spain (ii) the prospects of ultimate succession in England had not been ever before James's eyes, we cannot say. But in any case James was not the man to make threats. The one great card which a King of Scots could generally play against England, a whole-hearted and patriotic alliance with France, was impossible in the then condition of France, distracted and weakened by the long civil wars.

Thus he came to England in 1603 already 'an old King', as he once called himself, firm in the resolve that he would not be 'taught his office'. He had his convictions based on experience, and meant to act up to them. He was determined to suffer no dictation from a prating assembly of clergy, and he consequently became a strong supporter of that aggressive and sacerdotal episcopacy which was soon to find little support in England outside the King's Court. Similarly, he regarded the English Houses of Parliament as far less formidable than the Scottish nobility, and he therefore meant to be his own master. But any chance of popularity which he might have possessed was destroyed by the extravagance encouraged by a comparison of the wealth of England with his former penury in Scotland. Thus on three points James was in constant antagonism to his people, whose interests he believed himself to be promoting according to the best traditions of benevolent Monarchy. He did



JAMES I

From the portrait probably by a German artist in the National Portrait Gallery

not realize the strength of Puritanism, or the weakness of his financial status ; while his intellectual pride would not permit him to recede from his tenets so far as to admit any justification, or even any necessity, for Parliamentary independence. He treated political questions from an abstract point of view, and was therefore mistaken by the Commons as much as he mistook them. Thus, not through indifference, but through mere failure to perceive its approach, he did nothing to avert the deluge which was to sweep away his son. His foreign policy was equally blind. With his genuine love of peace, he would not continue the anti-Spanish tradition. If this was laudable, which is at least doubtful, it was certainly unpopular ; but James fondly imagined that he would be able to secure the peace of Europe and put an end to religious wars. He boasted much of his success in putting an end, a few years later, to the long quarrel between Spain and her former subjects the Dutch, but in truth he had little to do with the Treaty of Peace. He desired to have his son-in-law Frederick's claims on Bohemia submitted to him as arbiter, but he failed to give even any sensible advice to Frederick, either for or against his acceptance of the Bohemian crown. When Frederick was subsequently driven out of his hereditary Palatinate, James, refusing to negotiate with arms in his hand, put all his confidence in the unmeaning promises of the King of Spain ; in fact, the ambassador of the latter, Count Gondomar, turned him round his fingers, and England was rising with righteous fury beneath his feet. After his final failure in the matter of the Palatinate in 1623, the management of affairs passed into the hands of Charles and Buckingham, and James died of ague, little regretted, on March 27, 1625. Some thought that Buckingham had poisoned him, because he had given him a useless medicine, but this idle story was easily disproved.

James possessed the virtues as well as the defects of a pedant. His views on toleration and on the union of his two countries were in advance of his age, and he had much respect for justice, as being

part of his divine trust. His private life was moral but coarse, and he was both a glutton and a heavy drinker. He was constantly under the sway of favourites, most of them worthless men. His figure was ungainly; indeed, he lacked dignity, both physical and moral. His temper was passionate, but he was often ready to apologize to those whom he had hurt by its outbursts. His speeches and his writings were sententious, yet full of shrewdness, and not devoid of humour. They illustrate his argumentative turn of mind, which he loved to display in theological discussion. Yet Macaulay's comparison of him to Claudius was as great an injustice to James as Bishop Williams's comparison of him to Solomon was to the wisest king of antiquity. James's lofty conception of his office must be set against his imperfect fulfilment of it; and though his folly was often childish, and his failure to grasp the needs of his time and his position was complete, these shortcomings are attributable at least as much to his training as to his character.

ANNE

QUEEN OF JAMES I

(1574-1619)

commonly called Anne of Denmark, was the daughter of Frederick II, King of Denmark, and Sophia of Mecklenburg. Her mother's learning and her own good education were not proof against her natural frivolity. She was married by proxy to King James in June 1589, but on her voyage to Scotland was driven by bad weather to Norway whither her husband came to fetch her in October. They reached Scotland together in May 1590. Her eldest son, Prince Henry, was born in 1594, Princess Elizabeth in 1596, and the future King Charles in 1600. Scandal was often busy with the Queen's good name, though seemingly without any justification; her Lutheranism was hateful to the Calvinist ministers who were only too glad to accuse her of being mixed up in successive plots, some of them of Catholic origin.

Anne's natural vanity was inflamed when she was able to wear some of the diamonds and ropes of pearls with which Elizabeth used to deck herself, and she started for London in June 1603; she was crowned in July, but refused the Sacrament. This at once gave rise to the rumour that she was secretly a Catholic, which never ceased to be whispered abroad until her death. Her passion for dress, for masks, theatrical entertainments, progresses, and general splendours, did much to impair her husband's finances. Her London residence was at Somerset House, which was then called 'Denmark House'; she also owned Oatlands and Greenwich. In state affairs she had

little influence, but she was the warm patron of Raleigh and furthered his liberation from the Tower; she was hostile to the Earl of Somerset, and favoured the advancement of George Villiers: she did not approve of the marriage of her daughter to the Elector Palatine, and she certainly seems to have wished for a Spanish or at least a Catholic marriage for one of her sons. But this is about all; there were endless stories of secret missions from Rome to her Court, not all of which can be quite devoid of foundation, but there is on the other hand good evidence that she died a Protestant, and that, in spite of some jealousies on her husband's part, that she was a loyal wife, if not a very estimable Queen.



ANNE OF DENMARK

From the portrait by Paul van Somer in the National Portrait Gallery



HENRY FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES

From the portrait attributed to J. van Miereveldt, at Claydon House
belonging to Sir Harry Verney, M.P.

HENRY FREDERICK

PRINCE OF WALES

(1594-1612)

eldest son of James I and Anne of Denmark, was born at Stirling Castle. His education was committed to the Earl of Mar, who had a hereditary title to the charge, but who was not allowed to perform his duties without constant interference from the jealous mother. The pedantry of the King, who went the length of writing an educational work entitled *Basilikon Doron* for his son's express benefit, also embarrassed the Prince's tutors; but, for all that, he was early reputed to be a model youth. When knocked down by another boy, at the age of five, 'he neither whined nor wept,' and, under the care of Adam Newton, who seems to have been both a sensible man and a good scholar, Henry became an adept at all manly exercises. When he was nine years old he was invested with the Garter, at a great feast at Windsor, and made a good impression on the company by his 'quick, witty answers, princely carriage and reverend obeisance at the altar'. Already he took a keen interest in naval and military affairs. In 1605 he went to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he seems to have lived the life of a typical sport-loving undergraduate. At tennis and golf he was an adept, and, though not fond of hunting, he was a good horseman. He was genial and good-

natured, a staunch Churchman, with a strong aversion to Roman Catholicism. He was reputed to dislike swearing so much as to fine any member of his household who indulged in strong language. After leaving Oxford he set up his Court at St. James's, and played a considerable part in Society. Almost inevitably his name became connected with scandals, but the story of his amours with Lady Essex and of his quarrel with Somerset in the tennis-court is of doubtful authenticity. Plans for his marriage were frequently discussed, and there were negotiations for an alliance with an Infanta of Spain; but his religious scruples were utterly opposed to this, and he resisted several other subsequent suggestions, for he was determined to make his own choice of a wife. Thus he appears to have been decidedly self-willed and independent. He annoyed his father considerably by his outspoken remarks about Raleigh's imprisonment, and made him weep with jealousy at Newmarket, because his own popularity was evidently greater than the King's. But Henry's political career was hardly begun when he was suddenly cut off. In the summer of 1612 he contracted a fever which puzzled the doctors of that day, but which was probably typhoid. In spite of it he continued to take violent exercise, and once rode a hundred miles in two days in the full heat of summer. On October 25 he took to his bed and died a fortnight later. His death was the sign for genuine and widespread mourning, in addition to the copious outpourings of literary grief which were fashionable on such occasions. It was the general opinion that an heir of much promise and ability had been lost to the English throne, and that the succession had passed to a youth of lesser gifts. It is idle to speculate as to the justification for such beliefs. Henry had not emerged from the uncritical light of adulation into the more testing glare of public action. Traits, such as self-will, which were readily hailed with admiring delight in the boy, might afterwards have been condemned as criminal in the man, if brought into contact with purposes and opinions contrary

to his own views. Intellectually he may have been Charles's superior, though his features as preserved in his portraits hardly suggest unusual character. In obstinacy he might well have equalled his brother, and there is no reason for supposing that his reverence for the divinity of his birthright would have been less prominent.

GEORGE VILLIERS

FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

(1592-1628)

was the son of Sir George Villiers and Mary Beaumont, both members of good Leicestershire families. His education appears to have been of the slightest, and, though his natural quickness led him to acquire rapidly a smattering of many subjects, he mastered none thoroughly. His early training was, in fact, simply directed towards fitting him for the career of a courtier, and it was with this end that he went to France with Eliot, whose fast friend he became. Finally at the age of twenty-two he embarked upon Court life, an almost penniless adventurer. His sprightly and agreeable manners and his handsome face at once attracted the notice of James, now wearying of Somerset's dictatorial ways and glad to welcome a new favourite, on whom he might bestow his sentimental affections. Villiers rose rapidly in favour, and in 1616 was made Master of the Horse, a Knight of the Garter, and a peer, though as yet his influence was purely personal. Nevertheless, he occasionally acted as the King's agent in politics, and, as he began to feel his power over the King's mind, more ambitious prospects opened out before him. The steps in the peerage of Earl and Marquis followed in quick succession. As Lord High Admiral he did something to remedy the decay of the Navy, but foreign policy offered a more enticing field, at a cost of less labour, for the display of his volatile cleverness. After much vacillation between friendship and hostility to Spain, his marriage in 1620 with Lady Katherine Manners, a Catholic at heart



GEORGE VILLIERS, FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, AND FAMILY
From the portrait group by Honthorst in the National Portrait Gallery

though formally a recent convert to the Church of England, led him to adopt James's scheme for a Spanish marriage with characteristic ardour. His old plans for saving the Palatinate were thrown over; he had frequent conferences with Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, and when Prince Charles finally started for Madrid in February 1623, Buckingham went with him. As usual he had entirely miscalculated the obstacles to be faced, but he deserves some credit for shaking himself free very soon after his arrival from his delusions as to Spanish compliance on the religious question. He advised Charles to return home and did his best to hurry his departure by conspicuous rudeness to the Spaniards. Once back in London he set himself to preach war against Spain, in a violent revulsion from his former views caused by his chagrin at having been, as he considered, duped. During his absence in Spain, James had created him a Duke. His influence over Prince Charles was as powerful as over James, and he became the virtual ruler of England. Hence he posed as the advocate of the war, for which the Commons had long clamoured, and plunged into it with habitual disregard for consequences. The need for allies soon became pressing, since Buckingham had planned operations on a grandiose scale both by land and sea. But with extraordinary perversity, instead of seeking a Protestant alliance, he courted the friendship of France by suggesting a union between Charles and Henrietta Maria, a Catholic princess. The Commons were at once alienated and restricted supplies, nor were they encouraged to liberality by the disastrous failure of Count Mansfeld's expedition (January 1625). The accession of Charles in no way affected the situation, and his marriage with Henrietta took place two months later. Then only was it discovered that France had no intention of concluding a close alliance. In revenge Buckingham, when on a mission to Paris, made open love to the Queen of France and succeeded in diverting Charles's affection from his wife, but he was unable to efface the suspicion with which the Commons now regarded him.

Throughout all these dealings his conduct had been utterly reckless. It was generally recognized that he was the source of all present evils, and in May 1626 the Commons, led by his old friend Eliot, undertook his impeachment on the ground that he had managed affairs for his own aggrandizement and to the detriment of the kingdom. In fact he had been careless rather than criminal, but in spite of his manifest and perilous incompetence Charles refused to dismiss him, and dissolved Parliament. Early in the following year broke out the long impending war with France, which Buckingham, in his pique, had done nothing to avert. At the head of a large force he sailed for the island of Rhé to relieve the Huguenots in La Rochelle. His plan of attack was not ill conceived, and it miscarried through bad fortune rather than through any patent mismanagement. Yet the fact of failure was plain, and added another to the many counts against Buckingham's name. Want of money necessitated the summoning of Parliament in March 1628, which gave Eliot another opportunity for assailing the King's only minister. In doing so he now voiced the feeling of the whole country. Fierce satires and coarse lampoons were everywhere circulated; Buckingham's friends begged him to wear a mail shirt, but he refused since he apparently feared lynching rather than assassination. Meanwhile the preparations for a second expedition to La Rochelle went haltingly forward, and he went down to Portsmouth to take command. As he came down to breakfast on August 23, a discharged officer with a grievance and a belief that he was a second Harmodius stepped out from the crowd and stabbed him in the breast. Buckingham died immediately and was privately buried in Henry VII's chapel.

He has been made the target for commonplace abuse of Court favourites and the text for much moralizing over their iniquities, but, however disastrous his policy may have been, he was not devoid of good qualities. His chief fault was an unquenchable optimism, which made success appear so certain that to deliberate about means seemed tedious and superfluous. This sanguine temperament was combined

with a mind averse to solid reflection but quick to seize and develop a new and striking idea. The result was a brilliant versatility of intellect without stable and permanent basis, but something quite different from ordinary folly or lack of intelligence. In character, as in intellect, he was by no means deficient. For it was not by the common arts of a flatterer and sycophant but by some genuine and original charm of personality that Buckingham gained the friendship of Eliot and the ascendancy over two successive kings.

JOHN DIGBY

FIRST EARL OF BRISTOL

(1580-1653)

was the son of Sir George Digby of Coleshill, Warwickshire, and of Abigail Heringham. He was educated as a fellow-commoner of Magdalene College, Cambridge. In 1605 he attracted James's favourable notice, and was made gentleman of the privy-chamber. Shortly afterwards he was knighted, and married the widow of Sir John Dyve of Bromham. Digby's diplomatic career began in 1611, when he was sent as ambassador to Madrid. Here throughout the greater part of James's reign he was called upon to play a difficult part. Though by no means a bigoted hater of Catholicism, or a believer in war on religious grounds, he was yet convinced that England's true policy lay in a Protestant alliance. Nevertheless he was content to work honestly and vigorously to carry out the King's views, though he never neglected to express his own opinions. His first task was to negotiate a marriage between Prince Henry and the Infanta Anne, but this proved impossible, since the latter was already betrothed to Louis XIII. Digby soon showed his ability by discovering the payment of Spanish pensions to English politicians, among whom had been Cecil. In 1614 he was ordered to arrange a marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta Maria. After four years of intermittent diplomacy, Digby had concluded the agreement to James's entire satisfaction, except as regards the religious question, and he was raised to the peerage as a reward. He supported, and perhaps suggested James's attempt to aid Frederick,



ROBERT CECIL, FIRST EARL OF SALISBURY
From the engraving by Elstrake



JOHN DIGBY, FIRST EARL OF BRISTOL
From a contemporary engraving

The right Honorable John Digby, Earle of Bristol
Baron of Shirborne, Vice Chamberlaine to his Ma^{ty}.
and one of the Lords of his Ma^{ty}s most Honorable
privy Councill: and Embassador extraordinary to the
high and Mightie Philip the fourth king of Spaine.
1628

the Elector Palatine, by means of a Spanish alliance. But when this venture completely failed, he was sent to Germany to intercede in the Elector's favour (1621). His efforts were for the moment apparently successful, but when Frederick was expelled from the Upper Palatinate, Digby urged that an army should be immediately equipped and sent to his rescue. The quarrel between James and Parliament frustrated this scheme, and Digby was accordingly again sent to Spain to revive the marriage-project. He made such good progress that he was created Earl of Bristol (Sept. 15, 1622). The arrival of Charles and Buckingham in Madrid took the affair out of his hands, but he offended Charles, and gained Buckingham's undying enmity by plainly reporting to the King the unpopularity of the latter at the Spanish Court. Bristol further tried to avert the breach with Spain on which Prince Charles was now bent, and on his return to England in 1624 he was confined to his house at Sherborne. He was twice examined, but refused to admit any fault in his conduct. Charles, on succeeding to the throne, disgraced him and sent him no writ for his first two Parliaments. In 1626 Bristol petitioned the House of Lords for a writ, which Charles reluctantly sent him with an intimation that he was not to take advantage of it. Disregarding this warning he took his seat, at the same time offering to accuse Buckingham. The King thereupon ordered Bristol to be tried, but Parliament was dissolved before the proceedings began. Charles availed himself of the opportunity to imprison Bristol in the Tower, but the Lords in 1628 insisted on his release and on the full restoration of his rights. On the question of arbitrary imprisonment and on the Petition of Right Bristol tried to effect a compromise, but this did not restore him to favour, and he lived in retirement until 1639. He then protested against the Scottish expedition, and next year took the lead at the grand council held at York with reference to the Scottish negotiations. His own desire was for reform in the method of government, but his essentially cautious temper, which was perhaps enhanced by his diplomatic training, made him averse to radical

measures, and therefore unfitted him to play a decisive part in times of such intense strife. His attempt to save Strafford's life won him Charles's favour, but also the dislike of the popular party. On December 28, 1641, Cromwell moved a petition that he should be removed from the King's councils on the ground that he had advocated the employment of the northern army against Parliament. When war broke out Bristol joined the King, but the degree of his influence cannot be traced, though it is unlikely to have been very considerable. The Parliamentarians, however, were very bitter against him, perhaps on account of the violent conduct of his son George. In the propositions of Uxbridge he is mentioned among those 'who shall expect no pardon'. This demand may be partly ascribed to the advice which he had given to Charles to form a league with the Independents against the Presbyterians, but Bristol had already withdrawn from the Royalist camp, being opposed to the continuation of the war. He was in Exeter until its capitulation in 1646. He then craved permission to compound for his estate, but this request was refused and he was expelled from England. The rest of his years were spent in France, where he published an apology for his adhesion to Charles, possibly in the hope of appeasing the Parliament. His sentence of exile was never revoked, and he died in Paris on January 16, 1653.

ROBERT CECIL

FIRST EARL OF SALISBURY

(? 1563-1612)

was the second son of Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer, by Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke. Of his private life almost nothing is known. His only interest was in politics, and he identified himself entirely with his state duties. The date of his birth is uncertain. Owing to weak health he never went to school, and, though it is said that he entered St. John's College, Cambridge in 1581, no records of his University career survive. After spending some years abroad, he was one of the Embassy sent to Spain for the negotiation of peace in 1588, and next year he sat in Parliament for Hertfordshire. He began his official career under his father's tutelage by doing the work of Davison, who had been Elizabeth's Secretary until he was made a scapegoat for his share in the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Cecil had all the caution and political shrewdness of his father, while the fragments of his speeches which have been preserved, show him to have been a dignified and impressive orator. In the House of Commons he attained considerable influence and his rise was steady and uninterrupted. In 1591 he became a privy councillor, and in 1596, two years before his father's death, Secretary of State. Henceforth he pursued his course in complete isolation. Being naturally reticent and wary, he never trusted any one sufficiently to share his political aims and ambitions with him; and since he was completely absorbed by politics, there were in his case no other interests upon which personal friendship

might be founded. Of his married life with Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of Lord Cobham, nothing is known, save that he had one son and one daughter. It is unlikely that he was ever very domesticated. His inscrutability and independence, however, were the secrets of his success as a statesman. He at once succeeded to his father's control over national policy. He was able to rebut a baseless charge made by Essex during his trial (1601) of having declared that the Spanish Infanta was the rightful heir to the English throne, and thenceforth began to pave the way secretly for James I's succession. When therefore that event took place, Cecil's position was even stronger than it had been previously. Until his death he directed and administered both the external and internal affairs of the kingdom, while his acceptance of the post of Lord Treasurer in 1608 laid upon him the further burden of attempting to remedy the precarious financial condition, which the cheeseparing of Elizabeth and the extravagance of James had produced. In all these tasks he was in a measure successful, but his success was only temporary. He was not progressive. He clung to the canons of Elizabethan statesmanship on which he had been nurtured, and so failed to institute the reforms which the new generation demanded. In religious matters he would tolerate neither Catholics nor Nonconformity, holding that external unity of worship was necessary to true loyalty both to Church and Crown. The old political plea for persecution appealed strongly to his bureaucratic mind. Again, he failed to reconcile the King and the Commons on the question of revenue. Understanding the real necessities of the financial situation far better than the popular party, he thought that the revenue accruing from impositions more than compensated for the odium which they brought upon the Crown, to which in his view they rightfully belonged. The Great Contract of 1610 was his work, essentially a temporizing measure, which made no attempt to solve the vital questions at stake; and this was typical of his whole attitude. His genius being administrative rather than original and constructive, he looked more to imme-

diate needs than to broad matters of policy. His conduct of foreign affairs is perhaps least open to criticism; for, while he negotiated the Treaty of London, which closed the Elizabethan war with Spain, and even soiled his own hands by accepting a Spanish pension, he did all in his power to assist the Dutch in their struggle for freedom, even refusing to force their blockade of Flanders, though detrimental to English shipping, and steadily opposing the Spanish marriage project. He died an Earl, but he left no successor to his views and his death caused little regret. He was naturally incapable of appreciating brilliance in others, and consequently showed small favour to men like Bacon and Raleigh. His reputation was that of a reactionary, nor was it wholly undeserved. Yet his untiring devotion to the duties of administration, and his calm, if somewhat short-sighted, wisdom made him worthy of the position which he held. As has been said, his horizon was bounded by politics. He had no taste for literary culture, but he found an occupation for his leisure moments in building and planting Hatfield, largely after his own designs. That great house remains the most lasting memorial to him, both as an architect and a statesman.

FRANCIS BACON

LORD VERULAM

(1561-1626)

was the son of Lord Keeper Bacon and his second wife, Anne Cooke, sister-in-law to Lord Burleigh. At the age of twelve he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1575. Seven years later he became a barrister, and in 1584 entered Parliament through Burleigh's influence, thus beginning a political career which has been the source of much controversy among historians. From the first he displayed a cool and calculating wisdom far in advance of his years, but he cannot at the outset be charged with the sycophancy of which later he was freely accused. He combated the proposal for a joint conference of the two Houses on a question of supply, and declared it to be prejudicial to the privileges of the Commons. Thus he gained the disfavour of the Queen, which effectually barred his legal advancement, and even the Earl of Essex, whose devoted friendship he had won, could not move Elizabeth by the most ardent advocacy of his claims. Essex, however, insisted on presenting him with a small estate as a consolation, and Bacon's subsequent treatment of Essex has been regarded as one of the gravest blots on his character. The truth seems to be that his unemotional temper rendered him incapable of whole-hearted devotion and indiscriminating loyalty. He accepted benefits with measured gratitude, and gave advice of a mundane and practical kind in return. When, however, Essex's impetuosity led him to disregard such warnings and to engage in treasonable dealings both in Ireland and



FRANCIS BACON

From the portrait by Paul van Somer in the National Portrait Gallery

at home, Bacon considered himself to be absolved from personal allegiance, and justified in prosecuting one who was dangerous to the realm. As the result of his unsparing attack, Essex was condemned and executed (1601). Though it be admitted that loyalty to the Queen rather than fears for his own safety actuated Bacon on this occasion, yet his cold-blooded indifference to the claims of friendship is as unpleasant as it is undeniable.

Throughout the reign of James I he strove to reconcile the Crown and the Commons. His ideas were in advance of those of his contemporaries, as is shown by his efforts towards a closer union with Scotland, and by the tolerance of his religious views; but his faith in the excellence of Monarchy obscured his judgement of the monarch. He hoped for reforms through the King, and consequently upheld him throughout, but, when his schemes were not realized, Bacon had not the independence of mind to sacrifice to his principles his chances of the highest preferment. In 1607 he became Solicitor-General, and in 1610 supported the 'Great Contract', since it would enable the King to live 'of his own', but his influence did not become paramount until the death in 1612 of the Earl of Salisbury, whom he had cordially detested. Bacon's ideal was a paternal government in the interests and with the co-operation of the whole nation, but he deprecated any renewed attempts at bargaining with the Commons. His struggle with Coke, which began in 1613, was fully in accordance with these principles. Bacon resisted the claim of the judges to arbitrate between the Crown and its subjects, holding that even their judicial duties must give way when 'policy' was in question and that, in his famous phrase, they must be 'lions under the throne'. His victory over Coke on some points, and his various other services won him the Attorney-Generalship in 1613, and the Lord-Keeper'ship with a peerage in 1618, but his opposition to the popular party had gained him many enemies. Only the King's intervention saved him from attack on the question of monopolies, which, as a referee, he had justified (1621). Two months later a petition charging him with

bribery was brought forward in the Commons. It seems probable that he had not acted with any corrupt motive, but he was unable to deny that he had done corrupt actions in taking money, pending judgement, in at least two cases. He was deprived of his offices and fined £40,000, but the King released him from the Tower after a few days' imprisonment. Thus ended ingloriously the career of a man who was not wanting in convictions, but whose lack of moral force in translating them into practice has won him a reputation for unprincipled subservience which, without being wholly false, yet does him a certain measure of injustice.

Bacon's literary and philosophical writings constitute his most undisputed title to fame, and among these the *Essays* undoubtedly stand highest in modern estimation. They were first published in 1597, further and enlarged editions appearing in 1612 and 1625. The terseness and purity of the English in which they are written, the truth and insight of the aphorisms which they contain, have won for them lasting popularity. The same qualities mark in a lesser degree his *History of Henry VII* (1621), but its historical value consists mainly in the light which it throws on the author's political creed. These, however, and even his charming dream entitled *The New Atlantis*, are *πάρεργα* in comparison with his two books *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and *Novum Organum*, on which his philosophical and scientific claims rest. He announces himself as the *buccinator novi temporis*, the herald of experimental method and of inductive reasoning. It is impossible, however, to take him, as Macaulay did in his famous essay, at his own valuation. Bacon's strictures on Aristotle are based on a wholesale misunderstanding of the Master's teaching, while his 'method', founded on the supposed existence of certain fundamental 'forms' in nature, savours more of alchemy than of modern science. At the same time, his vigorous rhetoric rendered services both to logic and to natural science. For, though Bacon himself only made guesses after truth, many of which, indeed, were remarkably happy, he at least sufficiently broke with

tradition to suggest new lines of inquiry, which more profound and systematic thinkers have followed with abundant success. When his achievements are viewed as a whole, the speculative activity, which he added to his eminence as a statesman and a legislator, proves a versatility and breadth of mind unquestionably amounting to genius.

ISAAC WALTON

(1593-1683)

fisherman and idyllist, was born of yeoman stock in Staffordshire and spent his early life as a London tradesman. Nothing is known of where or how he obtained the excellent education which refined and illuminated his natural genius for the description of the rural scenes and pursuits of English life. This genius, together with his simple piety and beauty of character, won him such friends as Dr. Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, and John Hales. His first published work was a *Life of Donne*; his next (1651) *Reliquiae Wottonianae*. Two years later he became one of the immortals with *The Compleat Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation*, which went into a fifth edition before his death. A *Life of Richard Hooker* (1665) was followed by a *Life of George Herbert* in 1670; and these four lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, and Herbert are all matchless pieces of appreciative biography. Walton was in his eighty-third year when he undertook the *Life of Robert Saunderson*, Bishop of Lincoln, which appeared in 1677.

With such affinities Walton was of course a Royalist and heartily welcomed the Restoration. Soon after that event he took up his abode in Hampshire, first in the palace of Bishop Morley, and afterwards at the home of his own married daughter in Winchester; and not the least strange thing about him is that, living in such a county, he seems to have been completely ignorant of the merits of a chalk-stream trout. Even his occasional visits to his friend Cotton, who fished on the Derbyshire Dove, could not make him a fly-fisher. In fact Walton's active fishing days had been spent upon such rivers as the Thames and the Lea, and in the ignoble, if contemplative, pursuit of 'bottom fishing'. But his mind, which was a garden of beautiful thoughts, could lend poetry even to a roach or a bream. He was twice married, the second time to a half-sister of Bishop Ken.



ISAAC WALTON

From the portrait by Jacob Huysman in the National Portrait Gallery

WILLIAM SANCROFT

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

(1617-1693)

was the second son of Francis Sancroft and Margaret Butcher, his birth-place being Fressingfield, Suffolk. After a schooling at Bury St. Edmunds, where he showed great aptitude for the classics, he entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, of which his uncle was Master, and was duly elected to a Fellowship in 1642. During the period of the Civil War he devoted himself to fighting the Parliamentary party on religious grounds. He published an indictment of Calvinism and an attack upon the doctrinal and political tenets of the Commonwealth, besides other less important pamphlets. At the same time he kept up a correspondence with the Royalists on the Continent, and in 1657 made a foreign tour, which lasted until the Restoration. His fidelity to the Church and the Monarchy obtained its reward. Charles II made him one of his chaplains, and in 1662 he was elected to the Mastership of Emmanuel, in spite of the puritanical opinions of many of its Fellows. In this position he set himself to revive the decayed learning and prestige of the college. With his wonted generosity he gave large sums for the building of a new chapel, but soon after his election to the Deanery of St. Paul's he resigned the Mastership, though remaining a constant benefactor to the foundation. When his cathedral was destroyed by the great fire he became very active in planning and hastening its restoration. He even refused a bishopric, in order that he might superintend the completion of the work. Indeed, though a staunch Anglican, he was not ambitious.

Controversy, the surest avenue to preferment, he rather avoided ; but in 1677 he was chosen to succeed Sheldon as Archbishop of Canterbury. His independence of Court influence is shown by a forlorn attempt to win back the Duke of York to the English Church, and by his suspension of the Bishop of Lichfield for neglect of his duties. In the main, however, he confined himself to his episcopal functions, and eschewed any interference in politics.

The accession of James II rendered a position of neutrality untenable. At first Sancroft tried to evade a collision with the King, but when the Ecclesiastical Commission, headed by Jeffreys, was appointed, he refused to serve on it. His plea was old age and infirmity, but he also declared his inability to recognize the legality of such a tribunal. Though forbidden the Court, he still sought to avoid an open contest by devoting himself exclusively to his religious duties. Nevertheless, points constantly arose on which he felt bound to protest and to resist. Finally, the Second Declaration of Indulgence was ordered to be read in the Churches. Sancroft forbade the clergy to obey the order, and with six other bishops drew up a petition to the King. They were in consequence arrested and placed in the Tower. Their trial on a charge of seditious libel took place before Jeffreys, but even his cynical partisanship and the violent invectives of Williams were unable to prevent an acquittal. For that day (June 30, 1688) Sancroft was worshipped as a saint by the London populace. Every house was illuminated by seven candles, one taller than the rest typifying the archbishop. His popularity encouraged him to stand yet more firmly against the Catholics, and to form an alliance with the Dissenters for this end. He urged James to revoke his illegal acts, and, when William's manifesto was issued, to summon a free Parliament. The flight of James and the arrival of William placed Sancroft in a difficult position. He had no love for James or for his policy, but his belief in the divine hereditary right precluded his serving under any other king. Consequently he proposed the somewhat fantastic expedient of a regency, arguing that



WILLIAM SANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
From the portrait by E. Lutterel in the National Portrait Gallery

it was lawful to transfer all the prerogatives of royalty, save only the title, to another, should the monarch 'by lunacy. . . or by some invincible prejudices of mind' inimical to law and religion, prove himself incapable of government. These niceties of political theory were swept away by the practical necessities of the situation, but Sancroft stoutly and obstinately refused to take the oath of allegiance. He failed, however, to maintain a dignified attitude, and showed that he resented the loss of his personal position as well as the outrage to his principles. With childish pique he refused to leave Lambeth when summoned; with petty spite he refused to speak with Tillotson, his successor, the gentlest and most tolerant of men, who had always striven to avert a schism. Eventually Sancroft retired to Fressingfield, where he lived as a hermit, claiming still to be the true primate and administering the sacraments only to non-jurors; and on his death-bed he perpetuated the unhappy division in the Church by nominating a successor.

Being a partisan, he has naturally been harshly judged by partisans. Nevertheless his integrity, piety and sincerity are unquestionable. Burnet's accusation of cowardice is clearly rebutted by the main actions of his life. Yet Sancroft was somewhat lacking in kindness and geniality, and was therefore wanting in the tolerance and breadth of view which usually spring from those qualities.

GEORGE HERBERT

(1593-1633)

the son of Sir Richard and Lady Magdalen Herbert, was born at Montgomery Castle. As a schoolboy at Westminster he showed his bookish tastes, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, he soon developed into a good scholar. In 1614 he was elected to a Fellowship, and five years later he obtained the post of Public Orator. As the channel of communication between University and Court he was able to win royal favour by the adroit flattery with which he spiced his official utterances. But the King's death dimmed his political prospects, and, as about this time he fell under the influence of Nicholas Ferrar, he determined to devote himself to a religious life, as his mother had always wished him to do. He took orders, married and settled down to a life of piety and poetic meditation at Bemerton, near Salisbury, in 1630; but within three years he died of consumption. None of his English poems were published before his death, their first appearance being a few weeks after that event, when they were published under the title of *The Temple*. They are usually lacking in elegance and beauty of expression, but are distinguished by a gentle mysticism and a genuine zeal, the more remarkable since Herbert was far from being a Puritan. Coming to serious-minded men as a welcome diversion from the fashionable love-poetry of the day, they were widely read during the seventeenth century, and in recent years have found renewed and perhaps exaggerated appreciation. But the true glory of Herbert is that he for the first time showed that a country parson's calling is one of the highest and best that a gentleman can take upon himself.



GEORGE HERBERT
From the engraving by R. White



LANCELOT ANDREWES, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER
From the portrait at Jesus College, Oxford
Painter unknown

LANCELOT ANDREWES

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

(1555-1626)

the son of a London merchant, was born in London and educated at Merchant Taylors' School and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, of which he became Fellow and finally Master. In 1605 he was made Bishop of Chichester, and was successively promoted to the Sees of Ely (1609) and Winchester (1619). He enjoyed a considerable reputation both as a preacher and a scholar. His learning was wide and profound, and in the domain of patristic theology unrivalled. He was summoned to the Hampton Court Conference, and was one of the revisers of the Authorized Version of the Bible. In public affairs he took no part, and, though he was a strong High Churchman, his honesty of mind and genuine piety prevented him from being intolerant. His preaching and character won him the favour and respect of both Elizabeth and James I. Many of his sermons were published at royal command after his death, but the most lasting memorial which he has left to posterity, consists in his 'Manual of Private Devotions'. Originally written in Greek, this book has been often translated, most recently by Cardinal Newman in 'Tracts for the Times'. The peculiar simplicity and beauty of the prayers which it contains are a faithful reflection of the saintliness of their author.

BENJAMIN JONSON

(1573? 1637)

Of his parents little is known save that they were probably of border ancestry and that they had fallen in the world. The father died in poverty about a month before his son's birth. Jonson was brought up in the neighbourhood of Charing Cross by his mother, who soon married again. For a time he attended the church-school at St. Martin's-in-the-fields, but a benefactor sent him to Westminster, where he picked up a good knowledge of the classics and a strong taste for literature. Nevertheless, he was still a poor boy, and was consequently driven to adopt the humble trade of bricklaying instead of being sent to the University. Disdaining this employment, he fled to Flanders, where he served in one campaign, and claimed to have vanquished an enemy in single combat before the two armies. Returning to London about the year 1592, he embarked upon a somewhat unfortunate marriage with a lady, who seems to have been somewhat of a Xanthippe. He had several children, but none survived him. Of this period of his life very little is known. Probably he was gaining experience, which might help him to become a dramatist, by mixing with stage-players, and writing experimental plays, which are now lost. The foundation of his fame was laid in 1598. In that year he had killed in a duel one of the actors in the company to which he belonged. By claiming 'benefit of clergy' he got off with a short term of imprisonment, nor does the incident appear to have brought any discredit upon him, except with the manager of his company. Jonson accordingly offered his first known comedy *Every Man in his Humour* to the rival company, of which Shakespeare was a member, and by them it was performed



BEN JONSON

From the miniature by Isaac Oliver belonging to Mr. Evelyn Shirley
(enlarged from the original)



ROBERT HERRICK

From the engraving by W. Marshall, the frontispiece to
'The Hesperides'; London, 1638

at the Globe Theatre. During the next few years he was mainly occupied with satires written against Dekker and Marston, rival playwrights, with whom he had a petty feud. Of these works *The Poetaster* (1601) is perhaps the most famous, but its keen ridicule stung others besides the two enemies at whom it was principally directed, and Jonson found it advisable to turn to the less dangerous art of tragedy. Thus in 1603 *Sejanus* was produced at the Globe, though with very doubtful success. James I, however, recognizing its author's learning and ability, employed him to write the masques, which were constantly being performed at Whitehall. Owing to some satirical references to the Scottish nation in one of these plays Jonson was in prison for a short time and nearly lost his ears (1605), but he was released unharmed and in the same year produced *Volpone*, the best known of his comedies. He was now the ruler of the literary world. His geniality and kindly wisdom won him the warm affection of the little circle which his genius had gathered round him. He presided over their meetings at the 'Mermaid' and other taverns, and received their lavish poetic homage. Between 1605 and 1615 he composed five new plays, including *Catiline* and *The Alchemist*. In 1618 he made a journey on foot to Scotland, where he was warmly welcomed, and on his return he was given an honorary degree at Oxford. With the accession of Charles I, however, Jonson's popularity waned. His health was bad, and his powers were declining. His plays lacked the old *verve* and no longer caught the public taste, for literary masques were no longer fashionable, having been replaced by Inigo Jones's elaborate scenic productions. Jonson quarrelled furiously with his rival, whom he satirized bitterly in *The Tale of a Tub* (1633). Owing to Jonson's fall from court favour, this play and *The Magnetic Lady*, produced in the previous year, won small success, but his friends and patrons remained faithful to him, and saved him from want. He died on August 6, 1637, and was buried in the Poets' Corner at Westminster Abbey.

The tributes paid to him by all the poets of the day and by many, like James Howell, who, without being poets, had loved and admired him, are the best testimony to the position which he held. It was Jonson, not Shakespeare, who was regarded as the intellectual father of his age, and who in fact had the greater influence upon its literary development. Two generations looked up to him as the leading figure in English letters with an affectionate reverence, inspired as much by his kind and manly nature as by his poetic talents. He was the intimate friend of Bacon, Chapman, Fletcher, Beaumont and many others. As a dramatist, Jonson can scarcely be compared to Shakespeare, but his very inferiority made him a guide whom others might follow more easily and more profitably. His characters lack the life of those of Molière, and his form lacks the perfections of Racine. His tragedies fail in passion; his comedies, though everywhere abounding in knowledge, imagination, and humour, are without grace or elegance. Indeed, it is to his genius as a satirist and a critic, rather than as a playwright, that Jonson owes his final position in literary history.

ROBERT HERRICK

(1591-1674)

was the son of Nicholas Herrick, a London goldsmith, and Juliana Stone. His father fell or was thrown out of a window soon after his son's birth, leaving him to be brought up by his uncle. After a schooling at Westminster, Herrick went to St. John's College, Cambridge, whence he migrated to Trinity Hall in 1616, partly owing to pecuniary embarrassments. He was ordained, and in 1629 obtained the living of Dean Prior in Devonshire, which he, accustomed to the convivial society of Cambridge and London, regarded as somewhat of exile.

Nevertheless his best poetry was written before he was ejected from his parsonage on account of his Royalist sympathies in 1647. He retired to London. In the following year his *Hesperides* and *Noble Numbers* were published together, and dedicated to the Prince of Wales. In 1662 he returned to Dean Prior, where he died. Despite his numerous poems to Julia and other ladies, Herrick did not 'love to wed' and remained in fact a bachelor. There is a light-hearted paganism running through his work, occasionally expressed with a frank coarseness which contrasts oddly with his religious pieces. For the neatness and the easy flow of his lyrics, as well as for their matter and form, his verse may be compared to the lighter work of Catullus, while he is the author of some of the prettiest and most dainty songs in the English language.

FRANCIS BEAUMONT

(1584-1616)

son of Francis Beaumont, a judge of the Common Pleas, and of Anne Pierrepont, was born at the family seat at Gracedieu in Leicestershire. After a short academic career at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, he entered the Inner Temple in 1600, but there is no evidence that he devoted much energy to the law. Most probably he soon discovered his poetical talents, and became a member of the fraternity of wits who first gathered at the 'Mermaid'. At any rate we know that in 1607 he was the friend of Ben Jonson, to whose play *The Fox* he wrote some commendatory verses. About the same time he made the acquaintance of John Fletcher, who became his fast friend and literary partner. Living together near the Globe Theatre in bachelor intimacy, they collaborated in the authorship of a number of plays which won considerable repute in their day, though they are less agreeable to modern taste. Of their joint tragedies *The Maid's Tragedy* and *A King and No King* are perhaps the best known, but they also produced a number of comedies and burlesques. Beaumont was credited with considerable literary judgement, part of his business being 'to correct the overflowings of Mr. Fletcher's witte'; but he was also a poet of fine feeling and tragic power. He was married in 1613, but three years later was overtaken by premature death.



FRANCIS BEAUMONT

From the portrait belonging to the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt, M.P.



JOHN FLETCHER

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

JOHN FLETCHER

(1579-1625)

was the son of Dr. Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, and his first wife Elizabeth Holland. For a time he was probably at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, but little is known of his career before the period of his literary activity in conjunction with Beaumont which began in 1607. Among his early works a pastoral play called *The Faithful Shepherdess*, composed entirely by Fletcher, deserves mention as being one of the best examples of its kind. Owing to Beaumont's early death comparatively few of Fletcher's works were written with his assistance. Many of them were his own unaided compositions, while some were written in collaboration with Massinger, Field, and others of his circle. Some fifty plays have been ascribed wholly or in part to Fletcher's pen, and this may be taken as a fair indication of his extraordinary activity as a writer, when it is remembered that his literary career covered less than twenty years. It cannot be said that his plays are now likely to find many readers. Their plots are usually disjointed, not seldom absurd, and almost invariably disfigured by an element of Rabelaisian coarseness. The tragic pieces are rhetorical and bombastic, but in the comedies there is a good deal of fun and real humour, coupled with an extravagance and an abundance of vigorous action which made them very popular with seventeenth-century audiences. Fletcher died of the plague in 1625, and a large collection of his plays was published in 1647 under the title of *Beaumont and Fletcher's Works*.

ARABELLA STUART

(1575-1615)

was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, who was grandson of Margaret, Henry VIII's sister; she consequently stood in 1603 next in the line of succession to the English throne after her first cousin James. It was owing to this unfortunate fact that her happiness was blasted, and that she has obtained the posthumous consolation of a passing reference to her name by historians. Towards the close of Elizabeth's life she was mentioned as her possible successor, since some lawyers argued that James was an alien, born in Scotland, and therefore could not inherit English land and still less the English crown. This juristic contention, however, aroused little popular enthusiasm, nor did Arabella herself covet the crown. James I treated her well on his accession, and, though usually poor, she lived at his Court in spite of her dislike for its inane gaieties. In 1603 a conspiracy was formed by Raleigh and Cobham to place her on the throne, but at the trial Cecil declared her innocence of it, of which there can be no doubt. She refused various offers of marriage from foreign princes, but in 1609 she was summoned before the Council on the suspicion that she was intriguing to marry some unknown person. James dismissed her with a promise that she might marry any of his own subjects. Arabella took advantage of this to promise her hand to young William Seymour, although she had been previously arrested by Elizabeth's orders owing to the rumour of such an engagement. The objection to the match was that Seymour, being the grandson of Katharine Grey, was also a descendant of Henry VII, and that his



ROBERT CARR, EARL OF SOMERSET
From the portrait attributed to John Hoskins in the
National Portrait Gallery



ARABELLA STUART
From the portrait by Zuccaro belonging to the
Duke of Portland at Welbeck

claims united to those of Arabella might be dangerous. This fear loomed large before James's suspicious eyes. He forced Seymour to renounce his betrothal, but three months later the wedding was secretly celebrated (May 1610). When the King heard of it, Seymour was sent to the Tower, and Arabella, in spite of her entreaties, was eventually banished to Durham. On the road she fell ill, and rested some days at Barnet, whence she fled disguised as a man and took ship for France. Seymour had also escaped and reached Ostend safely, but Arabella was overtaken just outside Calais. She was brought back and imprisoned in the Tower (June 1611), where she died insane four years later, the victim of James's timorous cruelty. From her letters she appears to have been simple, kind, and affectionate, while her bravery and constancy are sufficiently evident from her adventures. Her pathetic figure flits dimly across the pages of history as that of one of its many political martyrs.

ROBERT CARR
EARL OF SOMERSET
(? -1645)

was the son of Sir Robert Ker of Ferniehurst and Janet Scott. His life consists of two periods of obscurity, divided by five years during which he was the most powerful and prominent man in England. Of his youth nothing is known. He came with James I to England as his page, but on being discharged, he had no great prospects until he had the good fortune to break his arm at a tournament in the King's presence. James recognized him, and took a fancy to him. Henceforth his rise was rapid. In 1607 he was knighted, in 1609 he was given one of Raleigh's estates; by 1611 he was Viscount Rochester, and enjoyed almost complete ascendancy over the King. Next year he succeeded Salisbury as James's confidential adviser, and ardently supported the Spanish policy. His motive lay in his love for the young Lady Essex, whose Howard relatives were the leaders of the Catholic party. Carr was handsome, and Lady Essex set herself to procure a nullity of her own marriage, in order that she might become his wife. A commission was appointed, and under James's direction declared in her favour (Sept. 25, 1613). Three months later Carr, now Earl of Somerset, married Lady Essex. Their union, however, was not merely a defiance of all accepted conventions, but was also stained by murder. At the beginning of his intrigue Carr had confided in Sir Thomas Overbury, but when the latter discovered the ultimate aim of his friend's courtship, he made every effort to defeat it, and thus incurred the relentless hatred

of Lady Essex. James offered Overbury a diplomatic post to silence him, and on his refusal, he was consigned to the Tower at Carr's instigation. Lady Essex poisoned some tarts which were sent him by Carr, but as he would not eat them, she had him poisoned by other means. For the moment the crime went undiscovered. Somerset became Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1614, and was entrusted with the secret negotiations for the proposed Spanish marriage of Prince Charles. His star, however, was waning before that of Villiers, and in Sept. 1615 Overbury's murder became known. The Countess pleaded guilty, but Somerset denied the charge. He was prosecuted by Bacon, and both he and his wife were sentenced to death. It was proved that he had sent tarts, but not that he had poisoned them, or that he was connected with the act which finally produced Overbury's death. His complicity rests only on probability: it is not necessitated by the actual facts. His only interest was in Overbury's removal till the divorce was completed, not in his death, which the wounded pride of his wife demanded. James pardoned them both, but they remained in the Tower till 1622. Thenceforth Somerset lived the obscure life of a fallen favourite until his death. He had the arrogance of his class but no real ability.

SIR JOHN ELIOT

(1592-1632)

was the son of Richard Eliot and Bridget Carswell, of Port Eliot in Cornwall. In 1607 he entered Exeter College, Oxford, where he gave full scope to his intellectual tastes. Greek philosophy took a strong hold upon his mind, while the frequent classical quotations and references to English history in his speeches indicate unusual width and refinement of culture. During the usual foreign tour he met George Villiers, whose brilliant qualities strongly attracted him. On his return Eliot married, and in 1618 was knighted through Buckingham's influence, being shortly afterwards made Vice-Admiral of Devon. In this capacity he arrested a notorious pirate named Nutt, but the latter had influence in high quarters, and Eliot found himself imprisoned, on a trumped-up charge, in place of his captive, in the Marshalsea. On Buckingham's return from Spain Eliot obtained his release, though not without difficulty. Having sat in the Parliament of 1614 but not that of 1621, he was again returned in 1624 for a Cornish borough; and the bold demand made in his first speech for the full exercise of the Commons' privileges, and its great effect on his hearers, at once stamped him as the statesman and the orator of a new era. Fortunately his own copious notes of his speeches have been preserved. The sharp, terse sentences, the extraordinary lucidity of argument, the wealth and aptness of illustration, all combine to show that Eliot was one of the greatest debaters ever produced by Parliament. His power was at once established. During the same session he pleaded fiercely for a war with Spain, perhaps influenced to some extent by the deep impression



SIR JOHN ELIOT
Pantegale fove. An. 1617.
his Death in 1617.
A. James.

SIR JOHN ELIOT

From the portrait belonging to the Earl of St. Germain at Port Eliot

made on his mind by Raleigh's execution. His argument he summed up in five short sentences. 'Are we indeed poor? Be it so. Spain is rich. We will make *that* our Indies. Break with her, and we shall break with our necessities also.' Supplies were liberally voted, and there was a wild outburst of popular enthusiasm in London. Thus far Eliot had been in accord with Buckingham's policy, but when the new reign opened, the breach between them rapidly widened. In Charles I's first Parliament Eliot was again prominent in demanding the enforcement of the recusancy laws, since 'the strength of all government is in religion', and in vehemently opposing Wentworth's return. When Buckingham launched his new war-policy against France and persuaded the King to demand an additional grant, Eliot's growing distrust was confirmed. On July 8, 1625, he had a last interview with Buckingham, whom he found in bed. The latter's refusal to modify his conduct convinced Eliot that his real aim was to set himself up as the irresponsible minister of an absolute king and 'thereon he grounded his observations for the future that noe respect of persons made him desert his countrie'. Before the end of the session his estrangement from Buckingham was complete. The disastrous failure at Cadiz furnished an obvious point for attack. When the Parliament of 1626 opened, Eliot led the House in an assault on Buckingham with more daring and skill than justice. His object was to secure ministerial responsibility, and he accordingly proclaimed the principle that discussion of grievances should precede supply. Charles would not yield to the demand for inquiry, and an impeachment was therefore instituted. On May 10, Eliot summed up the charges in a speech worthy of Burke, concluding with his famous parallel between Buckingham and Sejanus. Next day he was arrested and sent to the Tower, but the Commons refused to proceed without their leader, and a week later Charles reluctantly released Eliot. When Parliament was dissolved on June 15, Sir John was deprived of his offices, and was soon afterwards imprisoned for refusing to pay a forced loan. Neverthe-

less, he was set free in time to take his seat in the Parliament of 1628, where he at once joined in the demand for suppressing arbitrary taxation. He crowned the session by carrying the Petition of Right. Next year he assailed the levy of Tonnage and Poundage, boldly declaring it, in virtue of the Petition, despite the contrary ruling in Bate's case, to be illegal. The King refused to give way, and in the next session which followed upon Buckingham's death, Eliot read out three resolutions against religious innovation and arbitrary government, which were passed by excited acclamation, while the Speaker was held down in his chair. Two days later Eliot and eight others were sent to the Tower. All but one of his companions were eventually released on acknowledging the justice of their imprisonment, but Eliot steadfastly denied that any jurisdiction could override the privileges of Parliament, even when death plainly confronted him. He bore his confinement with patient resignation, though absence of air and exercise rapidly undermined his health. He maintained an intimate correspondence with Hampden and other friends, in addition to writing a philosophical essay, called the *Monarchy of Man*, in which he set forth the Platonic doctrine of the supremacy of virtue and reason in his vivid, rhetorical style. Consumption finally seized him. The King answered petitions for release by increasing the harshness of Eliot's treatment, and after his death took a last spiteful vengeance by refusing to allow him to be buried by his own family. Eliot has scarcely received his due from history. He is often represented as a mere turbulent and headstrong politician, but he was in fact the first parliamentary statesman, as he was the first of the English orators. In spite of his vehemence, the uprightness and nobility of his character are attested by the devotion of men like Hampden and Selden, while the fruits of his work afford the best testimony to his far-seeing patriotism.

ELIZABETH
QUEEN OF BOHEMIA
(1596-1662)

the eldest daughter of James I and Anne of Denmark, was born at Falkland Castle. For a time she was under the guardianship of the Countess of Kildare, but soon after her arrival in England in 1603, she was consigned to the care of Lord Harington, with whom she spent the years of her childhood in great happiness at Combe Abbey. The only incident of her early years was her hasty removal to Coventry on the discovery of the intention of the Gunpowder conspirators to seize her and proclaim her Queen when James should have been successfully blown up. She was a girl of exceptional charm, full of gaiety and unusually beautiful, one whom the poets of the day could flatter without stint and without obvious irony. Her personal and political attractions brought Elizabeth many suitors, among them Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. In 1612 she was betrothed to Frederick, the young Elector Palatine. The match was very popular in England, and was celebrated the same year amid great rejoicings, though saddened for Elizabeth herself by the recent death of her favourite brother, Henry. On arriving at Heidelberg with her husband, she caused some scandal in Germany by her bold defiance of the traditional dullness and parsimony of Court life. Her time was spent in hunting, masquerades, and reading romances, while for her husband, to whom she bore twelve children, she had a deep affection. This pleasant life was completely changed by Frederick's acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. On November 7, 1619, Elizabeth was crowned

at Prague, where she resided exactly one year, doing her husband's cause little good by her gaiety, which shocked the boorish simplicity of the inhabitants. After the battle of the White Hill (November 8, 1620) her troubles and her wanderings began. The loss of Bohemia was quickly followed by the loss of the Palatinate itself. With great courage she refused to desert her husband. After vainly seeking refuge in Breslau, Berlin, and Wolfenbüttel, the pair were eventually received by Maurice of Orange, but he could not, while James would not aid them to recover their lands. At length in 1623 the Queen's enthusiastic character and beauty procured her the aid of Duke Christian of Brunswick, who as her avowed champion raised an army to reconquer the Palatinate and Bohemia. Both Elizabeth and her husband treated him with kindly affection, and the unselfish devotion displayed by Christian and many who, actuated by similar sentiments, served under him, lends one of the few touches of romance to be found in the dreary waste of the Thirty Years' War. Nevertheless all their efforts proved fruitless, and after Christian's death, Elizabeth continued in hopeless exile near Arnheim, wandering frequently in disguise as a mere vagrant, though still retaining her courage and vivacity. In 1632 Frederick died, and the Queen devoted herself henceforth to her children, especially Charles Lewis, now heir to the Palatinate. She was often in great straits, being dependent entirely on the charity of England and Holland. When the Civil War broke out in the former country, her supplies from her brother Charles, never very lavish, were completely cut off, though her faithful servant and friend, Lord Craven, still helped her; and in 1650 the Dutch bounty also ceased. Though the Peace of Westphalia had restored the Lower (i. e. the Rhenish) Palatinate to Charles Lewis, that young man gave his mother neither gratitude nor affection; he would neither make her an allowance nor receive her into his Principality. Two of her younger sons wounded her strongly Protestant sentiments by entering the Roman Church. With her eldest daughter she also quarrelled, while another,



ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA

From the portrait by J. van Miereveldt in the National Portrait Gallery

Louisa Hollandina, escaped from her house to enter a convent, where she contrived to lead a far from ascetic existence. Indeed, of all her children Rupert, her third and favourite son, alone exhibited any warm and constant affection towards his mother. Under these miserable circumstances Elizabeth lived many years in Holland, where she maintained the sorry pretence of holding a Court. Her exile was somewhat enlivened by the arrival of Charles II and his following, with many of whom, notably Montrose, she was on friendly terms. Finally the Restoration seemed to offer her a prospect of an honourable retreat, but Charles, who felt little interest in a widowed aunt, tried to prevent her coming to England, though Parliament had voted her a grant for the payment of her many debts. Elizabeth eventually sailed in May 1661 without waiting for an invitation, and took up her residence in Lord Craven's beautiful home in Drury Lane. Her appearances at Court were frequent, and Charles treated her with his usual courtesy, even giving her a pension when he could find no gentlemanly alternative to doing so. She died on February 13, 1662, and was buried at night in Westminster Abbey. Her life is remarkable for its sharp contrasts between reckless gaiety and unrelieved affliction. The admiration and fidelity which Elizabeth inspired were due more to the charms of her person and disposition than to any great strength of character. But no princess was ever better loved or better served, or bore with greater cheerfulness a greater series of misfortunes.

HORACE, LORD VERE OF TILBURY

(1565-1635)

better known as Sir Horace Vere, was the fourth son of Geoffrey Vere and Elizabeth Hardekyn, and came of a famous fighting family. Like his elder brother Francis, he made war his profession, and at the age of twenty-five went to join that brother in the Netherlands, where his name was already famous. By dint of hard fighting, in the course of which he was more than once wounded, he rose rapidly in the Dutch service, until in 1604 he was appointed to succeed Sir Francis on his retirement from the command of the English companies. In every engagement he played a bold and skilful part, but his most notable exploit was at the battle of Mülheim (October 9, 1605), when his prompt and vigorous action saved the Dutch army from complete rout. Henceforth his reputation was established on the Continent, but when the Spanish war was over he returned for a time to England. We next hear of him as Governor of Brill, and in 1618 he was made Governor of Utrecht by Prince Maurice, but this post he gladly resigned when another chance of active service was offered to him. Count Dohna, the Palatine envoy, having wrung from James a reluctant consent for the enrolment of a body of English volunteers for the defence of the Palatinate, chose Vere as their commander. His name and the popularity of the Princess Elizabeth attracted all young men of military ambitions, and a splendid little army of 2,200 men sailed in July 1620, but it was generally thought impossible for the force to reach its destination, its way being barred by two Spanish armies



HORACE, LORD VERE OF TILBURY *

From the portrait by J. van Miereveldt in the National Portrait Gallery

under Spinola and Velasco. Nevertheless, by means of a skilful march Vere joined the Protestant forces at Worms, but he was unable to bring the enemy to battle before winter set in. Dividing his troops between the three strongholds of the Palatinate, he took up his own quarters at Mannheim. Throughout the next year they remained unmolested, but unable to take the offensive owing to the defection of their allies. In 1622, the Imperialists under Tilly overran the country and besieged all three garrisons. After a series of desperate defences Heidelberg was stormed, Vere marched out of Mannheim with the honours of war, and Frankenthal only capitulated in obedience to orders from James I. On returning to England Vere received many honours, but in 1624 he again sailed to Holland to assist Prince Maurice in the relief of Breda, and on Maurice's death took chief command of the Dutch army. Spinola's lines were impregnable, but Vere led a forlorn hope, which almost succeeded in piercing them. He was now generally regarded as the foremost English soldier, and was raised to the baronage. During his last years he took part at the sieges of Bois-le-Duc and Maestricht. He died of an apoplectic fit, while dining with Sir Harry Vane at Whitehall, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He had all the qualities of a good soldier, besides a modesty and an amiability which made him universally beloved.

RICHARD WESTON

FIRST EARL OF PORTLAND

(1577-1635)

son of Sir Jerome Weston and Mary Cave, came of a legal family of whose origin nothing accurate is known. Nor do we know anything of Weston's own early life, except that he studied law, until he appears as a member of Parliament in 1601. He was knighted by King James, held various small offices, and made a reputation as a good man of business. After a short diplomatic mission he became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1621. This office he retained under King Charles, and got therewith much unpopularity. He became a peer and Lord Treasurer in 1628. As early as 1629 he was treated to a scolding by Eliot in Parliament, partly on account of his Spanish and Catholic proclivities, partly because he was known as the King's ablest agent in finance. His greed was continually denounced, and he was even accused of speculation. If any one formulated for Charles the policy of abstaining from all assertions of English power either on sea or land, it was Richard Weston, and he was rewarded with the Earldom of Portland in 1633. He died in the Catholic faith, of which he had long been a secret adherent, two years later, a mean creature whom history would do well to forget, but one who by his economy of public moneys really did something to enable Charles I to get through the first ten years of his reign.



RICHARD WESTON, FIRST EARL OF PORTLAND
From the portrait belonging to Mrs. Bankes
at Kingston Lacy



ANDREW MARVELL
From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

ANDREW MARVELL

(1621-1678)

was the son of Andrew Marvell, a divine, and Anne Pease. Besides becoming a good scholar under the tuition of his father at Hull Grammar School and at Trinity, Cambridge, he also acquired a good knowledge of modern languages. In 1653, if not earlier, he was the friend of Milton, who obtained for him the post of Assistant Latin Secretary to the Protector's Government in 1657. Previous to this he had already ingratiated himself with the Government by constituting himself the poet-laureate of the Protectorate, but as his poems remained mostly unpublished at the Restoration, he somehow escaped all penalty for his republican principles and his strong attachment to Cromwell. As member for Hull, he played a modest part in politics and was able to shield Milton from persecution, but his chief sphere of activity and his chief source of influence lay in political satire. His trenchant humour he used very effectively against the reactionary tendencies of the ruling faction in government, religion and morals, and more especially against Parker, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, whom he completely crushed. The animosity which he aroused in his enemies even led him to fear assassination, and the suddenness of his death gave rise to groundless suspicions of poisoning. Without attaining any commanding place in literature, he gained among his contemporaries a considerable reputation as a satirist, in addition to the reflected glory accruing to him as one of Milton's few intimate friends.

CHARLES I

(1600-1649)

was the second son of James I and Anne of Denmark, and was born at Dunfermline. In his youth he was sickly and backward, but he gradually outgrew his bodily infirmities, save for a slight impediment, which increased his natural shyness of speaking. Though not learned, he had a strong taste for art and literature, and had also inherited some of his father's interest in current theology. His manners were graceful and dignified, but his taciturnity and aloofness, largely the results of bashfulness, gave him an air of haughtiness, which hindered his personal popularity. Physically he was active and was a good horseman. In 1616 he was created Prince of Wales, but he made no appearance in public affairs until 1623, when he went to Madrid to woo the Infanta Maria of Spain. He was already entirely under the influence of Buckingham, whose meteoric nature exercised over him as much ascendancy as any one ever was able to exercise. Charles imagined himself to be genuinely in love with the Princess, and on one occasion caused her great alarm by romantically descending upon her from a high wall, while she was walking in her garden. Neither she nor Philip IV ever favoured the match, and the political and religious objections to it were in fact insuperable. Hence Charles returned, angry and empty-handed, after seven months of wearisome negotiation and unrequited courtship. Though his father still lived, he and Buckingham now virtually ruled England. He threw himself into the latter's schemes



CHARLES I

From the portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck at Windsor Castle

for the reconquest of the Palatinate, and was in no wise disillusioned by the failure of Mansfeld's expedition. On March 27, 1625, Charles became King, and Buckingham's influence remained unabated; in June, Henrietta Maria of France, the Queen whom Buckingham had chosen for him, landed in England. Yet under the same influence Charles soon became estranged from his wife, and undertook, in addition to a war with Spain, a fruitless and dishonourable war with France. The quarrel with his first three Parliaments in defence of his minister when impeached, and of the general policy which that minister had advocated, was the most serious result of this unhappy friendship. Friendship it undoubtedly was, and not dependence. Charles never really took good advice from any one; and there is no lack of evidence that, where Buckingham's advice was good, as it sometimes was, the young King rejected it. After Buckingham's murder, Charles could regain his wife's affection and avoid warlike undertakings, but his mind, now confirmed in the arbitrary tendencies inherited from James I, was not elastic enough to make any reconciliation with Parliament possible. To the civil dispute, which had culminated in the struggle over Tonnage and Poundage, was added the religious. In this Charles found a sympathetic adviser in Laud, whose passion for order and dislike for the ugliness of puritanism was equal to his own. Thus during the years 1629-40, when no Parliament met, those materials for a fatal explosion were accumulating, which were afterwards fully set forth in the Grand Remonstrance. Charles had all his father's narrowness of view and sublime confidence in the justice of his own opinions without any of that practical shrewdness, which prevented James's folly from producing disastrous consequences. Without seeing the external semblance of his actions, he insulted the political and religious ideals of large masses of his subjects; he was sure of his own conscience and lacked the imagination to conceive the standpoint of others. When, as in 1640, his position became clearly untenable he resorted to foolhardy and desperate expedients, such as the arrest of the five

members and the Army Plots, rather than attempt a retreat. Yet he had much in his favour. His views were those of a great section of the nation, in whom kingship and the prayer-book inspired fervent loyalty. With some breadth of mind and a little of his son's dexterity, Charles might have preserved Church and State almost unimpaired. The purity of his motives need not be doubted and the more impossible his circumstances became the more his obstinacy grew, until it can almost be termed heroic. He cared not whom he sacrificed, or by what means he strove to become again master of the consciences of his subjects; his tortuous diplomacy and utter want of truthfulness in pursuing his end made it impossible for any one to trust him. He took counsel of many people, some wise, some foolish, but almost invariably ended by choosing the worse path. For such decisions he assumed the full responsibility. During the Civil War his conduct in the field was noble and courageous, and, had he fallen, as apparently he wished to fall, in a last charge at Naseby, he would have been deemed a hero as well as a martyr. After that battle he became a fugitive. In May 1646 he delivered himself to the Scottish army at Newark and was carried to Newcastle-on-Tyne. He refused to take the Covenant, and was transferred for hard cash to the custody of the English Parliament, which confined him at Holmby House. There a month later Cornet Joyce seized him in the name of the Army, and he was removed to Hampton Court (June 1647). In November he escaped to the Isle of Wight, where he was again made prisoner in Carisbrooke. This became his residence until shortly before his death. During these three years Charles played a game of triangular negotiation with the Scots, the Parliament, and the Army, always confident of ultimate success, never realizing the earnestness and resolution of his opponents. Thus he treated in a bargaining spirit, ready to break agreements with one party for the prospect of better terms with another, but clinging on the whole to episcopacy, though even of this he had offered at Newcastle to make a temporary surrender. The outbreak of the Second Civil

War finally settled his fate. Thenceforth it became slowly evident to Cromwell, as it had long been to his followers, that reconstruction was impossible until the King was cleared from the path. Even then a mere fraction of his enemies was in favour of Charles's execution, but on January 20, 1649, he was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, and, after a hearing remarkable for its illegalities of procedure and for the careless dignity of the prisoner, which confounded his judges, he was condemned to death. He was beheaded before Whitehall on January 30. Charles at the last was a martyr, and a martyr in a cause which nearly half of his English subjects considered to be a good one, the maintenance of the old constitution of the Church. He could have bought back his crown at any time if he would have permanently surrendered episcopacy. But rather than do this he was quite prepared to bring in not only Highlanders and Irishmen, but foreign mercenaries from any country which would lend them in order to conquer the Parliamentary army. Thus, although a martyr, he was neither a good king nor a good Englishman nor Scot. In private morals he was absolutely pure and sincerely religious, but even to his friends he found it difficult to tell the truth. 'Nothing in his life became him like the leaving of it.'

HENRIETTA MARIA

QUEEN-CONSORT OF CHARLES I

(1609-1669)

was the youngest daughter of Henri IV of France and of Mary de Medicis, his second wife. When she was but eleven years old it was suggested that she should be betrothed to Charles, but the proposal was not seriously mooted till 1624. The match was rapidly arranged and the marriage took place in May 1625. In consenting to it, it was Henrietta's hope that she might be able to assist the English Catholics, and Charles's refusal to relieve them was her first disappointment. Indeed, her first years in England were far from happy. She disliked Buckingham, who tried to poison the King's mind against her. Her religion and her French attendants were unpopular, and, when the latter were dismissed by Charles, she felt forlorn and ill at ease amid her English surroundings. Yet this feeling slowly gave way before the strength of habit, and after a reconciliation with her husband had taken place, she led a careless and innocent life, devoted only to pleasure and troubled only by the need of money, in which her extravagance continually involved her. Her love of acting and dancing deeply shocked the Puritans, while both her frivolity and her religious activities brought her into collision with Laud, but she had no premonition of the storm that was about to burst. Apart from a few wayward intrigues, she played no part in politics; yet, like Marie Antoinette, she was preparing for her husband's overthrow by her heedlessness and ignorance of public opinion.

When the struggle began, she threw herself into it impetu-



HENRIETTA MARIA

From the portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck belonging to the
Earl of Radnor at Longford Castle

ously and courageously. She became the leader of the more headstrong Royalists, whose wild and ill-calculated schemes did so much to ruin their cause. Henrietta herself was full of energy and resolution, but her ignorance of English feeling and prejudice rendered her plans fruitless and her influence on the King disastrous. The Army Plot and the attempt to seize the five members were largely due to her belief that the popular party could be crushed by force, as the French Protestants had been. Her choice of advisers was likewise perverse. She preferred men like Digby and Hamilton to sane counsellors like Hyde or Montrose, who might have shown her the danger of seeking foreign assistance, which she made the chief aim of her endeavours. Having failed in her overtures to the Pope and Richelieu, she negotiated a marriage between her eldest daughter Mary and William of Orange (father of King William III). From him she procured a large sum of money, and in 1642 she augmented this by going abroad and pawning the crown jewels at Amsterdam. In the following February she sailed from Holland through a violent storm with money and stores, which after running the gauntlet of a Parliamentary squadron she brought safely to Bridlington in Yorkshire; and having raised a small army, she then marched to join her husband, whom she met on the field of Edgehill in July. She remained at Oxford, where she lived at Merton College, until April 1644, when the dangerous outlook for the Royalist cause made it necessary for her to move further westward. At Exeter, in the midst of her troubles and adventures, she gave birth to her last child, Henrietta, and in July she escaped to France, though again pursued and bombarded by a Parliamentary frigate. Residing at Saint-Germain with a French pension, she still intrigued restlessly and fruitlessly on her husband's behalf, denying herself every luxury in order to help him with money. In 1648 Cardinal de Retz found her living at the Louvre without even the means to light a fire, and it was in the same spirit of devotion that she made a desperate effort to go to England and plead for

Charles when she heard that he was being tried for his life. The news of his death put an end to her political activity. Henceforth her inspiration and her influence were gone, and for a time she retired to a Carmelite nunnery. As her power over Charles II was being slowly undermined by Hyde, she devoted herself to the interests of Henrietta, whom she succeeded in marrying to the Duke of Orleans. For a short while after the Restoration she tried to live her old life in England. Her Court at Somerset House eclipsed that of the Queen; her extravagance and her penury were as notorious as they had been in her youth; gossips, like Pepys, even slanderously asserted that she was married to Henry Jermyn, who had always been her trusted counsellor and who was both a rake and a foolish man. But her health was now failing, and she found small sympathy among the new generation. In 1665 she returned to France, where she lived in retirement until her death from an overdose of a sleeping-draught four years later.

Henrietta Maria is a pathetic figure in English history. She has been unjustly abused by historians for the part which she played in establishing and defending the Stuart despotism. In fact she had no political beliefs, only a noble affection for her husband, for whom she sacrificed ungrudgingly her innate love of pleasure and frivolity. Her beauty, her expensive tastes, her light-hearted innocence, were incongruous with the stern times of the Rebellion, and consequently wrought much harm. Though not intellectual, she was gifted with much feminine ingenuity and the abundant vivacity of her race. By nature she was wilful, passionate, and unstable, but in her unswerving and unselfish devotion to her husband and her faith she showed a fortitude which many more honoured women have not possessed.

THOMAS WENTWORTH

FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD

(1593-1641)

son of Sir William Wentworth, Bart., and Anne Atkins, came of a good and ancient family long settled at Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire. After spending some time at St. John's College, Cambridge, he became a student at the Inner Temple, and at the age of twenty-one succeeded to the baronetcy and entered Parliament. Again in 1621 he was returned for the Yorkshire seat, his opponent being Sir John Savile, whom he had ousted from a county office and so made his inveterate enemy. From the first he showed great independence of opinion and an aversion to hasty or extreme measures. The Puritan clamour for war with Spain he despised as foolish and misdirected. Though a firm upholder of recognized Parliamentary privileges, he deprecated any open defiance of the King. He had the inevitable contempt of a man of strong views and strong intellect for the inconstancy and the fanaticism of the House of Commons. Thus he was never a whole-hearted supporter of the popular party, even when he endorsed its aims. As early as 1625 Eliot made a fierce attack on him for addressing the House in defiance of its rules, when a petition against his return was being debated. As at the same time he could not admire Buckingham's reckless and ambitious policy: he remained rather in a position of superior detachment, feeling that the true ends and the true methods of government were alike imperilled and neglected. Charles admitted that Wentworth was 'an honest gentleman', but although his opposition to the Court had been in the main passive,

he removed him from all his posts in 1626. Next year Wentworth refused a demand for a forced loan and was imprisoned, but in the Parliament of 1628 he again reappeared, and became one of its leaders. No one was more prominent in pressing the rights of the subject upon the King, but unlike Eliot, Wentworth's object was to strengthen the Monarchy by uniting it more closely with the people, not to weaken it by whittling away its prerogative. His efforts at reconciliation having been shattered by Charles's obstinacy, he halted. Though approving of its demands in principle, he would not be a party to the Petition of Right, because its form was a menace to the royal authority. Before the end of the session his 'apostasy', as it was generally called, was sealed by the acceptance of a barony from the King; and by the end of 1628 Wentworth had fully identified himself with the autocratic administration by becoming President of the Council of the North. This position he found suited to his talents and his temper. The preservation of order and the maintenance of the royal power were to him thoroughly congenial tasks, which he executed with great firmness of will. As a reward for success, perhaps also to rid himself of a minister whose reiterated demands for efficiency were embarrassing, Charles in 1632 created Wentworth Lord Deputy of Ireland. There Wentworth set himself to banish chaos and to establish a neat and orderly bureaucracy irrespective of private or racial interests. The country was to be made prosperous and well governed, but its prosperity and its government were to be dictated by English interests. With genuine, if rigid notions of reform and with complete indifference to the opposition he aroused, Wentworth sought to convert Ireland into another England by planting colonies and issuing proclamations. In some directions he was momentarily successful, and his recall in 1639 left the real failure of his system the less conspicuous, only because that system was still imperfect. Nevertheless his period of unfettered rule in Ireland had confirmed Wentworth's belief in the virtue and the necessity of absolute authority. When asked for his advice on the Scottish Rebellion, he



THOMAS WENTWORTH, FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD
From an old copy of the portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck
in the National Portrait Gallery

advocated stern and persistent repression. When Parliament refused to grant supplies without bargaining for the redress of grievances, Wentworth, who was now Earl of Strafford and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, counselled its dissolution, and that same morning (May 5, 1640), during the deliberations on the Scottish War, he hinted that there was an Irish army which might be used 'to reduce this kingdom'. Whether these words referred to Scotland or to England must always remain doubtful. The rumour that he meant to coerce Parliament by force spread rapidly: henceforth Strafford was known as 'Black Tom Tyrant'. He was ceaselessly active in raising in Yorkshire men and money with which to fight the Scots, but another Parliament could not be avoided, and with its meeting an assault upon him as the King's prompter was certain. On November 25 a charge of treason was brought against him, and he was sent to the Tower. Throughout his trial, which was deferred until the spring of 1641, Strafford defended himself with great courage and much justice, but he had few friends and many foes, both personal and political. Finally Pym's revelation of the alleged Army Plot sealed his fate, and on May 8, 1641, a Bill of Attainder was passed against him. Charles hesitated, but the mob was seething round Whitehall, shouting threats against the Queen if he withheld his assent. On the 10th he yielded, and two days later Strafford was executed, displaying on the scaffold all his habitual resolution and contempt of the populace.

To a Tudor monarch he would have been an excellent and a patriotic minister. He had a real zeal for the welfare of the State, but in his opinion it was only to be secured by an enlightened but almost absolute executive, which might ask the people for advice but which could not submit to its direction without sacrificing order, the first essential of good government. Strafford belonged, in fact, to the imperious school of Bismarck, but it was his misfortune to serve under a King who had none of the sympathy or the wisdom which alone can render a despotism tolerable and save it from the aspect of a tyranny.

WILLIAM LAUD

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

(1573-1645)

was the son of William Laud, a Reading clothier, and of Lucy Webbe. After being taught at the free school at Reading, he went in 1589 to St. John's College, Oxford, where he obtained a close scholarship. There he fell under the influence of John Buckeridge, a strong reactionary against the prevalent Calvinistic doctrines. From him Laud imbibed the 'High Church' principles, of which his life became the expositor. After being elected to a Fellowship, he soon began to stir Oxford by the bold advocacy of his opinions, and his long career of preferment commenced. In 1611 he succeeded Buckeridge as President of St. John's, his appointment being upheld by the King against a protest from his opponents. In Oxford Laud was not popular, and he was glad some five years later to accept the deanery of Gloucester from which he was soon promoted to the bishopric of St. David's, though not before he had heightened his fame as an ecclesiastical innovator. Being the friend of Prince Charles and Buckingham, his influence in Church matters became paramount on King James's death. Even on political questions Laud became Charles's trusted adviser, as he was his warm supporter. In both relations he found himself naturally and fundamentally opposed to the spirit of the House of Commons. In his theological views Laud was, in a sense, the enemy of dogmatism. His desire was to steer a middle course between the rigid systems of Catholicism and of Calvinism. All but the root-tenets of the Christian faith, which were found immediately in the Scriptures, he wished to leave to individual opinion: he would



WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
From the portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck at Lambeth Palace

not have metaphysical deductions made articles of belief. But at the same time his ruling passion was for order, and his constant endeavour was to procure unity of religion by means of uniformity in its observances. It was in attempting to apply this policy of 'Thorough' to the Church that he became a 'dogmatist in the name of tolerance'. In 1628 he was created Bishop of London, and in the following year he was elected Chancellor of Oxford. In both positions he set himself to carry out his task with a characteristic absence of fear but also without any conciliatory tact. His sympathies were those of Wentworth, his greatest friend, and he was determined to use the authority, which was on his side, to the uttermost. In the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts his sentences were relentlessly severe, but also scrupulously legal, which did not add to their popularity. In 1633 he succeeded Archbishop Abbot at Canterbury, and henceforth his power was irresistible. He signalized his elevation by the 'Declaration of Sports' and by the condemnation of Prynne, thus further embittering the Puritans and convincing them (quite wrongly) of his popish intentions. In complete disregard of the schism which he was creating, Laud continued his suppression of 'abuses', intolerant of all contrary opinion, impatient and reckless of opposition. Though himself a stern moralist, his concern for ceremony forced him to neglect the spiritual end of religion, while his liberal benefactions to the Bodleian Library and to his old college did nothing to lessen the odium of his public actions. In England the wrath of the Puritans found vent in harmless scurrility, but the Laudian system began to crumble when faced by the open resistance of the Scottish nation. The issue of new canons for the Scottish Church in 1637 was rightly ascribed to Laud's influence, but instead of trying to assuage the storm which he had provoked, the Archbishop merely heightened it by standing more stiffly on the King's authority. Thus he involved Church and State in common ruin. In carrying out the task of enforcing his own views, he merely added fuel to the hatred already felt for Charles's system of civil government, of

which he upheld the divine origin. The 'etcetera oath' was imposed, and had to be withdrawn amid derision. In the eyes of the mob Laud was the ecclesiastical Strafford, and on Dec. 18, 1640, the Commons impeached him of high treason. In the following March Laud was committed to the Tower. There he remained, almost unnoticed, while the religious question was being rapidly overshadowed by the political struggle. His trial was not begun until three years after his imprisonment, and went leisurely forward. The few Lords who were left at Westminster were unwilling to condemn him, but finally in Jan. 1645 they were forced by the Commons to yield. At his own request Laud was permitted to be beheaded, and he died fearlessly on Jan. 10, 1645.

One may fully endorse Wood's assertion that he was 'a person of an heroick spirit, a pious life and exemplary conversation'; yet his influence was disastrous for both Church and State. The purity and sincerity of his great ambitions for the Anglican religion are unquestionable, but his aims were wholly unsuited to his times, when latitude was above all necessary for the moulding of a truly national Church. Laud was indeed tolerant on speculative questions but he had none of the true toleration for living and striving opinions. In his conception of means, also, he was too much of a lawyer, too little of a diplomatist. In a word, his temper was unfitted for guiding others; and the greatness of his power only made his failure more complete and more irretrievable.

JOHN HAMPDEN

(1594-1643)

came of a family held in high esteem for centuries in Buckinghamshire and possessed of large estates. He was the eldest son of William Hampden and Elizabeth Cromwell, through whom he was related to the Protector. In 1610 he went to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he acquired a taste for literature and history. It is said that he was fond of sport and exercises, and frequented the company of 'men of the most jolly conversation', but he was always a sincere and devout Puritan, fulfilling his duties as a country gentleman with a punctilious zeal. In 1619 he married Elizabeth Symeon, by whom he had nine children, and two years later he entered Parliament. Had he wished, he might have obtained a peerage, but his ambitions were not those of his relations, and from the first he was a staunch, though for some time an undistinguished, member of the Opposition. With his natural industry, aided by the legal training which he had received on leaving Oxford, he made himself a master of Parliamentary law. He served on various committees and was the intimate friend of Eliot, but, in spite of his harsh imprisonment for refusing to pay a forced loan, his name was still obscure, until his resistance to the Ship-money writ in 1635-7 made it a household word. After a long and tedious trial, Hampden was condemned by seven judges out of twelve, but his firmness became an inspiration to his party, while his dignity and modesty had impressed even his bitterest opponents. Henceforth he was regarded as a national hero, and the future saviour of his country from tyranny. In the Short Parliament he was 'the most popular man in the house', and his statesmanlike

conduct proved him worthy of his personal ascendancy. Weighty and extraordinarily persuasive in debate, a skilled Parliamentary tactician, and of great business capacity, he was the real leader of the popular party and, so far as we can see, a leader wholly devoid of factiousness or self-seeking. By his tactful intervention a quarrel was avoided between the two houses over Strafford's attainder, and, later, he alone prevented a pitched battle in the Commons during the debate on the Grand Remonstrance. At first his desire was only to sweep away recognized abuses, but in obedience to the teaching of events, he became at last the declared foe of episcopacy. Of a temperate Monarchy he never was, and never could have been the foe. Charles's attempt to arrest the Five Members rendered Hampden, who was one of their number, an irreconcilable. His famous motto, *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*, was the principle of his public life, and henceforth he was the fiercest advocate of extreme measures against the King. At the beginning of the war, he raised in Buckinghamshire a regiment of foot, of better stuff than most on the Parliamentary side at that time. Hampden himself, in spite of the legendary victories assigned to him, saw little fighting, but he soon gained the reputation of being an intrepid soldier and a determined general. All negotiations he strongly opposed: instead, he was constantly urging more decisive measures upon Essex, though always obeying him loyally. Hampden was finally shot through the shoulder on Chalgrove Field, while attempting to bar Rupert's retreat to Oxford on June 18, 1643. He was taken to the inn at Thame, where he died shortly afterwards in great agony.

The greatness which he achieved is best measured by the feelings evoked by the news of his death. His followers, besides grieving for a man whom they loved, were dismayed as though they had lost a whole army, while to his enemies 'his death seemed to be a great deliverance to the nation'. All acknowledged his 'flowing courtesy', his influence on others, his unselfish and noble character. Indeed, few men have been the subject of more genuine



JOHN HAMPDEN

From the portrait belonging to the Earl of St. Germans at Port Eliot

and unstinted praise than John Hampden. By nature he was just a perfect gentleman, a man of refined tastes, deep piety, and lofty instincts in private life. By circumstance he became one of the leaders in a revolution, and, finding the duty of greatness thrust upon him, he fulfilled it by the simple translation of his talents and his qualities into public actions. Each fresh crisis which he was called upon to face witnessed a new unfolding of himself to meet its demands. Writing his character large on events, he was converted from the Puritan country squire, to the statesman whose name is written large upon the page of English history.

DENZIL HOLLES

(1599-1680)

was the second son of John Holles, first Earl of Clare. He was a man of an unusual character, well illustrated by an eventful career. He was endowed with remarkable determination together with a fiery temperament, so that his uprightness and strength of purpose in action were coupled with considerable vehemence in speech. At the same time he possessed a sanity of judgement, which won him a reputation for moderation among his contemporaries. On all occasions, however, he advocated his views with great force, and was consequently always prominent as a politician from the date of his entry into Parliament in 1624 until the last year of his life. In youth he was an ardent follower of Eliot, and his share in holding down the Speaker, while the resolutions against arbitrary taxation and religious innovations were passed (March 2, 1629), caused him to be imprisoned in the Tower, whence he escaped to the Continent. This and the fact that he was one of the 'Five Members' of 1642, are the two incidents popularly connected with his name. His views, however, were by no means revolutionary, and after the beginning of the war, he took little part in the fighting, but tried to restore peace. His two guiding principles were constitutional monarchy and Presbyterianism. The former brought him into conflict with Charles I, the latter with Cromwell, whom he even tried to impeach (December 1644). As leader of the party in Parliament opposed to the Independents, he negotiated with Charles at Uxbridge, and succeeded in incurring the hatred of the army. His opponents forced him to fly from

an accusation of treason (August 1647), and, though he returned next year and took part in the 'Treaty' of Newport, he was again driven into exile. Although he had given active support neither to Charles II nor to the Protectorate, his opposition to Cromwell gained him the royal favour and a peerage at the Restoration. He still maintained his constitutional principles, by attempting to frustrate Charles's dealings with Louis XIV and all efforts to re-establish personal government. He was thus brought into close connexion with Russell and Shaftesbury, but with characteristic moderation refused to support the Exclusion Bill. A loyal friend, and a formidable though honest enemy, his character is thus summed up by Burnet: 'Holles was a man of great courage, and as great pride. He was faithful and firm to his side, and never changed through the whole course of his life . . . He had the soul of an old stubborn Roman in him.'

WILLIAM LENTHALL

(1591-1662)

was the son of William Lenthall of Lachford, Oxfordshire, and Frances Southwell. For a short time he was an undergraduate at St. Alban Hall, Oxford, but he was called to the bar without having taken a degree, and was subsequently a bencher at Lincoln's Inn. As a barrister he soon built up a large practice. He was made Recorder of Woodstock, which he represented in the Parliament of 1624, and bought Burford Priory from Lord Falkland, in addition to his estate at Besselsleigh. When the Long Parliament met, he was unanimously elected Speaker. His legal knowledge fully qualified him for the position nor was he wanting in dignity; but he had not force of character sufficient to control the turbulent and excited sittings of the Long Parliament. Moreover, he found their extreme length very burdensome, while the state which he had to maintain was a serious drain upon his income until he was relieved by a large grant from the House in recognition of his courageous and diplomatic action in refusing to betray the five members. In 1643 he was made Master of the Rolls, and other offices soon fell to his lot. In 1646 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal. Thus, although his lands had been plundered by the Royalists, Lenthall nevertheless found his position sufficiently lucrative to be worth maintaining. Hence he was careful to be found on the stronger side throughout the vicissitudes of the Civil War. Though opposed to the King's trial, he still presided during the debates upon it, in fear lest he should provoke the wrath of Cromwell and his party. Under the Commonwealth he might have played a conspicuous

part as the first man in the nation, but he preferred to preserve an inoffensive respectability, until he was pulled from the chair at the dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1653. In Cromwell's Parliaments he sat as a private member, until in response to his own querulous request (and to his inordinate satisfaction) he was raised to the spurious House of Lords. When the Long Parliament was restored, he was persuaded to act once more as Speaker. The rapid fluctuations of political power caused him great perplexity and anxiety, but at length he saw the drift of events and attached himself to Monck. By this foresight he succeeded in saving his head at the Restoration, but in spite of a timely gift of £3,000 to Charles II, he was declared incapable of holding any public office. He ended his career by bearing witness against one of the regicides as to his utterances in the Commons and by drawing up an abject apology for his life. He died at Burford, directing that the plain inscription *Vermis Sum* should be put on his grave. The humility of this epitaph cannot altogether rob it of its truth, for Lenthall was a weak man, timorous by nature and incapable of exalting his principles above avarice and self-interest.

WILLIAM PRYNNE

(1600-1669)

son of Thomas Prynne and Mary Sherston, was born in Somerset, and educated at Bath and at Oriel College, Oxford. He might be described either as a savage pamphleteer or an antiquarian lawyer of great learning. In truth he was both. His militant puritanism led him to denounce not only the doctrines of the High Churchmen, but most of the habits of society in his age, such as the wearing of long hair and the performance of stage plays. One of his pamphlets called *Histrionastix* (1632) was held to contain a reflection on the Queen, and he was sentenced to fine, imprisonment, pillory, and mutilation. He next attacked Archbishop Laud and Bishops in general, and in 1637 suffered a second mutilation (which took off the remainder of his ears) followed by a close imprisonment. Restored to liberty by the order of the Long Parliament in 1640 he flung himself, for the ensuing twenty years, into every controversy that came up. He hounded Laud to the scaffold with every twisting of evidence that malice could suggest. Yet he fought with equal fierceness against Independents and against the claim for the universal establishment of Presbyterianism. Indeed it would have been difficult to prophesy, between 1640 and 1660, which side in any given controversy Prynne would espouse ; though one might be sure that he would be an ardent champion of his cause. His convictions were anything but republican, and he had a sharp tussle with Milton. In 1648 he obtained a seat in the Commons, just in time to be ejected by Pride's Purge and to denounce the King's trial. He was himself imprisoned, without a shadow of right, by order of the Council of

State, 1650-3; and he cursed the Protectorate as vigorously as he had cursed the Bishops, the Scots, the old Monarchy, or the new Republic. He was one of the first after the fall of Richard Cromwell to attempt to force his way back, as a lawfully elected and unlawfully excluded member of the House of Commons, 1659; and at last regained his seat together with the other survivors of Pride's Purge in February 1660. Though he did much to fan the popular enthusiasm for the Restoration and was thanked by King Charles II for his services, yet, as a member of the Convention, he was against all restoration of the old Church; and, even in the Parliament of 1661, vigorously asserted his Presbyterian principles. Yet he retained his seat, and was made Keeper of the Records in the Tower, an office which he discharged with fidelity, ability, and even courtesy. But for his cruel vindictiveness against Laud (for which indeed he could plead much justification) one would think of him as a fine, sturdy specimen of the incarnate spirit of opposition. He died at Lincoln's Inn, perhaps the most voluminous as well as the most fiery writer of the seventeenth century.

SIR RALPH HOPTON, LORD HOPTON

(1598?-1652)

came of a good Somersetshire family, being the son of Robert Hopton and Jane Kemeys. From the first his instincts were military, for, after spending some time at Lincoln College, Oxford, as a gentleman-commoner, he took service under the Elector Palatine, and was probably present at the Battle of Prague. He took part in Mansfeld's disastrous expedition (December 1624), and commanded a regiment. As Member of Parliament, he at first supported the popular cause and voted for Strafford's attainder, but subsequently became one of the King's staunchest adherents, his conversion being probably due to the proposed abolition of episcopacy, which was irreconcilable with his Anglican principles. At the outbreak of war he raised a troop in Somersetshire, but was driven into Cornwall, where he gradually collected a small and well-disciplined army. With this he defeated a much superior force under Ruthven at Bradock Down (January 1643), and on May 16 routed Lord Stamford and some 7,000 men near Stratton. Following up this success, Hopton marched eastwards, and drove Waller from Lansdown, in Wiltshire, on July 5. His army suffered heavy losses in this battle, and he fell back badly wounded on Devizes. In spite of his sufferings, he directed the defence of the town against Waller, who at once besieged it, until relief arrived from Oxford, and the Royalist victory at Roundway Down (July 13), just outside Devizes, was the result. For this success and as a

recompense for not being named Governor of Bristol, Hopton was made a peer by Charles, and was ordered to press on eastwards through Hampshire. It was, however, difficult to get the Cornish soldiers to advance so far from their homes. Hopton just managed to enter Sussex and took Arundel Castle (December 9), but this was the limit of his success. Waller soon retook the castle, drove Hopton steadily westwards, and finally defeated him at Cheriton (March 29, 1644). In the following summer, Hopton was appointed to guide Prince Charles in his command of the western army, but owing to the jealousy of Goring, the most worthless of the royal leaders, he was unable to exercise any real control, and when he ultimately obtained sole command, the army was in a condition of dissolute anarchy. Hopton was consequently routed by Fairfax at Torrington, and was finally forced to surrender by his own men at Truro (March 1646). He lived for some time with Charles II in exile, but was never in favour, owing perhaps to his unflinching refusal to tolerate any bargain with Catholics or Presbyterians. The last years of his life were spent in the Netherlands. He died at Bruges, having received but little gratitude for his untiring devotion to the King's cause; but his sterling character found full recognition with his enemies, especially Waller and Fairfax, whose respect and affection for him were unaltered by hostility.

HENRY IRETON

(1611-1651)

was the son of German Ireton, of Attenborough, Nottinghamshire. At the age of fifteen he became a gentleman-commoner at Trinity College, Oxford, where his independence of authority was already remarkable. In 1629 he took his degree and began to study Law at the Temple, being known as a man of godliness and good learning among his contemporaries. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he captained a troop of horse raised in Nottingham, and was thenceforth always prominent. In 1643 he served with Cromwell, who at once recognized in him a man of his own stamp. After fighting under Manchester in 1644, Ireton commanded the left wing at Naseby, where he displayed great courage, being twice wounded and temporarily made prisoner. During the next two years he filled several important posts, and on June 15, 1646, drew yet closer to Cromwell by marrying his daughter Bridget. Ireton's influence on his leader was profound. Being endowed with an acute and logical mind, he supplied the theoretical justification for Cromwell's actions. The political manifestos issued by the Army leaders and their negotiations with Parliament were mainly determined by Ireton. 'The Heads of the Army Proposals,' which he drew up in July, 1647, is the most statesmanlike document produced during the Civil War. It outlined a settlement which might well have proved permanent. Its tone was moderate, liberal, and just. Charles's refusal of its most favourable terms practically sealed his fate, but the honesty of Ireton's effort to secure peace and constitutional monarchy is proved by the suspicion which it aroused in the Army. He wished to pre-



HENRY IRETON

From the portrait belonging to the Earl of Sandwich at Hinchinbrooke



THOMAS SYDENHAM

From the portrait by Mary Beale, or perhaps Sir Peter Lely, at the Royal College of Physicians



JOHN LAMBERT

From the portrait by Robert Walker in the National Portrait Gallery



ROBERT RICH, SECOND EARL OF WARWICK
From a contemporary engraving

serve both King and House of Lords. No one was more bitterly opposed to the republican doctrines of the Levellers, based on 'natural right', which he roundly declared to be no right at all. The flight to Carisbrooke and the Second Civil War at last convinced him of the necessity of Charles's execution, of which he then became a strenuous advocate. A considerable portion, though by no means all, of the second 'Agreement of the People' (January 1649) was inspired by his views, especially in its anti-socialistic aspects. In the same summer he went to Ireland as Cromwell's lieutenant, and, after the latter's departure in 1650, he completed the conquest, and carried on the policy of English colonization. In the execution of both tasks he displayed much severity and untiring energy. Throughout his public life he had used himself unsparingly, regardless of his health, which finally gave way to an attack of fever. He died on November 26, 1651, and was publicly buried in Westminster Abbey. He was the bugbear of Royalist historians, but was far from being of the 'bloody and unmerciful nature' which they ascribed to him. A man of iron resolution, a hater of all shams and dissemblings, yet fair-minded, conscientious, self-denying, and deeply religious, he was one of the greatest of soldier-statesmen, and not the least of Englishmen.

THOMAS SYDENHAM

(1624-1689)

came of a good Dorset family, being the son of William Sydenham and Mary Jeffrey. He entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in May 1642, but when the war broke out in the summer, he went to join his four brothers with the Parliamentary forces. During the next four years he was constantly engaged in the west country, holding a captain's commission, but in 1647 he returned to Oxford to take up the study of medicine. Next year he was elected to a Fellowship at All Souls College, where he was made senior bursar. After a course of but six months' work, he was granted a degree in medicine by the special command of the Chancellor, but in 1651 his academic career was again interrupted by military service. Attached to Rich's horse, he saw some hard fighting during the Worcester campaign, being himself wounded. In 1654 he presented a petition to Cromwell, claiming arrears of pay due to two of his brothers, who had been killed in the course of the war. The Protector thereupon recommended him to the Council, which with unusual generosity granted him £600. This sum enabled Sydenham to marry and to begin his professional career. In 1655 he resigned his Fellowship and migrated from All Souls to Westminster, where he set up as a physician. His training and his genius, both of a practical character, led him to make systematic observations of epidemic diseases. These he carefully recorded, and during his absence from London in Plague time he wrote his first account of them, which he issued under the title *Methodus curandi febres* (1666). In his researches he had been actively assisted by Boyle and Locke,

whose empirical temper accorded with his own. By his disregard for hazardous theory and strict devotion to observed phenomena, Sydenham may be said to have revolutionized medical science. When in 1676 he published his *Observationes medicae*, the importance of his work became recognized, especially abroad, and in the eighteenth century he was known as the English Hippocrates. Sydenham wrote several other treatises on epidemics and special diseases, and was a licentiate of the College of Physicians, though never a Fellow. He had an earnest desire to benefit mankind by his researches, and this desire was reflected in his practical philanthropy. In character he appears to have been pious, upright and sincere, though inclined to bitterness against professional opponents. During the greater part of his life he was a victim to gout and calculus, of which he eventually died on December 29, 1689.

JOHN LAMBERT

(1619-1683)

was born at Calton, in Yorkshire. Of his parentage and early years little is known, save that at one time he probably studied law, and that at the age of twenty he married Frances Lister, a lady of good family and ambition, who was supposed to have inspired him in many of his political dealings. When the Civil War broke out, he joined Fairfax's army, and soon became conspicuous for his bravery and ability. At Marston Moor, at the head of his regiment of horse, he showed great resolution and steadily increased his reputation during the subsequent fighting. He also possessed considerable talents for diplomacy and organization, as he showed during the struggle of the Army against the Parliament in 1647. Next year he was given a prominent command in the northern army. He captured Hamilton after the battle of Preston, and finally crushed the resistance in the north by reducing Pontefract (January 22, 1649). When Cromwell entered Scotland in 1650, Lambert went with him as major-general and second-in-command. After fighting during the following campaigns with consistent courage and success, he was present at Worcester where his horse was shot under him, and where he gained a special commendation from Cromwell to Parliament. After being sent to settle Scotland, he was appointed to succeed Ireton as Lord-Deputy in Ireland (January 1652). Lambert made a great outlay in view of his new dignity, but before he could take up his duties, Parliament abolished the post. This he afterwards attributed to Cromwell's design to alienate him from Parliament, a design which was certainly accomplished. Henceforth Lambert became

the Protector's most valuable supporter, since he was the idol of the Army and the fierce opponent both of Royalists and Republicans. The Instrument of Government and the institution of the Major-Generals were in great part his work, but in 1657 he quarrelled with Cromwell on the question of the kingship. Lambert was courteously dismissed, and retired to 'cultivate flowers at Wimbledon', his favourite hobby. After the fall of Richard Cromwell, he emerged as leader of the Army, having steadily refused all overtures from the Royalists. He aimed at succeeding to Cromwell's position, but he was little trusted, and had not the qualities of a constructive statesman. His forces melted away before Monck, and he was brought a prisoner to London. He escaped the sentence of death, because he had not been concerned in the King's trial, but he was kept in Napoleonic confinement first at Guernsey, then at St. Nicholas Island in Plymouth Sound, until his death in 1683. Of proverbial honesty, a fine soldier, and a capable politician, he yet lacked the originating force of a great leader, his talents being essentially those of a second-in-command.

ROBERT RICH

SECOND EARL OF WARWICK

(1587-1658)

was the son of Robert, Lord Rich, created first Earl of Warwick in 1618, and of Penelope Devereux, daughter of the first Earl of Essex, who had once inspired the passion and the poetry of Philip Sidney. As became a young noble of the time, he resided at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, read law at the Inner Temple, and took a proper part in the tournaments and other amusements of the Court. But although possessed of all the qualities and accessories needful for a successful courtier, his real ambitions were in the field of naval and colonial enterprise. He was a member of the companies which controlled Bermuda, New England, and Guinea, and obtained a roving commission which enabled him to add considerably to his income by privateering in the East Indies. In 1624 we find him, after certain disagreements with his fellow directors, in the position of leading member of that Colonial Council which had the fortunes of Virginia in its hands. Three years later Warwick obtained another piratical commission to harry Spanish commerce, but he missed the Brazil fleet which he had intended to seize, and only narrowly escaped capture himself. Nevertheless, he won a considerable reputation as an intrepid and efficient mariner.

As the struggle between the Crown and the Commons developed, Warwick became inevitably alienated from the King. The Puritan

traditions of his family and his close friendship with Eliot made him a natural member of the Opposition. In 1626 he refused to pay a forced loan and gave his support to the Petition of Right in the House of Lords, where he made a vigorous attack on the royal prerogative of arbitrary imprisonment. His connexion with colonial affairs further cemented the ties which bound him to the Puritan party. As president of the 'New England Company' he had a large share in the foundation of Massachusetts and Connecticut, but in 1632 he was compelled to retire from his position, and immediately turned his attention to the Bermuda and Providence Companies. In association with Pym and others he was most active in promoting these enterprises. He did not shrink from risking and losing large sums in connexion with them, and in 1636 appears to have contemplated going to Providence in the capacity of governor. During this period he continued to be a strenuous opponent of the King's policy both in Church and State. He resisted the levy of ship-money and did everything in his power to promote Puritans in the Ministry, although Clarendon asserts that his liberality towards them induced Warwick's godly *protégés* to be blind to their patron's licentious manners. After the Short Parliament he was arrested and his house was searched; and when the Long Parliament met, he became one of the most active among the Opposition peers, although he spoke but seldom in debate. During the early years of the war he held various important commands on land and was appointed a member of the 'Committee of Both Kingdoms' in 1644. But his best service was performed in the navy. The King had tried in 1642 to prevent his nomination as Admiral, but the Commons persisted in their choice, and on July 4 of that year Warwick was able to report that the fleet was loyal to Parliament. At the end of 1643 he was made Lord High Admiral, in which position he rendered, in spite of the inadequate means placed at his disposal, much good service to the Parliament at sea. On retiring from active command in 1645, under the Self-denying

Ordinance, he became one of the Board appointed to control the navy, but in 1648 he was again made Lord High Admiral and sent to blockade that portion of the Fleet which had adhered to the Prince of Wales and was then based upon the Dutch ports. The execution of the King, of which Warwick openly expressed his disapproval, led to his retirement into private life, but his warm personal attachment to Cromwell made him welcome the Protectorate; and the marriage of his grandson to Frances Cromwell drew the tie still more closely. His death in 1658 was a sore blow to Oliver, with whom, as Clarendon says, he had 'a fast friendship though neither their humours nor their natures were like'. There seems to be little doubt that Warwick was a man of integrity, genial by nature and irreproachable in his private life. His place in the Great Rebellion is important, as he was one of the small band of Peers who consistently opposed the Royalist cause.

JOHN PYM

(1584-1643)

was the eldest son of Alexander Pym and Philippa Coles, whose seat was near Bridgwater in Somerset. After passing some three years at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, he entered the Middle Temple in 1602, but was never called to the Bar. The materials for his early life are very scanty; indeed, except for the fact that he was in the civil service of the Government as a 'Teller' in the Exchequer, almost nothing is known of him until he became prominent in Parliament. It is not even certain that he sat in the short-lived Parliament of 1614, but seven years later he took his seat for the constituency of Calne. His vehement hostility to the Catholics first brought him into notice. Holding fast to the Elizabethan notion that no good Catholic could also be a good subject, he pressed for the rigorous enforcement of the recusancy laws. His attitude was bigoted and uncalled for by any actual danger, but he gave a practical turn to his proposals by suggesting that all loyal citizens should enter into an engagement for the defence of the King's person. In the next two Parliaments, in which he represented Tavistock, his attention was almost exclusively devoted to this subject, until he was appointed one of the managers of Buckingham's impeachment in 1626. This gave him further scope and therefore gave further proof of his ability, but his influence was not comparable to that of Eliot. He was an ardent advocate of the Petition of Right, one of the moving spirits in the impeachment of Roger Mainwaring for an extravagant sermon on passive obedience, and one of the chief speakers in the final assault on Buckingham; yet he was so far from being an

uncompromising opponent of the King's party that he condemned Eliot's attempt to treat Tonnage and Poundage as a question of privilege, and took no share in the passage of the famous resolutions which in 1629 brought the leaders of the Opposition to the Tower. Of his conduct during the eleven years of autocratic rule little is known. The story of his intended emigration to America with Hampden and Cromwell suggests that he was in touch with those who most keenly felt the need for vigorous action, and there is a tradition, not improbably true, that before the end of this period he was deeply concerned together with Hampden and St. John, under the patronage of the Earls of Bedford and Warwick, in organizing the future Parliamentary Opposition. This legend is confirmed by the assurance with which he voiced the feelings and directed the proceedings of the Commons when the Short Parliament met. When Charles dissolved it, on the demand for peace with the Scots, Pym's house was ransacked, though in vain, for evidence of his conspiring with the Covenanters. With the meeting of the Long Parliament his position as leader was undisputed. Hampden and the rest co-operated loyally; but the practical direction of policy was in Pym's hands. For this work his great political sagacity and firm comprehension of the essential objects to be achieved fitted him in the highest degree. With a sure instinct he aimed the first blow at Strafford, the embodiment of those civil grievances which he afterwards set forth in the Grand Remonstrance. In their youth a friendship, which has probably been exaggerated, had subsisted between them, but their aims and sympathies had gradually diverged until they now stood in irreconcilable antagonism. Pym pressed the impeachment forward relentlessly, and, until the split occurred on the religious question, he seemed so invincible that the Court made offers of office to him as well as to several other leaders of the Opposition. According to one scheme the Earl of Bedford was to have been Treasurer and Pym Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Earl's death put an end to such schemes, and the violence



JOHN PYM

From the portrait in the Victoria and Albert Museum
Painter unknown

of the left wing of his party, which brought forward the Root and Branch Bill, checked Pym's triumphal march at the head of a united Parliament. His own wish was for the reformation of the Church without the abolition either of bishops or of prayer-book. Though a Puritan, he was no lover of presbyters, but the times made half-measures and middle courses impossible. Hence, on the religious question a great section of his supporters seceded to the King and the real struggle began, which now centred round the control of the militia. Throughout, Pym had full information of the King's designs and intrigues. He seized every opportunity to expose the plots for overawing Parliament by armed force, believing that the re-establishment of despotism and Catholicism together was the true aim of the Court. This fear was openly expressed in the Grand Remonstrance. Suspicion grew rapidly on either side and the tension became increasingly acute, until Charles actually attempted to seize Pym and his four chief colleagues (January 4, 1642). The King's failure made the Opposition leader more impregnable than before, and gained him among the Royalists the nickname of 'King Pym', but it also drove him for good into less moderate courses. Seeing war inevitable, he pushed on preparations, and, when it was declared, he urged upon the Commons the necessary measures of defence with unflagging persistency. During the year of failure, when Hampden was killed and the Parliamentary forces everywhere defeated, his inflexible will, his strong grasp of the needs of the situation, his tact in composing the differences between rival generals, almost alone saved his side from submission. Though he disliked the Scottish form of religious discipline, he brought about the league with the Scots because he saw that from a military point of view it was indispensable, and thus when he died at the darkest period of the war (December 8, 1643), he left a firm foundation on which the future success of his cause was built.

Pym has been generally regarded as the greatest leader of the popular party before Cromwell became paramount. Without

Hampden's idealism or personal fascination, he was complementary to him as being a great opportunist, and, like all opportunists in periods of civil strife, he was led on from step to step, even to the length of appealing to the mob of London to shout around the Houses in support of his policy; thus to some extent he must incur the blame of being the first statesman to appeal to ignorance, fanaticism, and passion against the better sense of Parliament. His genius was, in fact, for seeing the immediate end distinctly, and once it was seen, for devising at all costs means towards that end. He was by no means a political philosopher, but he had the political sense in the highest degree, which taught him the practical issue at every crisis. It was this faculty which gave him ascendancy over his followers and enabled him to stamp his impress on the first phases of the revolution.

SIR THOMAS ROE

(1581-1644)

ambassador and diplomatist, was the son of Robert Roe and Eleanor Jermy, both of East Anglian descent. His grandmother was the daughter of Sir John Gresham. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and held small places at Court in the last years of Elizabeth and the first years of James I; in particular he acquired the friendship of Princess Elizabeth, afterwards called the Queen of Bohemia, and of her brother Prince Henry of Wales. He began his adventurous career as an explorer on the Amazon and the Orinoco, much on the same errand on which Raleigh went in 1617, and with little more success. But he owes his greatest fame to his Embassy, 1614-18, to the Court of the Great Mogul, where he obtained valuable privileges for the infant East India Company; on his return journey he visited Persia. From 1621 to 1628 he was at the Court of Constantinople, interesting himself equally in the concerns of English merchants in the Levant, in those of the Greek Christians, in those of the German Protestants, and in the collection of artistic and literary treasures. In 1629 it was Roe's influence which finally decided Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden to throw all his energies into the support of the Protestant cause in Germany; and twice more, 1638 and 1641, he went on missions to that country, which would have been more successful if King Charles I had had the will or the ability to do anything more than talk about the fortunes of his sister and her children. In the interval Roe sat (1640-1) in the Long Parliament as burgess for the University of Oxford, but he took no part in civil or religious disputes, and died in 1644, unrewarded, save by a knighthood, and broken in fortune. Witty and shrewd (witness his *Journal* during his Indian travel), a scholar and a gentleman in the best sense of the word, Roe remains a fine specimen of the cultivated diplomatist of the seventeenth century.

LUCIUS CARY

SECOND VISCOUNT FALKLAND IN THE PEERAGE OF SCOTLAND

(1610?-1648)

was the son of Henry Cary, created Viscount Falkland in 1620, and Elizabeth Tanfield. His early years were spent with his grandfather, Sir Lawrence Tanfield, chief baron of the Exchequer, whose estate was at Great Tew, in Oxfordshire. At the age of twelve Cary went to join his parents in Ireland, where his father was Lord Deputy. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and is there said to have acquired a sound knowledge of French and Latin. In 1629 he returned to England, and took up his residence at Tew, which he had inherited from his grandfather. The bequest probably aroused the jealousy of Lord Falkland, a man of a violent temper, which he displayed freely when Lucius married Lettice Morrison, soon after his settlement in Oxfordshire. Cary offered to give up his estate altogether, and when his father contemptuously rejected his offer, went to Holland in the hope of obtaining some military post and of forgetting the quarrel. Disappointed in this, he returned to England, and gave himself up to a life of studious retirement in the country. He had strong literary tastes, and delighted to have men of wit and culture about him. His house became frequented by poets from London, and theologians from Oxford, who came uninvited but were always warmly welcomed. In 1633 Falkland had succeeded to his father's title, and at about this time it was believed that he was being drawn towards Catholicism by his mother's



SIR T. ROEF

From the portrait by J. van Miereveldt in the
National Portrait Gallery



LUCIUS CARY, SECOND VISCOUNT FALKLAND
From the portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck belonging to
Lord Arundel of Wardour

influence. Of this there is no good evidence, but his thoughts were continually occupied by religious subjects. As Suckling complained, he became 'gone with divinity', and abandoned literary for philosophic pursuits. Falkland was not a great or original thinker, but he had an earnest and sincere desire to discover truth. Consequently he readily became the disciple and the firm friend of Chillingworth, who was a frequent guest at his Oxfordshire mansion. Under his auspices Falkland wrote his *Discourse of Infallibility*, a plea for rationalism, as devoid of profundity as his verses were of imagination. Nevertheless his attitude impressed his contemporaries, who could not fail to recognize a true tolerance and a 'sweet reasonableness' in his nature, which more than compensated for his want of abusive ferocity in controversy. To political questions he apparently paid little heed until 1639, when he went as a volunteer on the expedition against the Scots. This experience convinced him of the narrowness and oppression of the Laudian system, and from this conviction there sprang, by an easy intellectual transition, a hatred of the Straffordian system of political government. Hence, in the Long Parliament, Falkland steadily supported the Bill of Attainder against Strafford and followed this up by an attack on the judges who had declared the legality of Ship-money. By instinct, however, he was conservative, and by reason he was driven to dread the tyranny of presbyterianism in matters of belief more than he disliked the tyranny of the bishops in matters of observance. His lot was therefore finally cast on the King's side. Against the Root and Branch Bill and against the Grand Remonstrance he protested strongly, though his speeches, apart from their intense seriousness, were devoid of eloquence or fire. On Jan. 1, 1642, he was appointed Secretary of State, and he laboured unremittingly in Charles's cause. His influence, however, never became paramount among the Royalists. His mind was of too philosophical a cast to allow him to become a whole-hearted partisan, at a time when the extravagance of partisanship was an indispensable qualification for leadership. The

violence and bitterness of war were abhorrent to him, but he fought with additional recklessness because he knew himself to be reputed a man of peace. At the siege of Gloucester he exposed himself fearlessly, and at the first battle of Newbury he met his death, charging desperately against a hedge lined by the enemy's musketeers. (Sept. 20, 1643).

Among historians there has been much dispute as to Falkland's qualities as a statesman; none have questioned the testimony to the charm and loftiness of his personal character contained in Clarendon's noble eulogy. Indeed, he stands side by side with Hampden as a man universally beloved and respected. The very gentleness of his disposition and the very breadth of his opinions have exposed him to charges of weakness and effeminacy as a politician. His aims were in the main negative, since he was averse to any violent revolution in Church or State. His ideal of constitutional liberty and religious freedom was unattainable in an age when extremes were in conflict. To pursue a path of moderation at such a time involved failure and disappointment, but the fact that Falkland followed this course unswervingly does not convict him of incapacity as a constructive statesman, or of infirmity of purpose, but rather argues a strength and independence of mind, incapable of perversion by the passions prevalent around him. In fact, Falkland's ineffectiveness in action is by no means the least justification for the reverence in which he was generally held.

SIR HENRY VANE

(1613-1662)

was son of Sir Henry Vane, Secretary of State to Charles 1, and Frances Darcy. Until the end of his school-time at Westminster he was an ordinary boy, and, in his own words, reputed a 'good fellow'; but before he went up to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1629, he had been converted to Puritanism, although his father was rising rapidly in the King's favour. There was a touch of strange but sincere religious mysticism in the younger Vane's character, breeding in him a profound dissatisfaction with ecclesiastical forms and authority, and eventually inducing him to emigrate to America. In October 1635 he landed at Boston, and six months later was, in spite of his youth, chosen governor of the colony. In the management of civil affairs he was not unsuccessful, but his interference in religious matters provoked considerable ill-feeling and made his departure for England in 1637 welcome to the greater part of the community. Eighteen months after his return he became joint-treasurer of the navy. For administration he had conspicuous talents, chief among them an unwearying industry, which impelled him to spend long and arduous days in the service of the State to the complete neglect of his personal affairs; but his political and religious opinions made it inevitable that he should attach himself to the popular party rather than to the Court. He sat for Hull in both Short and Long Parliaments, wherein he soon became known as an opponent of episcopacy. His discovery of his father's notes which seemed to incriminate Strafford of an attempt to introduce the Irish army into England further strengthened the bond which already existed between Vane and Pym.

In December 1641 he was dismissed from his official post, and, when the war began, he was one of its strongest and most relentless advocates. In addition to his zeal and energy the Parliamentary leaders had discerned in him a great shrewdness and dexterity in practical business. Vane was accordingly chosen as one of the commissioners for negotiating the Solemn League and Covenant with the Scots, and it was through his adroitness in inserting an ambiguous clause capable of almost any interpretation that an obligation to adopt Presbyterianism was evaded. Indeed, so much ability did Vane display that on Pym's death he, if any one, succeeded to the lost leader's place in the House of Commons, while Cromwell furthered his policy in the army. Their views coincided on the need for liberty of conscience, for avoiding submission to the Scots and for creating an efficient army in order to terminate the war; and each of these objects they succeeded in achieving by their co-operation. When the Presbyterian party became paramount in Parliament (1646), Vane naturally threw in his lot with the Independents and the Army. He was detested by both Presbyterians and Levellers as the civil representative of the moderate section headed by Cromwell and Ireton, but unlike them he refused to yield his principles to the imperative needs of the situation, preferring an attitude which Cromwell impatiently described as 'passive suffering'. Thus Vane refused to be a party to the King's trial or to approve his execution, but he had no scruples in serving the newly established government. In many departments he showed his great practical capacity. He negotiated the union with Scotland, did much to improve the state of the navy, and exhibited his eminent qualities as a diplomatist and a statesman in foreign and colonial affairs. During the first three years of the Commonwealth he was Cromwell's most valuable supporter and most intimate friend, but when the Long Parliament was dissolved, Vane withdrew from the government into seclusion in the country, where he began to write religious works. His deep faith in Parliamentary institutions, however, forced him to protest in a vigorous



SIR HENRY VANE

From the portrait by William Dobson in the National Portrait Gallery

pamphlet against the substitution of a military despotism for the free government at which the Rebellion had aimed. In consequence the Council ordered him to give recognizances for £5,000 that he would not disturb the present régime (June 1656), and when Vane absolutely declined, confined him to Carisbrooke Castle for six months. After Cromwell's death he again came forward as the assailant of the Protectorate. To his attacks its overthrow was mainly due, and with the re-establishment of the Long Parliament, he became its chief minister. Almost the whole burden of administration was on his shoulders, but his efforts to conciliate the Army and the Parliament made him generally distrusted and led ultimately to his expulsion from the Commons; absurdly enough he was charged with abetting military rule. At the Restoration he was at once placed in the Tower, not as a Regicide, which he was not, but as the ablest and most dangerous living Republican. On his trial he defended himself with great skill and resolution, but his audacity in proclaiming the sovereignty of Parliament convinced Charles II that he was too dangerous a man to be allowed to live. As Pepys relates, Vane 'died justifying himself and the cause he had stood for . . . and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner'.

His career was one of remarkable consistency. From the beginning of the Rebellion throughout all its vicissitudes of fortune and opinion until its close he clung persistently to his conception of religious and civic liberty, but he was generally misunderstood by his contemporaries. His religion they were unable to fathom, since it was intensely personal and impatient of rigid forms. His real integrity was clouded by a reputation for subtlety. His political views were exaggerated by those who could not construe moderation. But no one ever denied his great abilities, while his death finally convinced any who may have doubted his courage.

THOMAS, THIRD LORD FAIRFAX

(1612-1671)

was the son of Ferdinando, second Lord, and Mary Sheffield, daughter of the Earl of Mulgrave. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he acquired a reverence for learning without himself becoming a great scholar. His natural talent was rather for war, which he first studied in the Low Countries under Sir Horace Vere. After three years spent in fighting and travelling abroad, he returned to England in 1632, and a little later married Anne, the daughter of his old leader. He obtained a knighthood from the King for his services in the 'Bishops' war' at the head of a troop of Yorkshire horse, but when the Civil War broke out, he ranged himself on the side of the Parliament. His reckless bravery soon won him distinction. With his father he led the Parliamentary forces in the northern shires, but they were usually outnumbered, and during the campaign of 1643 met with very varying fortune. After taking Leeds, they were defeated on Seacroft Moor, but the younger Fairfax avenged this reverse by capturing Wakefield. He stormed the town, which contained a garrison twice as large as his own army, and took 1,400 prisoners including General Goring. This miraculous feat was soon counterbalanced by the rout of Adwalton Moor, from which field Sir Thomas managed to rally a portion of his men, and to cut his way through the Royalist army to join Cromwell. On the retreat he was wounded, but he was able to fight at Winceby (October 11) with his wonted courage. Next year he was again in the north, and led the right wing at Marston Moor. Shortly afterwards he was dangerously wounded at the siege of Helmsby Castle, but recovered, much to the



THOMAS, THIRD LORD FAIRFAX, AND ANNE VERE, HIS WIFE

From the portraits by William Dobson in the National Portrait Gallery

disappointment of the Royalists, who had now learned to fear him. His military reputation stood very high, and as he had never sat in Parliament, he was chosen to command the New Model army on January 21, 1645. To his resolution and power of enforcing discipline the early termination of the war was largely due. At Naseby he led several charges in person. Thence he proceeded west, and a month later gained an equally crushing victory over Goring at Langport. At the beginning of the next year he completed his work in this part of the country by defeating and capturing Hopton's army in Cornwall, and finally extinguished the last sparks of resistance by taking Oxford and the other outstanding Royalist strongholds. On his return to London he was liberally rewarded by Parliament, and was compared by Lenthall to Julius Caesar.

Hitherto Fairfax had been simply a soldier, but henceforth as the head of the Army he was forced into the vortex of politics, for which he had little capacity and less inclination. He wished to resign, but was dissuaded by his friends. His own views were moderate and opposed to any breach between the Army and Parliament, but he was driven by the Council of War to sign and present the demands of the troops. He felt tenderly for his soldiers, to whom Parliament was denying their lawful arrears of pay, but he strongly objected to the interference of soldiers in civil matters. Placed in this equivocal position, he avoided any active interference in politics, and confined himself as far as possible to preserving discipline in the Army. 'Discipline,' however, was non-existent, when the Army elected the 'Agitators' or agents to draw up and present political manifestos. After the Second Civil War during which he was engaged in the suppression of the Kentish rising and with the terrible siege of Colchester, he was forced to demand the trial of the King, but at the time he probably underrated the seriousness of the Army, for, when appointed one of the judges, he refused to sit, and used every means in his power to prevent the execution. Under the Commonwealth he became a member of the Council of State, but in 1650 he

resigned his post of Commander-in-chief, because he refused to fight an aggressive campaign against the Scots. Until the death of Cromwell he lived quietly in Yorkshire, composing verses, writing treatises on history and horse-breeding, and collecting coins and manuscripts. Of his political opinions he gave no sign. The reports of Thurloe's spies that he was intriguing with the Royalists were groundless, but his sympathies were doubtless veering in that direction, for he hated military rule and had quarrelled with Cromwell on account of the arbitrary arrest of his son-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham. When Richard Cromwell's Parliament was summoned, Fairfax sat for Yorkshire, and towards the end of 1659 he opened negotiations with Monck with a view to the Restoration. His desire to impose conditions on the King was frustrated by Monck's precipitancy, but Fairfax was sent to the Hague at the head of the Parliamentary Commissioners. Charles II bestowed no reward upon him, and he spent the remainder of his days in religious duties and 'in reading good books'. He also wrote two short memoirs, the one being an account of his early campaigns, the other an apology for his political actions and inactions, which he bitterly regretted. The integrity of his character, like his personal courage, was never assailed, even by his enemies. He was modest, simple, and unambitious, though strong in will and steadfast in his resolves. Had he been simply a general in the field and laid down his command in 1646, he would have gone down to history as one of the simplest, most merciful, most disinterested of soldiers; it was indeed a cruel necessity that drove him to play in politics even the subordinate part which he played.

SIR MARMADUKE LANGDALE

FIRST LORD LANGDALE

(1598?–1661)

came of a good Yorkshire stock, being the son of Peter Langdale and Anne Wharton. He was brought up in Catholicism, and in 1628 was knighted by Charles I; nevertheless he opposed the levy of ship-money. At the outbreak of war he joined the King, doubtless for religious reasons, and became one of his best lieutenants. His troop of Yorkshire horse was always conspicuous for its valour, and Langdale won much fame for his dashing leadership at Marston Moor and Naseby, as well as in countless smaller engagements. After his defeat at Rowton Heath outside Chester, he marched north with the intention of joining Montrose; he failed and was forced in the next year to fly to France. During the Second Civil War he was again at the head of the northern Royalists, who gallantly bore the brunt of the battle at Preston. He was captured and exempted from all pardon, but again escaped abroad, where he took service for Venice against the Turks. Charles II gave him a barony in 1658, but his poverty forced him to retire from Court to a monastery in Germany. At the Restoration Langdale returned to England, and died soon afterwards at Holme. His pride, sensitiveness and obstinacy, as well as his soldierly qualities, make him a very typical cavalier.

THOMAS HOWARD

SECOND EARL OF ARUNDEL

(1586-1646)

grandson of that Duke of Norfolk who was executed by Elizabeth, and son of Philip, Earl of Arundel, by Anne, coheirress of Dacre and Gilsland, was brought up as a Catholic. He was educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge. By his father's attainder he lost his titles and estates. He recovered the former under James I, and by his marriage with a rich heiress was enabled to buy back much of the latter. Though he more than once petitioned for the restoration of his grandfather's dukedom, this was never granted except by a patent signed by Charles I just before he left Oxford in 1646. He became a convert to Anglicanism, and, without attaining any great prominence, played the part in public life which became his position. His hostility to Buckingham, due mainly to aristocratic intolerance of an upstart, lost him the favour of Charles I. He was twice imprisoned without any just ground, but was each time released at the peremptory demand of the House of Lords. Owing to his arrogance, his plainness of speech, and his contempt for fashionable appearances, he was disliked at Court, but was made General against the Scots in 1638, though he had no martial qualities. Nevertheless he was not an active Royalist, though he subscribed over £50,000 to aid the cause. In 1642 he went abroad, and died at Padua four years later. He is more distinguished as an art collector than as a man of affairs; the 'Arundel Marbles' take their name from him. He had a genuine love for artistic things, and his aesthetic taste is shown by his appreciation of Dürer, a rare thing in Englishmen of that age. His large collection of works of art, deposited at Arundel House, entitles him to be considered the forerunner of the English 'virtuosi'.



Marmaduke Langdale in 1644. Painted by...

MARMADUKE, LORD LANGDALE

From an eighteenth-century engraving of a contemporary portrait



THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL

From the portrait by Rubens belonging to the Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard



SIR BEVILLE GRENVILLE

From the portrait drawn and engraved by W. Faithorne



ROBERT DEVEREUX, THIRD EARL OF ESSEX

From an engraving after a portrait by Robert Walker belonging to the Duke of Sutherland, K.G.

SIR BEVIL GRENVILLE

(1596-1643)

was of good Cornish stock, being the son of Sir Bernard Grenville and Elizabeth Bevil. He was sent to Exeter College, Oxford, where he 'fell upon the sweet delights of reading poetry and history', though he afterwards regretted his neglect of other subjects. As member for Cornwall, he became Eliot's firmest friend and stoutest supporter, but for some unexplained motive he afterwards abandoned opposition, and from 1639 threw himself ardently into the King's service. His local influence in Cornwall gave him an importance which was increased by his power of inspiring devotion in his men. He fought at Hopton's side throughout the campaign of 1643 in the west country at the head of his Cornishmen. The victories of Bradock Down and Stratton were largely due to Grenville's gallantry, but he was killed at Lansdowne (July 5) in beating back the third charge of the enemy's horse which his company sustained that day. His loss was deeply mourned by the Royalists, to whose cause it was a severe blow. His brave, upright and lovable character stands in strong contrast to that of his worthless brother, Richard, who succeeded to his influence but not to his honourable fame. Among his contemporaries Sir Bevil Grenville was compared to his famous grandfather, the captain of the *Revenge*, as a type of valour and chivalry.

ROBERT DEVEREUX

THIRD EARL OF ESSEX

(1591-1646)

was the son of the second Earl, and of Frances Walsingham, widow of Sir Philip Sidney. His childhood was overcast by the execution of his father, but in 1604 Parliament restored the honours and titles, which had been forfeited by the Act of Attainder. To his great misfortune he reversed the customary procedure of young nobles of going upon a foreign tour and marrying when it was completed. When not yet fifteen, he was married, at King James's wish, to Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk (January 1606). Some eighteen months later Essex went abroad, where he remained for two years. It was during his absence that his wife fell in love with Robert Carr. On her husband's return Lady Essex refused to live with him, and in 1613 she petitioned for a decree of nullity of marriage. This was granted by the Commission appointed and directed by the King, though the grounds for its judgement were of the flimsiest character. Essex could hardly wish or hope for promotion at Court after this incident, however little he may, in view of his wife's subsequent conduct as adulteress and murderess, have regretted his divorce. In 1620 he went as a volunteer to fight in the Palatinate, but before he had seen any active service, he returned to take part in the Parliament of 1621. As might be expected, he sided with the popular party, and was appointed a member of the council of war. Under Charles I he did not change his opinions, as is shown by his refusal to pay a forced loan and by his support of the Petition of Right. Never-

theless he cannot have played a very conspicuous part, since he was made second in command in the first Bishops' War. Meanwhile he had been involved in another domestic scandal. In 1631 he had married Elizabeth Paulet. She bore him a child, which died shortly afterwards, but she was accused of adultery and a separation took place. She denied the charge, and asserted that it was due to jealousy of her influence among Essex's attendants. It is now impossible to estimate the merits of the case, but Essex was always inclined to place too much trust in the advice of others, and his wife's claim may well have been justified. On the summoning of the Short Parliament, he at once joined the Opposition and was among the twelve peers who petitioned for the summoning of the Long Parliament. Charles, hoping to win his support, made him a privy councillor, and Commander of the forces South of the Trent, but in vain. Early in 1642 Essex warned the Five Members of their imminent arrest, and disregarded the King's summons to join him at York a few months later. On July 12 he was chosen general of the Parliamentary forces and declared a traitor by the King. Without possessing any skill as a strategist, he had courage and loyalty to his cause. At Edgehill he put himself at the head of a regiment, and prevented the impending rout, while his firmness in maintaining his position at Turnham Green probably saved Parliament from a complete surrender. His conduct of the campaign of 1643 exhibited his shortcomings. After taking Reading, he remained dormant and discontented, putting off his attempt on Oxford till too late. His failure provoked a sharp reprimand from Pym, and in consequence Essex tendered his resignation, which was refused. His control over the generals nominally under his command was weak, and he was jealous of Waller; but in August he succeeded in relieving Gloucester by a splendid feat of marching through a hostile country and in bad weather. On returning from this victory he forced his way through Charles's army, which at Newbury was barring the road to London (September 20). Next year, deeming himself slighted by the independent commands given

to Waller and Manchester, he again complained to Parliament. His quarrel with the former ruined the campaign of 1644. Against all orders he separated from Waller, and insisted on marching westwards into Cornwall, acting, it is said, on the advice of Lord Robartes, who hoped to recover his estates there. As the result of his egregious blunder, Essex was hemmed in at Lostwithiel, and fled in a ship, leaving his army to its fate. He took no further part in the war. Sick in body and at variance with Cromwell, he resigned his command, the time having indeed come for more vigorous and whole-hearted leadership. Parliament granted him a handsome pension, and at his death a magnificent state-funeral.

Essex had something of his father's ill-fortune, though few of his qualities. Without brilliance, without ambition, without love of popularity, he was a man of sterling uprightness and honesty, but, as Carlyle calls him, 'slow-going and somewhat elephantine.' He was apt to demand too much for his dignity, and to display too little of the energy and decision which might have made him a great leader of the popular movement. A caricature, which became a favourite with both sides, represented him as 'solacing himself with a pipe of tobacco' upon critical occasions. In public affairs he never achieved any great success, while his private life was consistently unhappy. He was, in fact, essentially a disappointed man, yet one with whose misfortunes it is impossible not to feel great sympathy.

EDWARD HYDE

EARL OF CLARENDON

(1609-1674)

was the son of Henry Hyde, a Wiltshire squire, and Mary Langford. In 1622 he entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he was more noted for his social than for his intellectual attainments. After taking his degree he went to London in order to study the law, but he preferred the company of men of letters to that of lawyers. Among his friends were Ben Jonson, Waller and Falkland. Nevertheless, Hyde obtained a good practice at the Bar, and soon rose to prominence, his advance being considerably aided by his second marriage to Frances Aylesbury (1634), whose father was a Master of Requests. Hyde's objection to the King's defiance of legal observance caused him to incline, as a member of the Short Parliament and at first in the Long, to the popular party. In Strafford's impeachment he was actively concerned, but on the religious question he sided with the King. He stoutly opposed the Root and Branch Bill, and was mainly responsible for its ultimate failure. Gradually Charles came to recognize in him a valuable adherent, while Hyde drifted away from the popular leaders, until in 1642 he became the King's chief adviser. His influence with the King grew steadily, though it was disliked by the more violent members of the Court, such as the Queen and Digby. Hyde's advice was always in favour of cautious and constitutional methods, though his policy was one of waiting, and his efforts were mainly directed towards avoiding any precipitate step which might alienate or divide Charles's supporters. Thus he

was the author of the long and closely reasoned State papers with which his own *History of the Rebellion* is interleaved; he was the author of the summoning of the Oxford Parliament at the end of 1643; he was chosen, when the cause began to fail, to accompany the Prince of Wales to the West and finally abroad, and he always enjoyed the honourable distinction of being one of the few persons whose exemption from pardon the victorious Parliamentarians declared to be an indispensable condition of peace. To his firmness the resistance of the young Charles II to the whispers of Catholic intriguers may confidently be ascribed; and to his prudence, tact, and indefatigable labour in keeping his party united and ready to seize an opportunity, the ease with which the Restoration was accomplished was largely due.

Charles rewarded him first with a barony and the Chancellorship, then with an Earldom, and as Earl of Clarendon he began to exercise officially the functions of first minister. In this capacity it cannot be denied that he had gravitated back towards the ideas of Strafford, whom he had helped to his death; also that he held somewhat ultra-conservative views of the relations between King and minister. Yet the essential moderation of the Restoration Settlement was largely his work, and, though he stood stiffly for the repression of Dissenters, from which fact the Acts against them have obtained the name of the 'Clarendon Code', he was himself as strongly averse to all persecution as he was to all schemes of 'Comprehension', which would only have ruined the Prayer-book without satisfying the Nonconformists. But the first years of Charles II saw a run of ill luck, including the (perhaps necessary) sale of Dunkirk, the fruitless marriage of the King, the Dutch war, the Plague, and the Great Fire of London. A reckless and immoral Court and a disappointed public opinion fixed upon the upright and rigid Earl of Clarendon as responsible for these things; and Charles was only too ready to sacrifice a man whose life and talk continually held up to him the traditions of a more serious and



EDWARD HYDE, FIRST EARL OF CLARENDON
From the portrait by G. Soest in the National Portrait Gallery

honourable age. Thus Clarendon's downfall was due quite as much to his defects as a courtier as to his mistakes as a minister. His isolation in the management of affairs and his promotion to an earldom, the signs of his exceptional power, had won Clarendon many enemies, whose influence with the King he was unable to counteract. To mimic the Chancellor became an easy path to royal favour, and his fate was finally sealed by his attempt to frustrate Charles's designs on Miss Stewart. Thus after years of unremitting and faithful service, Clarendon was dismissed in 1667, the object of universal dislike. The fact that his daughter Anne was married to the heir-apparent could not save him, and indeed his son-in-law was one of his worst enemies. He was impeached and banished. The rest of his life was spent in France, where he occupied himself with revising and completing his *History of the Rebellion*, which he had begun in his earlier exile and which was first published 1702-4. Though somewhat heavy in style, this book has always been regarded as a great English classic. Clarendon's intimacy with his times gave him a qualification which few historians have possessed, while the stress which he lays on personalities lends a vividness to his picture which subtracts nothing from its scientific value. His judgements, like his statesmanship, are conscientious, and where they err it is due to the same failure to appreciate the aspirations of a new generation of men which ultimately ruined his political career. The book was *felix opportunitate*; old men still lived who had fought through the events it described; their sons burned to know whether their fathers' tales were true; and the result was that no large work had ever enjoyed such an enormous sale. The copyright was bequeathed to the University of Oxford, of which the author had been Chancellor from 1660.

JOHN SELDEN

(1584-1654)

was the son of John Selden, a Sussex yeoman of good standing though 'a sufficient plebeian', and of Margaret Baker. From the Chichester free school he went to Oxford in 1600, matriculating at Hart Hall. Without having taken a degree, he entered the Inner Temple, and was called to the bar in 1612. His practice in court was never large, but his learning caused him to be frequently consulted on difficult points. The greater part of his time was spent in study, both legal and antiquarian. In 1610 he had published three books discussing British, Saxon and Norman customs, which were supplemented five years later by *Analecton Anglo-Britannicon*, a summary of English history down to the Norman Conquest. Being a member of Ben Jonson's literary circle, he also wrote notes to the first eighteen cantos of Drayton's *Polyolbiou*. Yet in spite of these numerous publications, he found time to make himself an Oriental scholar, and to compile a work on Syrian mythology, which appeared in 1617 under the title of *De Diis Syris*. None of these works had awakened much interest; but his *History of Tythes*, published in the same year, at once involved him in theological controversy. In this work he traced the development of tithes with elaborate erudition from the time of Abraham to his own day, and incidentally discussed whether their sanction rested on human or divine law. His inclination to the former view evoked a storm of criticism and abuse. Selden was summoned before the Court of High Commission, the book was suppressed and he was forbidden to print any reply to his opponents. Thus when he entered Parliament in 1621, his erudition in con-



JOHN SELDEN

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

stitutional law at once gave his opinion great weight in the debates on Parliamentary rights, which turned for the most part on precedent, and he soon became one of the leaders of the popular party. In Buckingham's impeachment he played an active part, and in 1627 he made a powerful defence of Sir Edmund Hampden, who had been wrongfully imprisoned for refusing to pay a forced loan. Selden's prominence in the debates on the Petition of Right and on Tonnage and Poundage, added to his vigorous opposition to the Court party in other directions, resulted in his being imprisoned with Eliot in the Tower on March 4, 1629. There he remained for two years, often the subject of harsh treatment, but he seems to have borne little malice against the King. In 1636 he published at royal command his famous tract, *Mare Clausum*, in which he refuted, with much quibbling logic and far-fetched learning, Grotius's book, *Mare Liberum*, which had claimed that the sea is free to all nations. Selden had composed his work in 1618, but James had forbidden its publication. Laud now used it as a bait to lure Selden to the King's side, but this and another attempt in 1642 were unsuccessful, since he was now growing old and valued his leisure more than any preferment. At the beginning of the Long Parliament, in which he represented the University of Oxford, he took some share in the Opposition, but as he soon had to see both sides committing open illegalities, and as his main interest was in the establishment of Parliament's legal claims rather than in the promotion of popular government, he took little really active part. He had no democratic or religious fervour, but an intellectual contempt for forms and sectarian differences as such. Hence after 1642 he withdrew from public affairs. He was afterwards appointed Commissioner of the Admiralty, and amused himself by confounding the 'Westminster Assembly' of Divines by his superior learning, while he always remained the honoured counsellor of Parliament on legal questions; but his disposition naturally inclined him to seek literary repose in which it had always been his habit to indulge

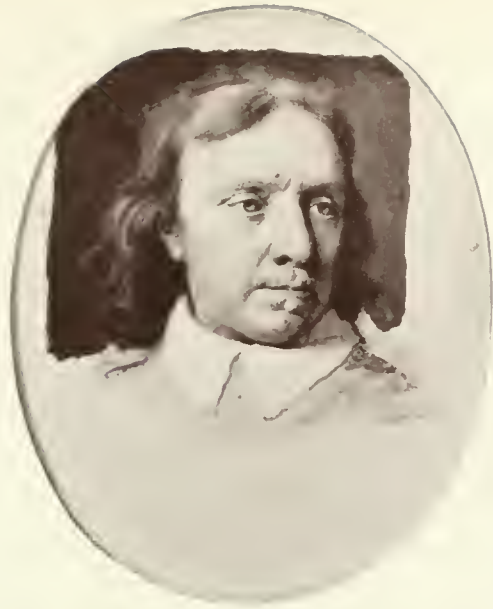
during the recesses. By this means he had been constantly adding to his stupendous stock of information and to the very considerable number of his published works. Between 1623 and 1647 he produced an edition of Eadmer, an account of the Arundel marbles, five treatises on Hebrew law, and an edition of *Fleta*, an early English law treatise, which he prefaced by an essay of monumental learning on various legal subjects. The last years of his life, during which he wrote a book on Hebrew Sanhedrins, an answer to the slanders of a Dutch jurist, entitled *Vindiciae*, and an introduction to an edition of ten English historical writers, he spent in comfort at Carmelite House in London, bequeathed to him by the Countess of Kent, whom rumour believed him to have secretly married. Here he kept a splendid library, an art collection, and a liberal table. He had many friends, including Hobbes and Archbishop Ussher, and was generally famed for his affability, courtesy and benevolence. His conversation, which has been preserved by his secretary in Selden's *Table Talk* (published 1689), abounded with a shrewd and worldly wisdom, based on a wide experience, though essentially concrete rather than philosophical in its character. In his speech he was less prolix and obscure than in his writings, which were overburdened by the erudition, which won him the title among his contemporaries of the 'Great Dictator of learning of the English nation'. That he fully merited this dignity without becoming pedantic, without losing his human sympathies or neglecting his practical interests, is the sign of a remarkable nature such as few scholars have possessed in an equal degree.

OLIVER CROMWELL

(1599-1658)

was the second son of Robert Cromwell, a Huntingdonshire squire of Welsh descent, and Elizabeth Steward. He was educated on Puritanical lines at a free school in Huntingdon and at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, but he never had any pretensions to scholarship. His tastes were rather for field exercises, or 'any boisterous game or sport', in all of which he excelled; but for a short time he studied law in Lincoln's Inn before settling down to the life of a country gentleman. It was not unnatural that he should be returned to Parliament in 1628, but he failed to make his mark, nor did he win prominence by any conspicuous action in the eleven years which followed the dissolution of Charles I's third Parliament. Thus he took his seat for Cambridge in the Short Parliament, a man little known outside the circle of his neighbours and tenants. His personality soon made itself felt. His Puritanical fervour, his tenacious common sense, and his troubled, but passionate oratory quickly gave him a position among the leaders of his party. In the attack upon the bishops he took a leading part, and when war became imminent, he was foremost in pushing forward military measures of the most practical kind. When Essex took the field, Cromwell joined him with a troop of Cambridgeshire horse. Throughout 1643 he was ceaselessly active, drilling, organizing, and fighting in the Eastern Counties. His reputation as a commander and a disciplinarian swelled rapidly, and in 1644 he was appointed lieutenant-general in Manchester's army. At Marston Moor his fame was established. Henceforth he was known as 'Ironsides'

(a nickname said to have been given him by Prince Rupert), the most formidable leader that the Parliament possessed, and he completely dominated the military counsels of his party. He saw that Manchester was sluggish and incompetent, and procured his dismissal. He saw that war could not be waged on sectarian or political lines, and created the 'New Model', which was the real instrument of victory. Yet despite his energy and persistence, his masterly character was not fully realized. Even after the victory of Naseby and the conclusion of the war, Cromwell's subsequent political supremacy was surmised by no one, least of all by himself. Circumstances, however, forced him step by step to the front. As the leader of the army and the upholder of toleration he was driven into antagonism to the grasping and inconstant Presbyterian politicians. Throughout, he strove to smooth the differences between the soldiers and Parliament, just as he strove to effect a fair and equitable settlement with the King, even at the risk of losing his popularity with his men. Each failure at reconciliation compelled him, since retreat was impossible, to take stronger measures. The army's voice must ultimately be decisive, and to its reasonable demands Charles's shortsighted diplomacy and the Parliament's selfish bigotry would not accede. At last Cromwell was forced by the second Civil War to acknowledge that the Commons must be overridden and the King must be removed, before any peace could come to the kingdom. There had been no hypocrisy in his previous perplexity and reluctance to take the last drastic and irrevocable step, but there was also no hesitancy in the execution of his decision once taken, no shrinking before its incalculable significance. Having destroyed, it was then Cromwell's task to rebuild. In Ireland and in Scotland he established a precarious peace with the sword, but in England he sought in vain to reconcile liberty and order. The paramount need was the suppression of anarchy, and this seemed impossible, as long as the civil and the military elements were in bitter hostility. Thus Cromwell was pushed steadily towards a *cul-de-sac*. His attempts to rule with a free



OLIVER CROMWELL

From the miniature by Samuel Cooper belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, K.G.



JOHN THURLOE

From the miniature by Samuel Cooper belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, K.G.

Parliament ended in utter failure, since no Parliament would refrain from usurping the executive power, which successive Assemblies bearing that name had proved themselves unfit to wield. He was therefore driven to establish a despotism, resting on an ever-dwindling minority as it became more arbitrary and more openly avowed. Feeling that he alone could control the conflicting forces, Cromwell slowly and unwillingly concentrated power in his own hands. In 1653 he became Protector, in 1655 he ruled the country by Majors-General; and though this form of government was abolished next year and a subservient Parliament collected, Cromwell was, in fact, King, although he refused the name. As Protector he assumed full control of the Foreign Policy of the country and strove hard to realize the ideal position of England as champion of Protestantism in Europe. He would hurl his 'Ironsides' and his fleets against the decaying colossus of Spain, both in Europe and in the West Indies, regardless of the fact that he thereby increased the power of the rising monarchy of France; in truth, he failed to some extent to perceive how the European balance had shifted since the death of Elizabeth. He clung tenaciously to the idea of an alliance with Sweden, but only to find that Sweden cared more for the dominion of the Baltic than for the destruction of Catholicism. His own gloom and despair of finding a solution embodying his ideals deepened as his failure grew more plain. His life was constantly threatened; his body was worn out by care and fatigue. In August 1658 he was seized by a fever, and died on September 3rd, the anniversary of his victories of Dunbar and Worcester.

The violence of the passions aroused by his actions has produced widely divergent verdicts upon Cromwell as a man. He has been called a hero and a fiend, a hypocrite and a saint, a far-seeing statesman and a self-seeking opportunist. He was not wholly any of these things. Of his lofty aims and disinterestedness there can be no doubt. To question the sincerity of his religion, is to deny any reality to Puritanism; but like many great men, Cromwell was

too prone to the belief that Providence must be on his side because his aims were single and upright. That he was ruled by the circumstances of the moment rather than by abstract principle is hardly a crime, nor was it the sole cause of his failure to construct a permanent edifice. In politics fanatical theories and doctrinaire opinions were repugnant to him. In his administration he displayed the wisdom and moderation of a statesman, both in domestic and foreign affairs, just as in the field he showed the courage and the indomitable will of a born general. Whatever his failings and his mistakes, he was a man of great purpose and great mind, above all of a great spirit, which refused to believe that there was any task which an England re-inspired by Puritanism was incapable of fulfilling.

JOHN THURLOE

(1616-1668)

was the son of Thomas Thurloe, an Essex parson, the name of whose wife is unknown. He was brought up to the Law, under the patronage of Oliver St. John. After filling several minor posts, he was appointed secretary to the latter on his mission to Holland in 1651, and next year became secretary to the Council of State. His great ability and his services in establishing Cromwell as Protector led to his co-optation by the Council, and to his appointment to the control of the Intelligence Department. In this position he displayed a remarkable talent for organization. He fulfilled for Cromwell the duties of both a Fouché and a Talleyrand with complete success. By means of an elaborate spy-system, he was informed of every Royalist or other enemy who might be stirring either at home or abroad, and he checkmated every attempt at conspiracy against the Government. Similarly he obtained exact and copious information as to the intentions of all foreign powers, so that Cromwell was said to carry 'the secrets of all the princes of Europe at his girdle'. Thurloe's extensive knowledge made him indispensable to the Protector. As he knew too many secrets to fear dismissal, his position as minister was impregnable and led to a close personal friendship between himself and Oliver. Thurloe's expressions of grief at his master's death testify to the warm affection he felt for him; and to him fell the principal share in the establishment of the Protectorate of Richard, which he knew to have been the wish of Oliver. He led the Government in the Commons, and for a time repelled all the attacks of the Republicans. When the Protectorate was overthrown

and the Long Parliament re-established, Thurloe lost all his offices, but, in the complete dearth of competent statesmen among the Republicans, he had soon again to be entrusted with the correspondence with foreign powers. Though he had long foreseen the Restoration, he strove desperately to avert it, even trying in the last resort to bribe Monck. When Charles returned, he was naturally arrested but was almost immediately released, perhaps on account of his threat to incriminate many 'that were thought cavaliers'. Clarendon made use of his knowledge of foreign politics, and it was even said that the King asked him to take over his old office. Thurloe's last years were spent at Lincoln's Inn, where he was a bencher, and where he now lies buried. Some thirty years after his death the enormous mass of his correspondence was accidentally discovered in the false ceiling above his chambers, where it had been hidden. These manuscripts now lie in the Bodleian, and form the chief authority for the history of the Protectorate, as well as a lasting monument to Thurloe's peculiar genius.

JOHN MILTON

(1608-1674)

was the son of John Milton and Sarah Jeffrey; he came of a good Oxfordshire yeoman family, though his father had migrated to London, where he was a scrivener in Cheapside. The elder John was a man of some culture, and the development of his son's poetic talent owed much to his sympathy and encouragement. Milton was educated at St. Paul's, and Christ's College, Cambridge, which he entered in 1626. The atmosphere of shallow clericalism which he there encountered was uncongenial to his strong Puritan spirit, and a serious quarrel with his tutor did not enhance the success of his University career. At the age of twenty-four he went down, but instead of entering upon a profession, he spent the following years in peaceful study at Horton, a small village in Buckinghamshire. His purpose, already clearly conceived, was to fit himself for the poetical mission, to which he felt himself called. Though he complains at this time 'My late spring no bud or blossom shew'th', yet he was content to wait till he knew his powers to be ripe. Nevertheless, he produced poetry during this period inferior to none in the English language. In 1634 he wrote *Comus*, a masque, set to music by Lawes, and performed at Ludlow Castle; this was perhaps even surpassed by *L'Allegro, Il Penseroso* (1632), and *Lycidas*, the last appearing in 1638. These poems exhibit a softness and a quiet love of natural beauty, reflections of his country life, which are absent from the sterner works of his later years. Milton, who was deeply read in Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, and also knew some Hebrew, was now an accomplished scholar

in the broad sense of that word, and at his father's wish he completed his education by a tour in Italy 1638-9.

With his return to England he became involved in the troubles, political and domestic, which embittered the remainder of his life. In 1643 he married Mary Powell, of Forest Hill, near Oxford, a seventeen-year-old child of a Royalist family. His happiness lasted less than three months. Before the honeymoon was over his ideals of marriage were shattered, and he had written *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, a vigorous plea in favour of separation for incompatibility of temper, which is clearly the voice of his own feelings. His wife was entirely unsuited to him in every respect. She abandoned him; and although a reconciliation took place three years later, the marriage brought little comfort to Milton, though his wife bore him four children before her death in 1652. At the same time his mind was not less disturbed by public than by private affairs. Between the years 1640-60 his poetic faculty was entirely unproductive, save for a few sonnets, which prove that its power, though latent, was unabated. His whole being was absorbed by the political struggle, through which he hoped to see the realization of his most cherished ideals. These he expressed in the series of pamphlets which formed his contribution to the popular cause. He was the bigoted adherent of no single party. He soon deserted Presbyterianism as being too narrow, and gave his support to Independency, to the Commonwealth, and then to Cromwell, actuated always by the hope derived from his passionate idealism. He longed for a sort of millennium somewhat resembling the Christian commonwealth of mediaeval imagination, a state of complete liberty and perfect religion, and amid the sordid strife of party warfare this remained always before his mind. His pamphlets have only been saved from oblivion by the style in which they are written. Their majestic eloquence has never been approached by any writer since the Restoration, and the *Areopagitica*, a plea for the freedom of the press, published in 1644,



JOHN MILTON

From the engraving by Faithorne in the National Portrait Gallery

has always been taken as a model of English prose. Until 1649 Milton lived and wrote in complete seclusion, but in that year he was made Latin Secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, and in this capacity became the official defender of the revolutionary Government. He was commissioned to answer the *Eikon Basilike*, which purported to portray the sufferings of Charles I, and accordingly issued his *Ieonoklastes*, a production devoid of taste or originality. In 1651 he replied to Salmasius's *Defensio Regia*, another indictment of the regicides, in his *Pro populo Anglicano defensio*. It consists mainly of the vulgarest personal abuse, and is distinguished only by the ease of its Latinity. Next year his sight, which had long been weak, failed him entirely. He continued his official duties until the Restoration shattered both his hopes and his fortune. He escaped retribution after remaining in hiding for some months, but he lost most of his money in government securities. Blind, poor, and disillusioned, he now turned back to the poetical aspiration of his youth—to enrich English culture by a great poem. In 1658 he had begun *Paradise Lost*, the scheme of which had no doubt been in his head many years before; in 1665 it was finished, and in 1667 he received £5 for the first edition. Four years later *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* appeared, the latter being largely the utterance of his own sufferings. The end of his life was indeed desolate. He had married his third wife in 1663, (his second having died in 1658, fifteen months after their marriage). She cared for him affectionately, but his three daughters had little love for him, nor did he know how to inspire it. His natural aloofness made him unapt for friendship; Andrew Marvel alone knew him. Thus he lived and died in that atmosphere of sublime detachment from humanity which pervades his great epic.

Shakespeare belonged to, or rather included in himself, all schools of English poetry and English thought; he is of all ages. Milton belongs to no school and no age: he stands by himself like some giant monolith of an earlier world. The serene heights and

the lurid depths in which the characters in his Epic act their parts are of no Earth, no Heaven, and no Inferno known to earlier poets. The characters themselves are not the Gods or the men or the Devils such as other poets have imagined. They certainly do not belong to the Christian universe, whether in its mediaeval or modern conception. The nearest parallel to

Those Titan Angels, Gabriel, Abdiel,

may perhaps be sought in Aeschylus; but in truth they are too cold and too awful to remain for long Greek. Rather they seem to belong to some Stoic age of some Roman republic which never existed except in the imagination of Milton himself.

GEORGE MONCK

FIRST DUKE OF ALBEMARLE

(1608-1670)

son of Sir Thomas Monck and Elizabeth Smith, of good Devon kindred, served at Cadiz, at Rhé, and in the Low Countries, and was early known as an excellent officer and a strict disciplinarian. He held a colonel's commission in the futile Scottish war of 1640 and in the suppression of the Irish Rebellion 1642-4. His regiment being sent over to England by Lord Ormonde was defeated at Nantwich, and himself taken prisoner. He lay for two years in the Tower. When the King's cause was lost he consented to serve the Parliament in Ireland (1647), and speedily rose to chief command in Ulster. After the King's death he concluded a short cessation of arms with the Irish rebels, perhaps with the intention of preventing a junction of their army with Lord Ormonde's Royalists; his good faith was questioned at the time, but completely vindicated. He accompanied Cromwell to Scotland in 1650, and was left behind as Commander-in-Chief in that country 1651; the final reduction of the North including the cruel storm of Dundee was largely his work. He was next employed by Parliament as 'General-at-Sea' together with Blake and Deane, and fought in the three great battles of 1653 against the Dutch Fleet. Early in 1654 Oliver, now Protector, sent Monck back to Scotland in chief command, and during that year he marched into the Highlands and received the submission of Royalists, who were holding out there. Yet he made himself thoroughly respected and even trusted by the Scottish nobles,

perhaps because at heart they guessed him to be a King's man. To no intrigues, however, could he be induced to listen, and Oliver loved and trusted him to the end of his days. Monck's creed in fact—a good one for a mere soldier—seems to have been implicit obedience to the civil power that 'is'. Thus he supported the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, and only began to think politically when that fatuous person, according to Monck's own expression, 'forsook himself'. In July 1659 he allowed a secret overture to come from Charles, but on the failure of Sir George Booth's rising in Cheshire he destroyed all traces of this. But he saw that Lambert and the restored 'Rump' were certain to quarrel, and he openly promised his support to the latter. This was in October, and if Lambert were to maintain the cause of the army he would have to deal with Monck first. When he heard on the 17th of the actual expulsion of the Rump, he swiftly purged his own army of all dangerous elements and began to move slowly southwards, amusing Lambert with negotiations the while. His own military chest was full, Lambert's empty: his soldiers were now a professional, excellently disciplined army, Lambert's a set of discontented fanatics. As Monck moved southwards Lambert's army melted away, the Rump was again restored on December 26, and on January 2 Monck crossed the Tweed at Coldstream. As he marched slowly southwards, he was deluged with petitions for a free Parliament, in other words for the King's Restoration; he refused to give any answer, but when he entered London (February 3) told the Rump plainly that it must restore the members ejected in 1648. He suppressed, to the great anger of the Royalists, a premature rising in the City, for which the ungrateful and foolish Rump rewarded him by putting Fleetwood over his head. This decided him: he returned to the City, convoked the Common Council and pledged himself to compel a dissolution of the Rump. This was the critical moment of the Restoration: he fulfilled his word, compelled the readmission of the secluded members, the self-dissolution of the



GEORGE MONCK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE
From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the National Portrait Gallery

'Long Parliament' and the calling of a Convention. He became the first member of the new Council of State (February 21), and entered upon direct communication with the exiled King, by means of his cousins William Morice and Sir John Grenville. All treaties or negotiations would mean delay, and delay would mean danger; his firmness alone prevented several insurrections which would certainly have led to bloodshed. He was the first man to meet Charles on the beach at Dover. He was made a K.G., Master of the Horse, Duke of Albemarle, and Captain-General for life—'Victor, si quis alius, sine sanguine'; this, which he adopted as his device, is Monck's real merit in 1660. Also he was exceedingly moderate in asking for rewards; and he saved many of his old comrades from condemnation and spoliation.

He had little political influence after that date. In religion he was a moderate Presbyterian and he saw the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs go in the direction opposite to his wishes. In 1665-6 he fought successively and bravely the plague, the Dutch fleet, and the fire of London: and in his last two years he was in continuous ill-health. Stout, brave, little troubled with petty scruples, but honest and honourable in all great matters, Monck has never quite received adequate recognition from history; but this is mainly because, the Restoration having become unpopular with historians, the man who effected it comes in for some share of their dislike. It says much for the honour of his private character that when he was already a great man he married an old love of very humble origin, and showed himself a munificent patron of her kinsmen. She rewarded him with faithful devotion, but much ill-temper and many curtain lectures; indeed he told King Charles he was afraid of her.

PRINCE RUPERT
COUNT PALATINE OF THE RHINE AND
DUKE OF BAVARIA

(1619-1682)

was the third son of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, daughter of James I. He was born six weeks after his father's coronation at Prague, and before he was one year old his life as an adventurer had begun. His wanderings gave him little opportunity for education save in languages, which is to be the more regretted as in certain branches of mathematics and mechanical arts he seems to have possessed real genius. Fighting and adventure were his chief delights, and at the age of fourteen he went on his first campaign in Brabant. In 1636 he visited England, where he was well received by the King, and was granted an M.A. degree at Oxford. Charles then proposed that he should set out to conquer Madagascar, which he was then to be allowed to rule. Such a wild project appealed to Rupert's romantic imagination, but his mother forbade him to embark on such an enterprise and recalled him to Germany. His high spirit, energy and ability had greatly impressed observers in England, who foretold a brilliant future for him. Anything which he undertook he carried through with enthusiasm and determination, while in conversation he could be witty as well as discreet. After taking part in the siege of Breda, he invaded Westphalia in 1638, and after showing reckless courage was captured at the battle of Vlotho. For three years he was a prisoner at Linz, where for the most part he was well treated and did not lack diversion, but on his release he again found



PRINCE RUPERT

From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the National Portrait Gallery

a field for his military talents in England, since the Civil war was on the point of breaking out. His presence was of great value to the King's cause. His vigour, his headlong valour and his genius as a cavalry-leader inspired the Royalists, but at the same time his quarrelsome nature and his truculent attitude to the civilians and courtiers made him as unpopular in the Court as he was beloved in the army. He was constantly at variance with Colepeper, Digby and others of the King's advisers, from whom he usually differed on military questions, and who were jealous of his success in the field. Besides being a brilliant leader in battle, Rupert showed no little strategical skill in devising plans of campaign, but owing to the influence of his enemies, his schemes were seldom adopted. Until his defeat at Marston Moor, he had been uniformly successful. By teaching his men to charge home without the usual caracole and discharge of pistols, he had made the Royalist horse very formidable, but he was apt, as at Naseby, to neutralize its effectiveness by engaging in headlong pursuit before victory had been assured. The rapidity of his movements and his rather unjust reputation for plundering, spread dismay among the round-heads, who for long regarded him as invincible. But this very reputation made him careless and over-confident, and the defeat at Naseby was, to some extent, due to his rashness. After the battle he was convinced that further resistance was useless, and soon afterwards surrendered Bristol, where he was in command. This caused a temporary breach between him and the King, but Rupert was present during the siege of Oxford and on its capitulation retired to France. After a year's service in the French army, he was put in command of the Royalist fleet. During 1649 he was off Ireland, but his tiny force enabled him to give little aid to Ormonde, and he was blockaded by Blake in Kinsale. On escaping, Rupert cruised off Gibraltar until again shut up by Blake in the Tagus. Once more he slipped out, and reached Toulon, though he lost four ships on the way. Thence he sailed to the Azores, where he preyed upon English commerce throughout 1651, and in the following year went to the West

Indies, finally reaching France once more, after a series of extraordinary maritime adventures, in March 1653. Soon quarrelling with Charles II's Court, he led a roving existence in Germany till the Restoration, when he returned to England. Though weak from illness, he commanded a squadron with his usual valour at the battle of Solebay against the Dutch (June 3, 1665), and was at sea until the end of the war, though less successful than usual. In 1670, he founded the Hudson Bay Company for trade and exploration in Canada, and, when the second Dutch war broke out, he was made Admiral of the fleet. He fought three obstinate but indecisive actions, being very ill-supported by his French allies. In 1673 he retired from active service, but save for a brief connexion with Shaftesbury and for being a member of Sir W. Temple's privy council, he took no part in politics. He amused himself until his death by practising the art of mezzotint, of which he was one of the first and most skilled exponents, by experiments in artillery and by playing tennis, at which he excelled.

Rupert has always been regarded as the typical cavalier. Handsome in face, fearless in battle, full of the spirit of romance, he was the hero of the Royalist camp, while as a sea-rover he might as fittingly be the hero of a novel. His 'sparkishness' in dress was in keeping with the part, and, if his manners were harsh and unpleasing, they scarcely detracted from the fascination which his personality exercised over his contemporaries and which still lives in history.

HENRY MARTEN

(1602-1680)

son of Sir Henry Marten, a judge of the Admiralty Court, was brought up at Oxford, and was educated at University College. Being naturally a hater of the Court, he had developed, at the very beginning of the Civil War, when few thought of overthrowing the Monarchy, into a red-hot republican. His keen wit, his plainness of speech, and his courageous honesty soon made him a conspicuous man in Parliament. As early as 1643 he advocated the destruction of the royal family, an expression of opinion which shocked the political feeling of the House as deeply as his loose life shocked its Puritanical conscience. Marten was excluded from Parliament for three years, but when readmitted, he proclaimed his extreme views as boldly as ever. When the Levellers arose, he became one of their leaders, and was among the fiercest advocates of the King's execution. Under the Commonwealth he naturally played a prominent part, but his loose morals, his distrust of Cromwell's designs, and his lack of practical ability debarred him from obtaining any great influence. Finally, in 1655, his profligacy culminated in bankruptcy. He was outlawed, and vanished from public life until the Long Parliament reassembled. Having failed to avert the Restoration, he refused to fly from it. At his trial he renounced none of his principles, but answered the judges with his usual readiness and courage. Though condemned to death, the King spared his life, and he spent the remainder of his long life in prison at Chepstow Castle.

JOHN BRADSHAW

(1602-1659)

was the son of Henry Bradshaw, of Wibersley Hall, Stockport, and of Katharine Winnington. He was educated at local schools and called to the Bar in 1627. Ten years later he appears as Mayor of Congleton, where he was a person of some consideration. Thence in 1643 he removed to London, having already won repute as a barrister, and was created judge in the Sheriffs' court. He took part in several famous political trials, acting as prosecutor of Lord Macguire, the Irish rebel, and as counsel for Lilburne in his appeal against a previous conviction by the Star Chamber for publishing seditious books. In 1647 Bradshaw was made Chief Justice of Chester, and in the next year was created a serjeant-at-law by Act of Parliament. As it was exceedingly difficult to get any one who knew any law at all to preside at the trial of King Charles, Bradshaw, though certainly not a lawyer of any eminence, was nominated on the Commission and was chosen President, January 8, 1649. Special marks of distinction and an official residence were given to him; he was even allowed a bodyguard, which, under the circumstances, was no unnecessary precaution. During the trial his conduct was truculent and overbearing. He refused Charles permission to speak, and hurried the hearing of the witnesses. Being really abashed by the King's quiet dignity and contempt, he tried to save his face by a hectoring manner. His name stands first upon the death-warrant. After its execution he continued to reside at treason trials for the next two years, his judgements being unmerciful and his methods often illegal. He was also a member of the Council



HENRY MARTEN

From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely belonging to Lord Ribblesdale



JOHN BRADSHAW

From the portrait by Robert Walker belonging to Lord Ribblesdale

It should be noted that this portrait, which has been in the owner's family and known as Bradshaw since the contemporary period, bears inscriptions which if correct would not support the claim to authenticity. It was accepted as a portrait by Dr. S. R. Gardiner and other authorities.



*The Portraiture of M^r
Praise God Barebone -*

PRAISE-GOD BARBON

From a contemporary engraving



ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, MARQUIS OF ARGYLL

From the portrait, now burnt, formerly belonging to the Duke of Argyll, K.T.

of State, which he attended regularly, without securing any marked influence on its policy. That he had strong republican convictions and the courage to express them is proved by his rebuking Cromwell to his face for dissolving the Long Parliament. Similarly, he refused, as a member of the Parliament of 1654, to pledge himself to maintain the Protectorate or to obey Cromwell's order to take out a new commission as Chief Justice. Cromwell in revenge prevented his re-election in 1656. Thenceforth their mutual dislike grew, and Bradshaw openly denounced the Protectorate as a despotism, though his invectives carried little weight. After Richard Cromwell's abdication he was again a member of the Council of State, but his health was now failing. He rose from his bed to protest furiously against Lenthall's arrest by the army, but he died a fortnight later and lay at Westminster some fifteen months before being hung in his coffin at Tyburn. Royalists regarded him almost as a fiend, but he was in truth a man of ordinary talents who had the fame of infamy thrust upon him.

PRAISE-GOD BARBON

(died 1679)

otherwise called Burboon, Barboon, or Barebones, owes his imperishable renown mainly to his name. That name got itself affixed to the 'Little Parliament', or 'Assembly of Nominees' of 1653, in which body Barbon 'represented' (in the opinion and by the nomination of the Lord General Cromwell) the City of London. In that city he had been for many years a respectable leather-seller and a vehement sectarian preacher, although of his origin and family little is really known. 'Praise-God' is not impossible as a Christian name, but is quite as likely to have been assumed in later life as given at the font; and, speaking generally, these extremely Puritan-sounding compounds are not often to be found in authentic parish registers. On the eve of the Civil War there was a tumult at Barbon's preaching in Fleet Street, but he evidently flourished as a tradesman at least until the Restoration. He vigorously resisted that measure, and presented petitions to the Rump against it; he was imprisoned in the Tower for at least two years after it. He was probably the father of the ingenious and friendly economist Dr. Nicholas Barbon, to whom is attributed the invention of fire-insurance.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL
EIGHTH EARL OF ARGYLL, MARQUIS OF
ARGYLL

(1598-1661)

was the son of the seventh Earl by his first wife, Lady Anne Douglas, a daughter of the Regent Morton. When only twenty-one he came into possession of his family estates, which his father, who had turned Catholic and gone abroad, transferred to him. To the title, however, he did not succeed until that father's death in 1638, although, even as Lord Lorne, he ruled like a petty king in his wide domains, and had some twenty thousand men at his command. Being Protestant by religion, he declared himself for the Covenant in 1638, after having, with characteristic caution, avoided any definite declaration of his ecclesiastical views until the trend of events became clear. His course once chosen, he acted with decision, and refused to be won over by the King's blandishments. He was henceforward the leader of the Covenanting party. As is usual in such cases, his motives have been hotly disputed by historians. He seems to have had no very strong religious enthusiasms, but he may yet have been convinced that Presbyterianism ought to be supported as expressing the will of the Scottish people, though the truth is that it was not against Episcopacy as such but against the attempt at ecclesiastical domination from England that the Scottish people at first rose. Similarly, Argyll may have believed that Parliamentary government was

preferable to autocracy, but he can hardly have failed to see that the former was more likely to promote his own influence than the latter, and it is therefore difficult to suppose that personal ambition did not enter into his calculations. In any case, he worked with consummate astuteness to overthrow the domination of Charles and Laud, and thereby incidentally established his own. At his instigation it was decided that the Estates should themselves choose the Lords of the Articles, which made Parliament 'the central force in Scotland' (1639), and he suppressed the King's supporters ruthlessly by plundering and burning. His personal enemy Montrose could not be treated so summarily, but, in the series of intrigues known as the Plot and the Incident, Argyll outmanœuvred him completely, and, though unable to prove his guilt, made his release appear as an act of clemency instead of a necessity enforced by absence of evidence. The final result of this intricate business, which culminated during Charles's visit to Edinburgh (October 1641), was that Charles made of Scotland 'a perfect deed of gift' to the Covenanting party, or, in other words, to Argyll, who had nevertheless acquired the dignity of a Marquis for his services to the King! It was clear that his interests as well as those of Presbyterianism and Parliamentary government lay in aiding Pym and his followers in England; hence the Solemn League and Covenant had Argyll's full support. The meteoric campaigns of Montrose, however, seriously deranged his plans. It is true that they were largely clan-warfare, but they involved the devastation of Argyllshire, and occupied almost the whole attention of the Covenanters throughout 1644-5. Argyll himself spent these years in vain efforts to defeat Montrose. He was no general, and proved himself quite unable to cope with the latter's brilliant strategy. Further, the proclivity which he displayed at Inverlochy and Kilsyth for watching battles instead of taking a too active part in them, won for him a reputation for cowardice which he never lost. Indeed, so strong was this belief that his subsequent courage on the scaffold was generally attributed to supernatural agencies. When he had

failed at Newcastle to prevail on Charles to accept the Covenant, he was willing to surrender him to the English Parliament, though he did not profit personally by the 'sale' of the King. True to his principle of co-operation between the two Parliaments, he opposed the engagement between Charles and the Covenanters (December 1647), and accordingly lost the control of affairs for a time. The defeat of the Scots at Preston again reinstated him, and he now practically directed Scottish affairs in alliance with Cromwell. This attitude robs him for ever of any claim to be considered a Scottish patriot. The execution of Charles was fatal to him. The wave of indignation which swept over Scotland was irresistible, and Argyll was not the man to withstand it. He lost his head, and decided to recall Charles II. Montrose's failure and execution without trial, for which Argyll was primarily and personally responsible, put Charles in the hands of the Covenanters, but Dunbar and Worcester ruined the scheme, and left Argyll a fallen man, hated by all parties alike. He only saved his lands by engaging to live quietly under the Commonwealth. His last years were troubled by a violent quarrel with his Royalist son and by overwhelming debts. He sat as member for Aberdeenshire in the United Protectorate Parliament, but at the Restoration, on paying his homage to Charles II, was immediately arrested for treason. He was acquitted of being an accessory to Charles I's death, but was condemned on the strength of some private letters produced by Monck, and beheaded at Edinburgh on May 27, 1661.

He lived long enough to inherit the universal hatred which he had foisted upon Montrose. Owing to his squint, he was known by the scornful nickname of 'the Gley-eyed Marquis'. He was trusted by no man and loved by no man. Thanks to the fierce prejudice with which his contemporaries regarded him, his fame has suffered unduly and his iniquities have been exaggerated. But after making all allowances it is difficult to look upon him as more than an opportunist of unusual ability. He had little of the moral force which marks a great statesman.

ALEXANDER LESLIE

FIRST EARL OF LEVEN

(1580? 1661)

was the natural son of George Leslie, a cadet of the House of Balquhain, and Ann Stewart, but was legitimized by the subsequent marriage of his parents. His illiteracy was a standing proof of his want of education. Early in life he took service on the Continent, and in 1605 he entered the Swedish army. In recognition of military capacity displayed in many campaigns, Gustavus Adolphus gave him high command, when he thrust himself into the Thirty-years' War. After relieving Stralsund from Wallenstein's investment, Leslie was given command of the Baltic provinces and was liberally rewarded. In the subsequent campaigns in Germany he took a conspicuous share, being present at Lützen, and obtaining the rank of field-marshal; but in 1638 he retired from the Swedish service in order to lead the national forces in Scotland against Charles I. Throughout the fighting and negotiations of the next three years, Leslie was the most prominent figure among the Covenanters, except Argyll. As Lord-General his military measures were on the whole successful, but like Montrose, he was unwilling to become a rebel, if the Scottish grievances could be removed, and consequently welcomed the chances of a settlement in 1641. At the request of the Parliament Charles created him Earl of Leven, and in return Leslie swore never more to bear arms against the King. Nevertheless, the complete change in the situation effected by the English Civil War in his opinion absolved him from his oath. When offered the command of the army collected to assist the English



ALEXANDER LESLIE, FIRST EARL OF LEVEN

From an engraving after a portrait by
Sir Anthony Van Dyck



DAVID LESLIE, FIRST LORD NEWARK

From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely belonging to
the Earl of Rosbery at Dalmeny Park

Parliament, he accepted it at once. In 1644 he crossed the Tweed, and on joining the English forces was nominated commander-in-chief. At Marston Moor his wing was routed by Rupert's horse. Leven fled from the field, but afterwards stormed Newcastle and captured Tynemouth Castle. In the following year he returned to Scotland. He was now an old man, and though still active in public affairs, he was exempted from military service. Nevertheless, when Cromwell's invasion was imminent in 1650, he was again placed in supreme command. Throughout the campaign, he was with the army, and though its practical direction was in the hands of David Leslie, Leven with great magnanimity assumed the sole responsibility for the disaster at Dunbar. Next year he was captured by some cavalry belonging to Monk's army and taken to London, where he was shut up in the Tower. Cromwell, however, treated him with great consideration, and in 1654 restored him to complete liberty. The remaining years of his long life were spent on his estate in Fifeshire. Leslie was a typical Scot and a typical soldier. His homely speech and genial, unaffected manners made him beloved by his subordinates, trusted by his equals and respected by all men. As a politician he was characteristically honest and straightforward, while as a general he had more experience of war than any man of his time.

DAVID LESLIE

FIRST LORD NEWARK

(? -1682)

was the fifth son of Sir Patrick Leslie of Pitcairly and Lady Jean Stewart. His life was so completely devoted to war that almost nothing is known save of its military aspect, and there is probably little else to be known. As a young man Leslie took service under Gustavus Adolphus, and only returned to Scotland in 1640, having obtained the rank of colonel in the Swedish army. When Leven's army entered England in January 1644, Leslie was appointed Major-General. At Marston Moor he played a prominent, perhaps a decisive part in command of three cavalry regiments on the left wing. Their well-timed charge enabled Cromwell to overcome Rupert's horsemen, and to assail the Royalist infantry in the flank, but Cromwell himself never acknowledged his debt to Leslie, perhaps because his own reputation was still in the making. After some desultory fighting in the northern shires, Leslie was called upon to crush Montrose. By quick marching and good fortune he surprised and annihilated his enemy at Philiphaugh, but he marred his success by a wholesale butchery of the women and camp-followers with Montrose's army, a piece of barbarity prompted more by the exhortations of the Covenanting ministers who were present than by natural cruelty on Leslie's part (September 13, 1645). After extinguishing the last embers of royalism in Scotland, Leslie was chiefly engaged in organizing the Scottish opposition, until Montrose's last desperate venture gave him another opportunity of gaining

success and popularity cheaply. But with the outbreak of the Second Civil War he was faced by a harder and a worthier task. By a skilful retreat to an unassailable position near Edinburgh, he frustrated Cromwell's invasion of Scotland and forced him to retire to Dunbar. There by masterly manœuvring Leslie screwed him into a desperate plight. By maintaining a watchful inactivity, he was assured of capturing the English army, but a foolish move, undertaken probably against Leslie's wishes or advice, gave Cromwell his chance of snatching a victory. Exonerated from all blame by Charles, Leslie was appointed to lead the invading army in 1651. It seems, however, that he never trusted his troops, and he was probably too good a soldier to be sanguine of success in such a venture. His orders were less decided, his movements less rapid than formerly; he had, moreover, quarrelled with his colleague Middleton. Nevertheless, it was only after five hours of fierce fighting that Cromwell routed the Scots at Worcester. Leslie was captured at Chester, and sent to the Tower, where he remained, until Charles II liberated him in 1660 and raised him to the peerage. Being unable to fight, Leslie passed into obscurity, and died of apoplexy in 1682. He was a rough, uncultured, but very competent soldier, distinguished as the only man who ever outwitted Cromwell in the field.

ADMIRAL ROBERT BLAKE

(1599-1657)

was the son of Humphrey Blake, a Bridgwater merchant, and of Sarah Williams. From the local grammar school he went to St. Alban Hall, Oxford, but soon migrated to Wadham, where he remained ten years. From 1625 Blake appears to have carried on his father's business, and in 1640 was returned as member for Bridgwater. He was not elected to the Long Parliament until 1645, but he at once joined the Parliamentary forces at the outbreak of the Civil War. During the following years he did much stout fighting in the West Country. He was constantly in desperate situations, which he met with invincible daring and ability. At Lyme with 500 men he successfully defied Prince Maurice's army for a whole month until he was relieved by sea, and on July 8, 1644, he surprised Taunton, the strategical key to that part of England. After the loss of Essex's army in Cornwall he was entirely isolated. He prepared to defend his untenable position. The first Royalist assault was repulsed, and an investment followed, but Blake held out until June 1645, when the victory of his party at Naseby at last brought him relief. Taunton had been reduced to ruins, but its magnificent defence had won Blake a great reputation. Little further is heard of him until 1649, when he was created Admiral and General-at-sea. It is probable that as a thriving West Country merchant he had made voyages in his youth. It has been asserted that Cromwell was jealous of him, but the fact of Blake's naval appointment discredits the story, and nothing in Cromwell's subsequent behaviour lends any colour to it. The first object of the Commonwealth was

VINDEX

COMMERCI



ROBERT BLAKE
General and Admiral of the Forces
 of ENGLAND &c
 Born on 27 Aug 1657 & died 1693

His Name
 Was heard in Thunder through the spacious Heavens
 Of both INDIAS, & Submissive GAVE
 And PAUSE, to nothing to his utmost Power,
 Cever, and full, Proliant, and long
 Above the Course of Britanmia's FAME,
 Unconquerable BLAKE

Printed in the Kingdom of Great Britain
 by J. Smith, at the Sign of the Anchor, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, in the Parish of St. Dunstons, in the County of Middlesex.

ADMIRAL ROBERT BLAKE

From a mezzotint of a portrait of dubious authenticity

to check Prince Rupert's depredations on commerce, carried on from his base at Kinsale. Here during the summer Blake blockaded him, but in October a storm drove off his ships, and enabled Rupert to escape to Portugal, whence he continued his 'piracy'. Blake was ordered to capture him, and to treat any foreign powers assisting him as enemies. In April 1650 Blake found Rupert in the Tagus, but the Portuguese refused to give him up. The Parliamentary squadron was small, but Blake supplemented it by seizing a Brazilian convoy, which he converted into ships of war. He thus practically established a blockade, which finally induced the Portuguese to expel Rupert. The latter sailed for the Mediterranean in September. Blake pursued him, and destroyed the greater part of his fleet, but Rupert himself eventually slipped away to the West Indies. Blake then returned to England, and was engaged during 1651 in cutting the maritime communications of Charles II. Next May war broke out with Holland. The English fleet was unprepared, and when Blake met Van Tromp's fleet of some forty vessels off Dover on May 19, he had only fifteen ships. He was reinforced by Bourne with nine during the battle, and drove off the Dutch after four hours' fighting. During the summer the fleet was reorganized and strengthened. On September 28 Blake won another victory off the Kentish Knock, which he took to be decisive. He was thus unprepared when Van Tromp put to sea with eighty-five sail in November. Though in command of only thirty-seven ships, Blake met him off Dungeness (November 30), and after a long and fierce struggle was driven into the Downs with a loss of six ships. The command of the sea was thus lost, and Dutch commerce passed freely down the Channel. In his mortification Blake tendered his resignation, which was refused. By great efforts he reconstituted his fleet, and awaited Van Tromp, who was guarding a large convoy, off Portsmouth. By superior tactics Van Tromp enabled his merchantmen to slip past, though in the battle itself the Dutch were worsted and lost nine ships. During the engagement Blake was severely wounded, and was forced to give up

his command. In spite of his weakness he tried to keep at sea, but he had to leave the fleet before the decisive victory of July 31, 1653. During the next two years he cruised in the Mediterranean, where he fully maintained English prestige and exterminated the pirates of Tunis. The war with Spain then broke out, and April, 1657, Blake, who was off Aveiro, heard that the Spanish fleet from America was at Santa Cruz in Teneriffe. He at once decided to attack it. On April 20 he found the Spaniards anchored close under the forts, apparently in an impregnable position. Though hardly superior in numbers, Blake at once sailed in. By evening he had sunk every Spanish vessel without himself losing a ship. Worn out in health and his work finished, he then sailed for England, but died on August 7, while entering Plymouth Sound. He was buried in great state in Westminster Abbey.

Of his private life little is known, of his opinions equally little. We may well suppose him to have been more of a patriot than a politician. His great work was the perpetuation of the Elizabethan tradition in the English navy. His tactical skill cannot be compared to that of Hawke or Nelson, but his relentless persistence, his great daring, and his burning patriotism make him typical among English seamen. Around his name a halo of legend has gathered, but, though the popular stories of his feats may be without accredited foundation, yet they are not false in portraying him as a fearless, chivalrous man, and a great sailor.

RICHARD CROMWELL

(1626 1712)

was the third son of Oliver Cromwell and Elizabeth Bourchier. After being educated at Felsted school, he joined the Parliamentary army, in which he held a commission in 1647 but never achieved any distinction. He was also called to the bar, but he does not seem to have shown any enthusiasm for learning or any other serious pursuit. Indeed, his indolence sadly grieved his father, who warned him against 'an inactive, vain spirit', and earnestly recommended a study of Raleigh's History of the World as an antidote. The remedy, if adopted, was ineffective. Richard devoted his time to hunting, and horse-racing, in which he became an expert at the cost of incurring heavy debts and of allowing his estate to be mismanaged. In 1649 he had married Dorothy Mayor, and, though he sat in the first two protectorate Parliaments, there seemed little likelihood of his being burdened with a public career for which he had no ambition. The Protector was accustomed to ridicule the hereditary principle, by quoting the text from Ecclesiastes, 'Who knoweth whether he beget a fool or a wise man?' He must have assigned Richard to the former category, but when the 'Petition and Advice' gave him the right to nominate his successor, Cromwell prepared to make the best of an illogical principle by training his son in the art of government. In 1657 Richard was made Chancellor of Oxford University and a member of the Council of State, while in the following year he became a member of the spurious 'House of Lords'. The country generally accepted him as his father's heir, and when Cromwell died, Richard assumed the Protectorship without opposition. Personally

he was liked even by his enemies, and his speeches exhibit no little ability, but his natural apathy and distaste for power made his rule impossible at such a time. Thurloe indeed directed the administration with excellent judgement, but Richard was no soldier and was consequently unable to control the army. The support of the Parliament, summoned in January 1659, availed him little when it came into conflict with the soldiers. Richard made a futile attempt to assert the authority of himself and of the Commons, but the army gathered at St James's and forced him to dissolve Parliament (April 21). The higher officers wished for his father's sake to maintain him as Protector, but the republican element was too strong for them. The Long Parliament was proclaimed supreme, and Richard's shadowy rule vanished without a blow being struck. He had not the will to provoke a civil war, since he had no love of power and would not have blood shed on his account. His only concern was that his debts might be paid before he left Whitehall, where he only baulked his creditors by locking himself into his cabinet. He tendered his submission readily to the new régime, and in acknowledgement Parliament charged all his debts to the public account and voted him an income of £8,700 a year. But the restoration of the Stuarts was accomplished before the restoration of Richard's finances. Early in the summer of 1660 he sailed for France, more in fear of the bailiffs than of Charles II. From that date his extinction was complete. He lived obscurely in Paris under the name of John Clarke, occupying his time by drawing landscapes and reading. He did not disguise his identity from any one who challenged him, but merely hid it from the world at large, that he might lead a peaceable life. After various wanderings on the continent, he returned to England about 1680. His wife was already dead, and his only son, Oliver, died in 1705 in his fiftieth year. Richard's last years were spent in complete retirement at Cheshunt. As he said, 'my strength and safety is to be retired, quiet and silent.' By these means he escaped molestation and so attained his chief desire. He was quite un-



RICHARD CROMWELL

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

troubled by regretful longings after his former station or by any bitterness against his supplanters. Even the constant jibes of the Royalist poets and pamphleteers, who satirized him as 'Queen Dick', can have hurt him but little, since royalty had never been of his own choosing and its loss was correspondingly trifling. He died a very old man at Cheshunt and is buried at Hursley, in Hampshire.

Few good words have been vouchsafed to Richard Cromwell. His obvious failings in character and ambition, which might be pleasant rather than heinous in an ordinary country gentleman, have been regarded almost as criminal, because he was the son and successor of the great Protector. He has been judged by a standard imposed on him by the accident of another's greatness, to succeed to the fruits of which he himself never aspired. He was not austere in religion; he was not a leader in war; he was destitute of ideas and of purpose; but he at least possessed the negative virtue of realizing his own limitations. Mild, sluggish and amiable by nature, he had the rare courage to recognize that he was not a great man, when greatness was forced upon him, and so resisted the temptation of ruining others in a vain effort to achieve it.

RICHARD BAXTER

(1615-1691)

was the son of Richard Baxter, a Shropshire yeoman, and Beatrice Adeney. His life was a continuous struggle against physical and intellectual trials, to which persecution was finally added. His father was of a good but decayed family, and unable to provide his son with a fitting education, a disadvantage of which Baxter was keenly conscious, and which he strove to nullify by constant study. He was always religious, and in 1638 he was ordained. In spite of his bodily weakness, his preaching possessed extraordinary power. At Kidderminster he produced a complete reformation in the morals of the inhabitants, which can only be compared to the results of John Wesley's early sermons. In 1640 he began to find difficulties in accepting Anglicanism, and after a conscientious examination of the question, he renounced Episcopacy. Henceforth he was definitely Nonconformist, and, though opposed to Separatism, he judged every question with a perfectly open mind, even when it brought him into antagonism with the Presbyterians. He carried the same principles into politics. Though an ardent advocate of popular freedom and frequently acting as chaplain in the Parliamentary armies, he did not shrink from denouncing the regicides or withstanding Cromwell. At the Restoration, of which he was a zealous champion, he refused a bishopric, and when the Act of Uniformity was passed he bade a solemn farewell to the Anglican Church. His eminence among dissenters soon singled him out for persecution, and he was more than once in prison. His trial by Judge Jeffreys in 1685 is notorious; but his imprisonment did not



RICHARD BAXTER

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown



GEORGE FOX

From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely at
Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania



JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH

From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the
National Portrait Gallery



SIR FULKE GREVILLE, FIRST LORD BROOKE

From a portrait, painted in 1586, belonging to
Lord Willoughby de Broke

deter him from opposing James II. He died the object of almost universal veneration. His fame, however, rests less upon the courageous integrity of his life than upon his numerous books, especially *The Saint's Everlasting Rest* (1650), and his own charming autobiography, afterwards published as *Reliquiae Baxterianae*. Their style and their matter have made them classics of Christian literature.

GEORGE FOX

(1624-1691)

founder of the sect of Quakers, was the son of Christopher Fox, a Puritan weaver, and of Mary Lago, a woman of great character. Fox had little education, and was always an illiterate man, though this, like other of his peculiarities, has been perhaps exaggerated. He became a shoemaker's apprentice, but in 1643 he received a 'divine call'. In a state of religious melancholy he wandered for nine months alone in the Midlands, and on his return home would have no traffic with the ordinary affairs of life. Instead, he would seek inspiration in the open country, while on one occasion he 'lay in a trance for fourteen days'. Gradually he evolved a simple, mystical faith, independent of all creeds, resting on a purely spiritual, esoteric basis, but also upon much irrational adherence to the letter of Scripture. Finally, in 1647, he began to preach. His earnest words soon attracted notice and awakened response, and by degrees a society, known first as the 'Friends', but soon nicknamed 'Quakers', took shape at his call. They comprised enthusiasts and fanatics of every shade, but Fox's quiet zeal tamed their extravagances. At first they were subjected to ridicule and persecution, and Fox had three interviews on behalf of his sect with Cromwell, who, recognizing his genuine piety, always treated him with kindness. In his work Fox was much assisted by Margaret Fell, whom he first met in 1652. She was a married woman, but her house became the head-quarters of the movement. The society grew steadily, and the complete silence observed at its gatherings rendered it comparatively immune from the repressive legislation against preaching noncon-

formity. The whole was organized on an elaborate system, which shows its founder's great administrative talent. His energy was inexhaustible. Most of his time was spent in journeying through all parts of England, undeterred by frequent—in all, eight—sentences of imprisonment. He poured forth innumerable pamphlets, not lacking in a certain nobility of thought and utterance. In 1669 he married Mrs. Fell, who had been ten years a widow, but she bore him no children. Having lived to see his sect not only powerful, but tolerated by the State, he died in London, and was buried in the presence of a great concourse at the Whitecross Street burying-ground.

His austere mode of life was naturally marked by many eccentricities, which have been much exaggerated. Carlyle's famous picture of him and his 'perennial suit' of leather is chiefly imaginative, but his estimate of Fox's honesty of belief and devotion to truth is not overdrawn. Indeed, Fox's career affords perhaps the most striking and sincere example of the religious enthusiasm which stirred England in the seventeenth century.

JAMES USSHER

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH

(1581-1656)

was the son of Arland Ussher and Margaret Stanyhurst. As a Dublin boy, he naturally entered the newly-founded Trinity College, where he distinguished himself by an abnormal propensity for theology and learned disputation. His pre-eminence as a scholar eventually gained him headship of the University, while his services to the Protestant Church in Ireland led to his being created Archbishop of Armagh in 1624. On the outbreak of the strife between puritanism and episcopacy, he drew up a scheme for moderating the latter, to which appeal was constantly made during the struggle, but which he himself had suppressed when it was secretly published in 1641. Though intimate with the King, and known as having attended Strafford on the scaffold, and for a time chaplain with the royal armies, he was little molested during the civil war. At one time he wished to emigrate, but during the last sixteen years of his life he did not leave England, and died of pleurisy at Lady Peterborough's house in Reigate. His cast of mind was essentially academic, and consequently he has no claims to be regarded as an ecclesiastical statesman, though he was intimate with Laud as well as with Selden. His erudition was immense and was scientifically applied. He had a vast knowledge of patristic writings, was well versed in Hebrew and invented the biblical chronology which was accepted by all students until recent years. Moreover he possessed a gentleness of nature and a way of gaining people's hearts and of touching their consciences which affiliates him more to Ken on the one side and to Tillotson on the other than to any of his own contemporaries.

SIR FULKE GREVILLE

FIRST LORD BROOKE

(1554-1628)

was the only son of Sir Fulke Greville of Beauchamp Court, Worcestershire, and Anne Neville. He was born in the same year as Sir Philip Sidney and entered Shrewsbury School on the same day; the pair remained lifelong friends. Greville spent some years at Cambridge, to which he always retained a warm attachment, and then went to Court, where he soon won the Queen's favour, and where he was constantly in touch with Sidney. Though only twenty-two he obtained a lucrative post in connexion with the Government of Wales. His love for foreign travel and adventure was often curbed by the Queen's unwillingness to let him leave her; although he dared more than once to disobey her he never escaped severe marks of her displeasure for doing so. Yet he always managed to get back into her good graces; and she was, in fact, so much attached to him that he was said to have had 'the longest lease and the smoothest time, without rub, of any of her favourites'. She knighted him in 1597, and shortly afterwards conferred upon him the gift of Warwick Castle. He was not less honoured by James I, who in 1615 made him Chancellor of the Exchequer and in 1620 raised him to the peerage. Under Charles he took no prominent part in affairs, and met a wretched end in 1628, being murdered by one of his own servants, who imagined some grievance against him.

Besides being a man of affairs, Brooke was both a patron and

a devotee of letters. He wrote much ponderous and sententious poetry, besides two plays, called *Alaham* and *Mustapha*, into which he introduced a 'Chorus' on the Greek model. But he is better known for his *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, published in 1652. He also wrote a short treatise on the reign of James I and projected a History of Elizabeth's. Although nearly all his works were published posthumously, he enjoyed a distinguished place among his contemporaries in the literary world.

CHARLES II

(1630-1685)

was the eldest child of Charles I and Henrietta Maria that survived infancy. His upbringing was entrusted to weak, perhaps even unworthy hands, and all chances of his acquiring a good education and developing a sterling character were destroyed by the confusions of the Civil War. For a time he was with his father, and was present at the battle of Edgehill, but in March 1645 they parted, and the Prince went with Hyde to command the army of the West. Here he fell under the bad influence of Goring and others, but after a year of failure he was forced to fly to Scilly, to Jersey, and at last to France. There he spent three years of dreary and demoralizing exile, without money and with few good advisers, unless we can reckon among these the philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who certainly was not likely to confirm the Prince's religious faith. And so Charles gave himself up to aimless amusement in Paris, contracting the tastes and habits which marred his life. Nevertheless he was unfailingly cheerful under humiliating circumstances, aggravated by frequent ill-health and a severe attack of small-pox. When the Second Civil War broke out, he went to Scotland, to find himself almost a prisoner among a set of prating Presbyterians, which experience readily convinced him that 'presbytery was not a religion for gentlemen'. Yet Charles showed his usual suppleness and tact in these surroundings, never shrinking from the numerous oaths required for his coronation at Scone in 1650. In the campaign of Worcester, which followed, we find the delicate boy grown into a tall, strong man

capable of great endurance ; and here his best qualities were exhibited. In the battle itself he behaved with great gallantry, charging at the head of his horsemen, while, in his adventurous wanderings after the rout, only his personal charm and coolness in danger saved him from capture. Once back in France, the aimlessness of exile threw him again into idleness and dissipation. Yet he was shrewd enough to follow Hyde's advice, and so played his cards to such advantage, whether in France, Germany, Holland, or Flanders, that in the end his restoration was easily effected and immensely popular. Charles had learnt the lesson taught by the discomforts of his youth, and entered upon his reign with the firm intention of remaining on the throne. This purely selfish end dominated his policy. Though a Catholic in sympathy, he had none of his brother James's fervour, and refused to run any risks of expulsion by recklessly aiding his Catholic subjects. Similarly, though he hated his dependence on Parliament, he placed personal ease before personal power. Yet with cautious artifice he contrived intermittently to lighten the burdens of the Catholics, and by the end of his reign to establish a quasi-despotism more powerful and more acceptable than his father's had ever been. These results he achieved by ingeniously using the men and the opportunities at his disposal. Such patriotic feelings as he had were at least practical ; for he always displayed an intelligent interest in the Navy, the colonies, and the commerce of England. He projected a Parliamentary union with Scotland and upheld for the greater part of his reign the wise rule of Ormonde in Ireland. The Dutch were, he considered, our most dangerous rivals, and he therefore deliberately shut his eyes to the increasing danger from the ambition of Louis XIV of France. Thus he was quite content to take large supplies in cash from Louis, and, when Holland had exhausted her strength in two successive wars, he avoided fulfilling the conditions for which the French King had given the bribes. In home politics, after parting with Clarendon in 1667, Charles saw wider possibilities before him. By means of playing off the members of his discordant



CHARLES II

From the portrait by Samuel Cooper belonging to the Duke of Richmond, K.G.
at Goodwood

cabinets against each other, he neutralized the more dangerous of them, such as Shaftesbury, and was able to rule through his own creature, Danby. Thus for fifteen years he subordinated England to France in return for a pension which might render him independent of Parliamentary supplies. But for the ferment caused by the Popish plot and the Exclusion Bill, he might perhaps have done something to relieve the Catholics, but throughout this crisis he acted with his customary *sang-froid*, taking full advantage of his enemies' mistakes, until he finally emerged more popular and more truly autocratic than before. During the last four years of his reign he worked his own will, and, leaving to his brother a position which a folly equal to the cleverness of its founder alone could overthrow, Charles died in February 1685, having been admitted at the last moment into the Roman Catholic church.

The lurid glamour of his private life has thrown his really remarkable talents into shadow. He is remembered only as a sensualist, a wit, but withal as a gentleman, and something of an artist. Indeed, few kings ever set a worse moral example to their subjects; and it would be quite unfair to plead in extenuation the common argument of a 'universal reaction against Puritanism'. That reaction affected the Court and a certain stratum of 'Society' but not the people of England at large. Of the King's humour many examples have been preserved, often indeed coarse but always peculiarly apt. He could tell a good story, and had refined aesthetic tastes. There were in him, too, the grace and courtesy of good breeding, to which much of his personal popularity may be ascribed. Though Evelyn denies that he was 'bloody or cruel', Charles was certainly capable of brutality, but ingratitude and callousness were not among his faults: in spite of his infidelities he was always kind to his dull and virtuous Queen, and when she was in grave danger (1678-81) he completely protected her. Amusement was for him the chief end in life, which he sought in such diverse ways as long walks, yachting, witnessing surgical operations, and dabbling in mechanical

mathematics. With all his *insouciance* and hatred of effort, he could exert himself when he saw that by exertion future trouble might be averted. Hence his ceaseless political activity and the success which it achieved. For this he was fitted by a wonderfully quick brain and an acute perception of men and affairs: it was Pepys' opinion that 'nobody almost understands or judges of business better than the King'. Hampered by no scruples, with the maxims of his egotistical philosophy ever clearly before him, Charles pursued and attained his ends with a skill and address which place him intellectually far above the other Stuart Kings of England.

KATHARINE OF BRAGANZA

QUEEN-CONSORT OF CHARLES II

(1638-1705)

was the daughter of John, Duke of Braganza, who became King of Portugal in 1640, and of Louisa de Guzman, who sprang from one of the greatest families in Spain. From the first she was destined for the fate which ultimately overtook her. An English alliance was the chief aim of Portuguese policy, and so early as 1645 a marriage was proposed between Katharine and Charles. The scheme came to nothing, but it was immediately renewed at the Restoration. After some intrigues and negotiations, the bargain was finally struck (June 1661). England received Tangiers, Bombay, and full trading rights in the Indies in return for promising protection to Portugal against Spain and Holland. This arrangement was welcomed enthusiastically in Portugal and with quiet satisfaction in English commercial circles. Next year Katharine was brought with great ceremony to Portsmouth, and was there married to Charles, secretly according to Catholic rites and publicly according to Anglican (May 20, 1662). She was almost entirely uneducated, and could only speak Portuguese and Spanish, though she afterwards learned a little French and English, but she was agreeable and attractive owing to her childish simplicity. In the opinion of Pepys 'she be not very charming, yet she hath a good, modest, and innocent look, which is pleasing'. At any rate Charles was in love with her for at least two months, after which Katharine's troubles began. There were many violent scenes before she would acquiesce in the presence of Lady

Castlemaine at Court. On her first appearance, the Queen bled at the nose and fainted, but she became gradually resigned to her position. She learnt to salve her wounded pride with a worldly philosophy and to content herself with the occasional favours which Charles vouchsafed to her. Her own feelings towards him were always affectionate, and her reputation was above even the gossip of the Court. She amused herself chiefly by playing cards, as she had no taste for politics or for intellectual pursuits. Her life, however, was obsessed by two constant troubles, she was a Catholic, and she had no children. There were frequent rumours that a divorce was in contemplation, while her religion made her the object of suspicion and of much ignorant abuse. Finally in 1678 Oates and Bedloe accused her of plotting to poison the King. Charles, however, who had usually treated her with kindness and courtesy, now defended Katharine with great chivalry; indeed, he displayed so much affection for her that she derived far more pleasure than pain from the incident. In her unwonted happiness she 'drank a little wine to pledge the King's health, having drunk no wine this many years'. Charles's death she mourned sincerely, if ostentatiously. She lived quietly in England until 1692, when she returned to her native country. There she was held in much honour, and governed not unsuccessfully as Regent during the last two years of her life, wielding a power which she had never possessed as Queen.



KATHARINE OF BRAGANZA

From the portrait by Jacob Huysman in the
National Portrait Gallery



ANNE HYDE, DUCHESS OF YORK

From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the
National Portrait Gallery



MARY OF MODENA

From the portrait by William Wissing in the
National Portrait Gallery



RACHEL, LADY RUSSELL

From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller
belonging to the Duke of Bedford, K.G.
at Woburn Abbey

ANNE HYDE

DUCHESS OF YORK

(1637-1671)

was the eldest daughter of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and of Frances Aylesbury, his second wife. During the period of exile she was at Breda, as maid of honour to the Princess of Orange, where she seems to have been distinguished for her sprightly gaiety. It was on a visit to Paris in 1656 in the Princess's train that she first met the Duke of York, who was immediately attracted by her. Three years later he engaged to marry her, and deserves some credit for carrying out his promise, in spite of the alteration in his position which the Restoration had produced. The marriage was secretly celebrated on September 3, 1660, at midnight, and was not made public till two months later. Anne's father, who had been wisely kept in ignorance, was unpaternally distressed by the news. In his first fears for his own popularity, he even went so far as to advise that his daughter should be immediately sent to the Tower. Charles II, however, took a more philosophical view, being perhaps reconciled by Anne's wit and undeniable cleverness. In political affairs she managed her husband to a great extent, besides directing his patronage of art and letters; it was even said that she attended his Council in order to control his expenditure. In fact it was Pepys' opinion that 'the Duke, in all things but his amours, was led by the nose by his wife', but this limitation of her influence rendered the marriage unhappy. Anne naturally resented James's numerous and vulgar intrigues, but received little sympathy at Court. Her pride and grandness of

manner made her many enemies among those who envied her exalted position. Marvell and others levelled the most revolting accusations against her with impunity. She was charged with murdering one of her husband's mistresses, and was supposed to have formed a liaison with Henry Sidney, whom James had got banished from Court. In 1670 Anne became a secret convert to Catholicism, perhaps with a view to recovering her influence over her husband, but she died of cancer in the following year. Of her eight children, Mary and Anne alone survived her.

Though not beautiful, Anne undoubtedly possessed considerable attractions and much natural cleverness. She may not have been a shining example of rigid virtue, and she was reputed to be gluttonous; but it is unlikely that Clarendon's daughter and Mary's mother was really bad; in any case we may be sure that she was a great deal too good for such a husband as James, Duke of York.

MARY BEATRICE OF MODENA

QUEEN-CONSORT OF JAMES II

(1658-1718)

was the daughter of Alfonso IV, Duke of Modena, of the house of Este, and of Laura Martinozzi. She was brought up a strict Catholic, and intended to spend her life in a nunnery, but in 1672 the notion of marrying her to James, Duke of York, was mooted. Louis XIV ardently furthered the negotiations; the Pope diverted her religious aspirations by calling her to make a yet greater sacrifice, and in the following year the marriage was celebrated. It was intensely unpopular in England, nor did the first sight of James inspire the affection which Mary afterwards felt for him. Though Charles II was kind to her, her foreign manners and her efforts to further Catholicism caused her to be generally regarded with suspicion and dislike. Even her family life was unhappy, as her husband's amours were notorious and her first children all died in infancy. When James came to the throne, the distrust of the Queen still further increased. To her the growing power of the Catholics was in great part attributed; and not without justice, since she felt the reclamation of England to be her mission and acted accordingly. With the birth of a son on June 10, 1688, the climax was reached. The news was received with an outburst of coarse incredulity. Vulgar lampoons against 'Mother East' were hawked about London, and the testimony of the witnesses of the event was, owing to James's folly in their selection, readily discredited. Even Anne, who had not been unfriendly to Mary, was an unbeliever. The Queen's life was

considered in danger, and the political outlook was very stormy. A month after the landing of William of Orange (December 9) she was persuaded by James to fly to France with her infant son. Louis XIV, anxious to obtain complete hold over James and to use him against William III, received her with effusive cordiality. He was also pleased by Mary's dignity and intelligence, which were far more appreciated at the French than they had been at the English Court. At Saint-Germain, where she bore to James the Princess Louisa, she was restlessly active on her husband's behalf, taking a full share in his hopes and disappointments, and in planning his various moves. To her influence Louis' recognition of her son's title was mainly due. She grieved deeply at James's death, and in her affection for him hoped that he might be canonized. Henceforth she lived in retirement, devoting herself to her son and daughter and to the religion which she had upheld with such persistent courage, and died at the age of 60 at Saint-Germain. Though it cannot be claimed that she brought up her son to be a wise man, or gave him any serious education, she taught him at least to be a man of unstained honour and of a simple, kindly disposition. The central feature of her character was her enthusiastic piety, which led St. Simon to call her a saint. She possessed the pride and the quick intellect of an Italian, but was utterly innocent of the malice and cruelty so recklessly imputed to her by her enemies. In England she was hated with blind rancour on account of her creed, nor has full justice been done to her personality by historians.

RACHEL, LADY RUSSELL

(1636-1723)

was the second daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, by his first wife, Rachel de Ruvigny. At the age of seventeen she married Francis, Lord Vaughan, and two years after his death, which took place in 1667, William, Lord Russell. For him she had a passionate and unswerving devotion, besides a lively sympathy for his political views, which led her to support him loyally in his opposition to the Court. When he was arrested in 1683 for complicity with the Rye House Plot, although convinced that his doom was certain, she made heroic efforts to save his life. During the trial she acted as his secretary, and after sentence had been passed, tried by every means to move the King to mercy. She bore the undying grief which his death left her with a noble resignation, which won for her universal respect and a sort of moral authority in English society. William and Mary paid her signal marks of regard; even in politics she was influential. For the most part, however, she occupied herself with her three children and with the management of her estates. The letters which survive from her extensive correspondence show her to have been a woman not only of great piety but of quite exceptional strength and dignity of character. Her life is summed up in Guizot's phrase, 'Une Grande Dame Chrétienne.' She died at the age of 86 and was buried at Chenies.

GEORGE SAVILE

MARQUIS OF HALIFAX

(1633-1695)

was the son of Sir William Savile of Thornhill, Yorkshire, and Anne, daughter of Thomas, Lord Coventry, the wise and moderate Lord Keeper of Charles I's Great Seal. His father having fought and died in the service of the King, and his mother having made a heroic defence of Sheffield Castle against the Roundheads, Savile's youth was perforce spent in obscurity. He was at neither school nor University, but his intellectual and scholarly temperament suggests that he must have received a thorough education on the Continent during his early years, when he resided much abroad. When the Convention was summoned in 1660, he was sent to represent Pontefract. Once launched upon public life, his great abilities soon thrust him forward. In the House his polished, thoughtful, yet telling speeches, enhanced by a musical voice and a graceful delivery, carried great weight. In 1668 he was appointed to serve on a committee to inquire into the recent financial scandals, and so dangerous did his talents appear likely to be, when so applied, that Charles II immediately created him Viscount Halifax in the hope of silencing him. Four years later he became a privy counsellor, and though hostile to the King's French policy, he was sent on an important mission to Louis XIV. On the whole, however, his political principles threw him into antagonism to the Court. Though never a republican, except perhaps in theory, autocracy was as repugnant to him as anarchy; though so much of a philosopher as to have been groundlessly thought an atheist, he was sincerely opposed to the



GEORGE SAVILE, MARQUIS OF HALIFAX
From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely belonging to the
Duke of Devonshire at Hardwicke Hall

Catholic religion; though not declining the honours which came to him, his wealth enabled him to disdain the scramble for titles and ministerial billets. On these grounds he became the unsparing critic of the Cabal and for a time the friend of Shaftesbury, but Halifax's cool and balancing intellect doomed this friendship to an early dissolution. They served together on Sir William Temple's Council, but as soon as Shaftesbury began to reveal himself in his true colours and to plot for the succession of the bastard Duke of Monmouth, Halifax drew back. At the same time, the want of logical basis in the hereditary principle coupled with his Protestant views made the prospect of the accession of James distasteful to him. The Prince of Orange seemed to him the most desirable successor to the throne, but, like most statesmen who are ruled by their intellects, he was averse to violent measures and would take no step towards a revolution. The ruthless sarcasm with which he exposed the intrigues of Monmouth's party drew down upon him the wrath of the Whig Opposition, and gained him the King's complete confidence. But it also drove him towards supporting James, and, faced by a dilemma, he made an utterly abortive effort to wean the latter from Catholicism. At one time it looked as if this failure would induce him to veer round towards Monmouth. He wrote an ingenious and closely reasoned pamphlet, entitled the *Character of a Trimmer*, defending his own creed of mediation between the contending extremes in politics. In 1682 he was raised to a Marquisate. After Charles's death, though included in James's first Privy Council, he could expect, and indeed found no real favour, and in October 1685 he was dismissed. He retired with a professed sense of relief to indulge his love of speculative thought. Yet he remained in constant communication with William of Orange, and wrote a very incisive argument warning the dissenters not to admit Catholicism under the cloak of toleration. Nevertheless, he absolutely refused to have any share in inviting William to effect a revolution. He preferred to leave the initiative to others, and to

accept the results of their actions as part of the inevitable march of history, to which he looked for remedy. When William landed, Halifax headed the commissioners sent to treat with him at Hungerford. It is possible that his mediation might have succeeded but for the King's flight. This convinced Halifax that he was absolved from his allegiance to James, and henceforth he set himself to procure the crown for William. With great dexterity he overthrew in the Convention the proposal for a regency, and carried without a division the motion declaring William and Mary to be joint sovereigns. The moderate, and therefore the permanent nature of the settlement was indeed largely due to the calm wisdom and suave diplomacy of Halifax. Though disliked by both the opposing parties, he was able to preserve what was best in the ideals of each, to produce, in fact, a conservative revolution. As a reward for his services he was appointed Lord Privy Seal, but in spite of William's entreaties he resigned within a year, rather than face the pestilent and persistent attacks of his many opponents. The remainder of his life was spent in dignified retirement at Acton, where he wrote a number of excellent treatises on political subjects, among them a remarkable demonstration of the paramount importance for England of the command of the sea. He died at Halifax House, and was buried in Henry VII's chapel.

Halifax is an interesting example of the philosophic statesman. His temper was truly Aristotelian, always opposed to excess and prone to seek the mean in all spheres, whether in politics, ethics, or religion. In a sense he was doctrinaire, but in the best sense, inasmuch as he was able to apply his principles to meet the practical situation. For with the sceptical tolerance and wide outlook of a thinker he combined the urbanity and the penetration of a man of the world. His method was to guide others by persuasion rather than by an appeal to prejudice or enthusiasm; and it was thus that he accomplished a more lasting work than any other political leader of the seventeenth century.

JAMES BUTLER

TWELFTH EARL AND FIRST DUKE OF ORMONDE

(1610-1688)

came of one of the most ancient and noble Anglo-Irish families, being the son of Viscount Thurles and Elizabeth Poyntz, and grandson of the eleventh Earl of Ormonde. His early years were spent in England, and after his father's death in 1619 his mother put him under a Catholic tutor. The King, however, had claimed him as a royal ward, and, foreseeing his future importance, placed him under the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury, from whom he received a scanty but Protestant education. Much of his time was spent at the Court, where he fell in love with Elizabeth Preston, heiress of the Desmond estates, whom he married in 1629. On succeeding his grandfather in the Earldom, Ormonde took up his residence in Ireland (1633). There he soon made himself known to Wentworth by boldly refusing to obey an order to lay aside his sword before entering Parliament. Recognizing his strength of character and ability, Wentworth became his fast friend and gained his warm support throughout his administration. Charles thus came to learn Ormonde's loyalty and capacity, and on the outbreak of the Irish rebellion in 1641 appointed him Lieutenant-General. Though constantly hampered by the interference of the Lords Justices to whom he was subordinated, Ormonde won considerable successes, which were fully recognized in Parliament. An address of both Houses urged the King to bestow the Garter upon him, and after a further victory at

Kilrush, Ormonde's command was made independent (1642). Next year he again routed the rebels, proving himself to be no mean general, but in the absence of assistance from England, his position was becoming highly precarious. The situation was further complicated by the secession of the Scottish army in Ulster to the side of the Parliament. Thus the only Protestant force on which Ormonde could rely for help was removed, and he was ordered to prevent the Scots from crossing to Scotland and at the same time to continue his suppression of the Irish rebel Catholics. In 1643 the King ordered him to come to terms with the latter, and he concluded a short cessation of hostilities. But a newly arrived Papal Nuncio thwarted all his efforts on the one side, and on the other the King entered a secret negotiation with the Catholics of which Ormonde could not approve. Eventually he was reduced to such straits that in 1646 he appealed to the Parliament. This secured the relief of Dublin, which had been besieged, and eventually a treaty was concluded, under which Ormonde with many other Protestants left Ireland. In 1648 he returned, but the execution of the King led to another outbreak of hostilities. Ormonde set up the standard of Charles II, but after taking Drogheda, he was defeated at Rathmines, and soon forced by Cromwell to flee to France. During his expatriation he shared the vicissitudes and poverty of his master. Once one of the richest landowners in Great Britain and Ireland Ormonde neither escaped nor shrank from the beggary which was the lot of most of the exiles. In 1658 he made an expedition in disguise to England, in order to discover the chances of a Royalist rising, and only returned to his master's Court after many adventures. His great services were fully recognized by the King who showered honours upon him at the Restoration. The Irish Parliament voted £30,000 to recompense him for his losses, which were said to amount to the amazing sum of a million pounds; and his career made his appointment as the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland inevitable. In this capacity he had the difficult task of reconciling the new Cromwellian settlers and the old



JAMES BUTLER, FIRST DUKE OF ORMONDE
From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the National Portrait Gallery

Anglo-Irish landowners without undue harshness to the natives. And his success was admirable. Ireland had never been so peaceful as in the reign of Charles II, and to Ormonde this peace was due. He fostered trade in spite of the absurd and jealous Acts of the English Parliament, planted numerous colonies of individual settlers, and did all that he could to minimize religious hatreds.

He incurred, however, the hatred of the worthless Buckingham, and in a weak moment Charles, who knew Ormonde's worth, was persuaded in 1669 to deprive him of the Lord-Lieutenancy. Public opinion was more impartial. People called him 'the greatest subject of any prince in Christendom', and said that he had 'done more for his Prince than ever any yet did'. He was elected Chancellor of Oxford, and was paid many tributes of general respect. The King, too, was influenced by his upright character--indeed, on Ormonde's return from Ireland, he even took to dining once more with the Queen and showed other signs of a temporary reformation. Ormonde's dignity and restraint, in spite of his displacement and an attempt on his life by an extraordinary brigand called Blood, eventually had their effect, and in 1677 he was again sent to govern Ireland, from which he was recalled by James in 1685. The last years of his life were spent at Cornbury Park, Oxfordshire, where he died of ague.

Physically he was a man of great strength and beauty, which he enhanced by his stateliness of demeanour and love of splendour. The purity of his life was as remarkable as the purity of his motives in whatever he did. Among the many faithful Royalists, few sacrificed so much and so wholeheartedly as he did, and almost all the prosperity of Ireland, such as it was, in the eighteenth century was due to the foundations which he laid.

GEORGE VILLIERS

SECOND DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

(1628-1687)

was the second son of the first Duke and Lady Katharine Manners. Born but seven months before his father's murder, he was brought up by Charles I as his own child and sent to Trinity College, Cambridge. When only fifteen he fought under Rupert at Lichfield, but during the greater part of the First Civil War he lived abroad. In 1648, however, he returned to assist the Royalist rising in Kent; he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner and incurred the confiscation of his estates. In the campaign of Worcester he also took part, again barely avoiding capture; but his championship of dissent alienated the confidence of Hyde, and finding exile wearisome and unprofitable, he returned to England in 1657. By virtue of his great personal beauty he carried out his plan of marrying Fairfax's daughter Mary, but in spite of his father-in-law's protection he was sent to the Tower and only liberated shortly before the Restoration. Charles II showered favours upon him and he soon appeared as an enemy of Lord Chancellor Clarendon. In 1667 he was temporarily disgraced and imprisoned, but on his release he succeeded in contributing to the overthrow of his old enemy and, though holding only the office of Master of the Horse, obtained much influence in the 'Cabal'. He at once took up the cause of the dissenters and was one of the instigators of the Declaration of Indulgence, though he himself had no religion and scandalized his pious supporters by the flagrant immorality of his life. His power in the Cabinet was

GEORGE VILLERS DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.



GEORGE VILLIERS, SECOND DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the National Portrait Gallery

gradually undermined by the faction headed by Arlington. Being kept in ignorance of the treaty of Dover, Buckingham was constantly hoodwinked by the King as to foreign affairs, and was made responsible for a policy of which he did not see the drift. Finally he was attacked in the Commons for abetting popery and despotism, and his removal was demanded, in spite of his vigorous denunciation of Arlington, on whom he with some justice threw the blame. Charles dismissed him with joy, but Buckingham sought his revenge by becoming the ally of Shaftesbury. Incidentally he became a reformed character, paid some of his debts and was even seen in church with his wife. Until the introduction of the Exclusion Bill he had an active share in all the intrigues of the Opposition, but in 1680 he slowly withdrew into private life rather than support Monmouth, whom he detested. Moreover, his health had been sapped by his excesses; his last years were spent in hunting and the compilation of pamphlets on religious questions. In many respects he resembled his father. Like him, he was handsome, inordinately vain, full of a versatile cleverness applied in such diverse fields as politics, chemistry, and poetry, but altogether wanting in solid ability. The frequency and the ostentation of his amours provoked comment even in the Court of Charles II, but although his presence always impressed others with his greatness, his wayward temper and his volatile intellect made him trusted by few and useless to all.

JOHN MAITLAND

SECOND EARL AND FIRST DUKE OF LAUDERDALE

(1616-1682)

was the son of John, Lord Thirlestane, created Earl of Lauderdale in 1624, and Isabel Seton, daughter of the Earl of Dunfermline. In his youth he appeared zealous for the Covenant and in 1643 for the alliance with the English Parliament against King Charles. He attended the Westminster Assembly, sat on the Committee of Both Kingdoms, and argued against Charles at the Uxbridge Treaty; in each of these employments he was the zealous champion of Presbyterianism. But from 1647 he was beginning to waver; and he seems to have been quite sincere in urging Charles to refuse the offers of the Independents in the English army and to put his whole trust in the Scots. Without openly declaring against the Covenant or Presbytery, he resented the growing tyranny of the ministers over the consciences of laymen; he championed the party of Hamilton in the Second Civil War and, on the failure of that enterprise, resorted to Prince Charles in his exile. In 1650 he accompanied that Prince, now Charles II, to Scotland and advised him to rely upon the Covenanters rather than upon Montrose, no doubt because he considered that the former could command the greater military strength. And it was during this time that he laid the foundation of his lasting friendship with the young King, by whose side he fought at Worcester.

There he was taken prisoner and remained in various English



JOHN MAITLAND, SECOND EARL AND FIRST
DUKE OF LAUDERDALE

From the drawing belonging to the Earl of Dysart
at Ham House



GEORGE DIGBY, SECOND EARL OF BRISTOL (on left)
WILLIAM RUSSELL, EARL OF BEDFORD (on right)
From the painting by Sir Anthony Van Dyck, belonging to
the Earl of Spencer, P.C.

castles until liberated at the Restoration. For the first three years after this event his influence in Scotland was overshadowed by that of Middleton, and he had to be content with the minor office of Secretary of State for Scotland. Both in this capacity and for the rest of his life he showed himself to be a true Scottish patriot. Clarendon, whose object was to govern the 'Nation of vermin', as he called the Scots, from Whitehall, met more than his match in this coarse, shrewd, profane wit, who was withal a man of the widest reading in the classics, in modern languages, and above all in theology; Lauderdale had the King's ear and the King's favour and prevailed. All Englishmen were excluded from the Scottish Privy Council, and all English troops withdrawn from Scotland. As for the Church Settlement of 1661, which restored Episcopacy, that was not of Lauderdale's making, but he acquiesced in it, and, having acquiesced, set himself to see that neither the bishops nor the Covenanters should lift their voices against the royal supremacy. When rebellions broke out for the Covenant he crushed them ruthlessly, though at little cost of life; the picture of him as a cruel tyrant, rejoicing in torture and bloodshed, which his enemies delighted to draw, has no truth in it; it is founded on his contempt for the feelings of his adversaries (which he expressed openly, wittily, and profanely), on his dissolute life, and on his avowed intention of making the King as absolute as he could. His favourite, and comparatively harmless, but intensely irritating plan for effecting this was to quarter militiamen or Highlanders upon recalcitrant lairds. In the interests of Scotland he could stand up to the King too, and, by great astuteness, he succeeded in defeating Charles's projected scheme for a union of the two Parliaments.

It was not to be expected that a career of success of this kind would fail to meet with antagonism in those English Parliamentary circles which were becoming, from 1673, more and more Whiggish. Every sort of denunciation was levelled at the great Scottish minister, whom the King had raised successively to a Scottish Dukedom and

an English Earldom. Once at least Lauderdale was only saved from impeachment by a dissolution of Parliament; and, though Charles never deserted him, it is clear that in the last years of his life he was losing his power in Scotland also, although very probably his own failing health accounted largely for this.

Morally he was one of the worst, intellectually one of the greatest of Scotsmen; his political character will always be variously judged according to the sympathies of those who read his life; but of the success of his career in the attainment of the political ends which he set before himself there can be no two opinions.

GEORGE DIGBY

SECOND EARL OF BRISTOL

(1612-1677)

son of John Digby, first Earl, and Beatrice Walcot, presents a remarkable contrast to his father, whose solid qualities he did not inherit. In their place he was endowed with a brilliant and original mind, which roused greater expectations of him than he ever succeeded in justifying by his performances. A great career was foretold for him, when at the age of twelve he spoke with precocious facility on behalf of his father at the bar of the House of Commons. This early impression was confirmed by the ability which he showed on entering Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1626. He seems to have had a taste for philosophy, and, after taking his degree and making the customary foreign tour, he devoted himself to this study (1638-9). As a result he made a formal assault on the Roman Catholic Church in a correspondence with his kinsman, Sir Kenelm Digby, which was subsequently published. Not long afterwards he was imprisoned for fighting a duel; it is typical of his character that he turned against the Court in consequence. So on taking his seat for Dorset in the Short Parliament, he joined the Opposition. In November 1640 he was chosen as one of the committee for conducting Strafford's impeachment, but his hereditary conservatism drew him back towards the King's side. He marked his tergiversation afresh by voting against the third reading of the Bill of Attainder, and the speech which he made on this occasion had the distinction of being burnt by the common hangman at the order of the Commons. The

dislike with which the popular party already regarded him was converted to the fiercest hatred when he advised Charles to send an armed force to seize the five members. A mysterious journey to Kingston in January 1642 gave his enemies their opportunity. Digby was arraigned for trying to raise an armed force, and fled to Holland rather than face a hostile tribunal. He soon returned to England in disguise, but he was captured by a Parliamentary frigate and taken to Hull. Fortunately the Parliamentary governor, Hotham, was but a luke-warm partisan, and Digby was permitted to escape in time to join Charles at the outbreak of the war. His gallantry in the field at once made him conspicuous, and in September 1643 he became Secretary of State. His want of foresight and of practical capacity rendered him quite unfit for such a post. His plans were uniformly unsuccessful, and of all the civilians who thwarted the soldiers' plans Rupert regarded him as the worst. Nor was he more fortunate as general of the Royalist forces north of Trent in 1645. His army was finally defeated at Carlisle Sands, and he himself eventually fled to France after Charles's surrender.

There his restless spirit drove Digby to volunteer against the Fronde. He fought with his usual bravery, and rapidly rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General. But he was unable to refrain from politics, and an abortive intrigue to overthrow Mazarin caused his expulsion from France. Like many Royalist exiles, he then attached himself to the Spanish army in the Netherlands, but in 1657, being now Earl of Bristol, he was again made Secretary of State to Charles II. Shortly afterwards, however, in defiance of his youthful logic, he became a convert to Catholicism, with the quite unexpected result that he was dismissed from his office by Charles II. Though not in any way disgraced, Bristol never held another official post. After the Restoration he took an active part in public affairs. He had a scheme of his own for Charles's marriage, which led him to oppose the match with Katharine of Braganza. This brought him into antagonism with Clarendon, against whom he brought

a charge of High Treason (1663), which was declared by the judges and by the House of Lords to be irregular and illegal. Nevertheless Bristol persisted, thus drawing upon himself the King's lively displeasure. An order was issued for his arrest, but he evaded it by living in hiding, until the disgrace of Clarendon again gave him access to Court. The last years of his life are only remarkable for the paradoxical attitude which he maintained towards the Test Act, which he supported on the ground that, since the Roman Church was a purely religious body, allegiance to it should imply no shadow of disloyalty to the State. He died at Chelsea in his sixty-fifth year.

He was married to Lady Anne Russell, daughter of the Earl of Bedford, by whom he had four children. Besides more active pursuits, he also indulged in literature. He wrote some poetry, and in 1667 published anonymously a comedy entitled *Elvira*. He is said to have had a hand in several other plays, and to have published translations from Spanish and French. Digby's career is well summed up by Horace Walpole, who calls him 'a singular person, whose life was one contradiction'. Though a man of unusual talents, his headstrong temperament completely neutralized his abilities. His fickleness made him an untrustworthy ally, and his defects of character deprived him of the success which his intellectual powers put within his reach.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL

NINTH EARL OF ARGYLL

(? -1685)

was the son of the Marquis and eighth Earl of Argyll by his wife, Lady Margaret Douglas. Of his youth little is known, not even the date of his birth. He appears to have been well educated, and to have spent some time abroad. In May 1650, as Lord Lorne, he married Lady Mary Stuart, and closely attended Charles II during his stay in Scotland, holding a captain's commission in his army. During the years following the defeat at Worcester, he maintained an irregular warfare in the Highlands together with Glencairn, and, after quarrelling with him, together with Middleton (1653-4). He responded to his father's remonstrances by plundering his estates, until Argyll finally requested a garrison from Cromwell to protect him against his son's ravages. Though his following was reduced to a handful, Lorne refused to desert Middleton, but finally surrendered and gave security for £5,000 (1655). Nevertheless, he was always suspected, and on refusing to swear renunciation of the Stuarts, was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle (1657), where he remained until 1660. What caused him to quarrel with Middleton we do not know, but at the Restoration we find the two on opposite sides in Scottish politics. Charles II showed Lorne some favour, but Clarendon opposed his recovery of the family estates, which were confiscated on the Marquis of Argyll's execution. An intrigue which Lorne accordingly set on foot against Clarendon, was unfortunately discovered, and in spite of Lauderdale's intervention, Argyll was condemned to death on a charge of 'leasing-making' (August 26, 1661). By Charles's order the sentence was not carried out, but was converted into



ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, NINTH EARL OF ARGYLL

From a portrait drawn and engraved by David Loggan



ALGERNON SIDNEY

From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely belonging to the Earl Spencer



JOHN WILMOT, SECOND EARL OF ROCHESTER

From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the Victoria and Albert Museum



TITUS OATES

Drawn and engraved from life by R. White

a somewhat lax confinement in Edinburgh Castle until 1663, when the prisoner was liberated and regained his estates as ninth Earl of Argyll. His family being almost ruined, he now devoted himself as far as possible to the rebuilding of his fortunes, which involved constant litigation with the Grahams on a monetary claim, and constant and often cruel acts of oppression against his own tenantry and the neighbouring clans in the South-Western Highlands. In his capacity of justiciary he professed to be zealous for peace, but he had many enemies, who frequently charged him with lukewarmness in the King's service. The truth is that he was the most unstable person alive, at one time upholding and at another intriguing against the measures which Lauderdale was obliged to take to repress the rebellious Covenanters (1671). In the meanwhile, his first wife having died in 1668, he had married in 1670 Anna Seaforth, the widow of Lord Balcarres, famed in her youth for her great beauty and her heroic devotion to the Royalist cause. Save for a drastic pacification of Mull, he was not again prominent until 1679, when he was ordered to disarm all papists in the Highlands, in consequence of the anti-popery agitation then raging in England. He does not appear in connexion with any of the operations against the insurgent Covenanters in 1678-9, and perhaps for this reason he became suspected by the Government, although as long as Lauderdale's influence lasted no action could be taken against him. When the Duke of York came to Scotland in 1681, Argyll further endangered his position by opposing the omission of the anti-popery clause in the declaration drawn up by Parliament for James's benefit, and, although now clearly out of favour, he refused to take an oath 'not to support any change in Church or State unless it were consistent with Protestantism and loyalty'. He would not, however, put this reservation in writing, and was therefore arrested for not subscribing to the Test. He was tried on December 12, 1681. The jury was packed under the direct influence of James, and the proceedings were a mere tissue of illegalities. Argyll was condemned to death

for treason, and his lands were confiscated. Charles would unquestionably have pardoned him if he had not fled from prison. While he was awaiting execution, his step-daughter, Sophia Lindsay, visited him accompanied by a page. Argyll changed clothes with the boy, and drove off as a lackey behind the coach, while the lady sat inside feigning the most poignant grief. He reached London safely, where he found an agreeable refuge with a Mrs. Smith, wife of a rich confectioner. He lived with her until 1682 (having apparently fallen in love with her), until the complete overthrow of the Whigs forced him to take refuge abroad. For the next three years he lived mainly in Holland, but though connected with the Rye House Plot, he was comparatively inactive until James's accession. Then, instead of making common cause with Monmouth, he determined to start a rebellion in Scotland, for which country he embarked with some 300 men in May 1685. Even in his own county of Argyll he was coldly received, and after aimlessly parading the Western Highlands, he moved south. His troops dwindled rapidly. Argyll finally tried to escape with a single friend, but was overtaken at Inchinnan, and captured after a fierce struggle (June 18). He was condemned to be beheaded under the old sentence, and after taking a calm farewell of his wife and Mrs. Smith, he died with a fortitude equal to that shown by his father (June 30).

Much of his later inconsistency may be accounted for by the fact that in 1658 he had had his skull trepanned after a severe fall in Edinburgh Castle. He was a man of courage and some cleverness and persistence, all of which qualities he displayed, whether in fighting desperately for Royalism, in upholding Protestantism, in oppressing his tenants, or in refusing to pay his creditors. Accordingly he had many enemies, but he never earned the universal detestation achieved by his father, with whom, except perhaps in point of ability, he may be favourably compared.

ALGERNON SIDNEY

(1622-1682)

was the second son of Robert, second Earl of Leicester, and of Dorothy Percy, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland. He never went to school, and there was nothing in the surroundings or influences of his youth to account for his subsequent political views. In 1642 he had a hand in crushing the Irish rebellion, but, when fighting ceased in the following year, he obtained leave to return to England. He had no wish to take part in the Civil War, although he avowed himself the enemy of oppression, but on landing in Lancashire, he was arrested by the Parliamentarians and taken to London. There in the stronghold of the popular cause, his enthusiasm for 'the rights of mankind . . . against corrupt principles, arbitrary power and popery' soon kindled. He was given a commission in Manchester's regiment of horse, and fought with great gallantry at Marston Moor. The many wounds which he received in the battle kept him from further service for more than two years, but in January 1647 he sailed with his brother for Ireland, as Lieutenant-General of the horse. He soon returned, but was kept out of permanent employment by the enmity of Cromwell and the regicides. This Sidney had incurred by his resolute refusal to take part in the trial of Charles I, when appointed one of the commissioners. Roundly declaring that 'the King could be tried by no man' and that 'no man could be tried by that court', he refused to have any hand in the business. Being out of sympathy with the Government, he lived in retirement until he was elected to the Council of State in 1652. At its meetings he was an assiduous attendant, and took an especial interest in foreign affairs, but

when Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament, Sidney with praiseworthy consistency pronounced him a violent tyrant. Nevertheless, he refrained from entering upon any of the conspiracies against the Protector, merely standing aloof from politics altogether. When the Long Parliament was restored in 1659, Sidney, who had been a member, again took his seat. His interest in foreign affairs led him to be appointed one of the commissioners to mediate a peace between Sweden and Denmark, a mission which he successfully concluded in May 1660. Meanwhile the Restoration had entirely changed Sidney's prospects. Had he returned to England, his father's influence and his opposition to the late King's death would probably have secured him a pardon. But Sidney, who perhaps had exaggerated views of his own importance, refused to make 'a vile and unworthy submission' or to be treated as a suspect. Though in great straits for money, he continued to live abroad, and took for his motto '*Manus haec inimica tyrannis*'. From Denmark he travelled to Italy, and was lent a villa at Frascati, where he resigned all other ambitions and intended to live in studious retirement. His notorious republican sentiments, however, allowed him no peace. Frequent attempts on his life by assassins, drove him from Italy to Switzerland and thence to Germany. Finally, in 1666, he offered to raise a revolt in England, if Louis XIV would give him 100,000 crowns. Louis, no doubt wisely, thought this too large a sum to squander on such a venture, but gave Sidney leave to live in France. In 1677 he got permission to return to England to arrange his private affairs. His intention was to settle near Bordeaux, but a law-suit detained him in England until the struggle over the Exclusion Bill had begun. Embittered by his exile and longing to strike a blow at the Monarchy, Sidney threw himself into the fray. Though baulked in various attempts to enter Parliament, he was an active member of the little band of fanatics who still hoped to restore the days of the Commonwealth. He quarrelled with Shaftesbury, but in his hatred of the autocracy of Charles, he acted

as the agent of Barillon, the French ambassador (and was not above receiving a French bribe of a thousand guineas), in the hope that Louis would set up a republic in England. The Government was only waiting for an excuse to arrest him and the Rye House Plot gave the opportunity. Sidney's trial was before Jeffreys, who treated him with his customary brutality. The charges of conspiracy were unsupported by any evidence worth taking, and his condemnation rested chiefly on a tract written in answer to Filmer's *Patriarcha*, but never published. Jeffreys had no difficulty in finding treason in every line, and the sentence was hailed with indecent joy by the Duke of York and his followers. Sidney met his death with Stoic calmness and resolution (December 7, 1682).

He was a man of a rough and unpractical temper, courageous, obstinate, honest, but soured by disappointment and ill-treatment and at all times intolerant of opposition. Popery he hated, but his creed was more philosophical than religious and thoroughly contemptuous of all accepted forms. He probably became a political fanatic more owing to circumstances than to disposition, but his uprightness and sincerity of character are undoubted.

JOHN WILMOT

SECOND EARL OF ROCHESTER

(1647-1680)

was the son of the first Earl by Anne St. John, his second wife. At Wadham College, Oxford, he displayed the grace and facility in writing verse which was his only creditable distinction, and at the age of eighteen he attached himself to Charles II's Court, in which he soon gained the difficult fame of being its most dissolute member. His combination of wit and profligacy made him irresistibly attractive to the King, who was unable to dispense with his company, though often outraged by his caustic tongue and his shameless behaviour. As the result of his mode of life, Rochester's real talent for poetry and satire became utterly debased. His lyrics and his plays are simply examples of clever obscenity. The King wished him to marry Miss Malet, 'the great beauty and fortune of the North,' and on her refusing, Rochester carried her off as she was returning from dinner at Whitehall. Charles felt bound to punish the outrage by placing Rochester in the Tower, but he married the lady nevertheless within two years of the incident. In 1679 his health, long since undermined, finally failed him. During his last days he either repented or affected to repent under Burnet's exhortation, but he died before any of his pious resolutions could be put to the test, the most accomplished rake and not the least accomplished poet which the Restoration produced.

TITUS OATES

(1649-1705)

was the son of Samuel Oates, a worthless parson who had previously been an Anabaptist. He was successively instructed at Merchant Taylors' school, at Caius and St. John's Colleges at Cambridge, but was expelled from all three. Despite his manifold deficiencies, moral and intellectual, he 'slipped into orders', but soon embarked on a more adventurous career. After escaping from prison where he had been placed for slander, he saw a prospect of achieving greatness as a public perjurer. With this object he insinuated himself among the Catholics, and in 1677 joined the Roman Church. He was ejected from two Jesuit seminaries in quick succession, but he had obtained sufficient knowledge of their ways to give local colour to the story of the 'Popish Plot' which he told in 1678. If the French Jesuits, both in England and abroad, had some scheme afoot, as seems probable, neither the details nor the outlines of that scheme were known to Oates; at the bare fact of the existence of some intended plot he may well have guessed. Though his falsehoods were transparent when subjected even to the most indiscriminating criticism, his unblushing assurance and the fanatical credulity of the public ensured him of success. His word procured the execution of many innocent men; his power was undisputed and universally dreaded, and for five years he lived in luxury and honour at the public expense. On James's accession he was condemned for perjury by Jeffreys, but he survived two severe floggings, and was released from prison by William III. Henceforth Oates led a prosperous life of extravagance and profligacy, married a rich widow, obtained several grants from the Treasury for the payment of his numerous debts, and died serenely in his bed. He is perhaps the most complete and perfect villain in English history.

SAMUEL PEPYS

(1633-1703)

was the son of John Pepys, a London tailor. After being educated at St. Paul's and Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he was a sizar, he became secretary to his cousin Sir Edward Montagu, through whose influence he became 'Clerk of the Acts of the Navy' in 1660. He appears to have been an official of much ability and energy. His defence of the policy of the Admiralty before the House of Commons in 1667 was, according to his own account, unusually brilliant, and was certainly successful. In 1673 he became 'Secretary for the Affairs of the Navy' and a Member of Parliament, but at the time of the Popish Plot he was committed to the Tower on the false and absurd charge of betraying secrets to the French. This obvious falsehood did not damage Pepys' reputation and he was soon again at liberty. He was elected President of the Royal Society in 1684 and was Secretary of the Admiralty in 1686. Four years later, he withdrew from public affairs into a comfortable retirement at Clapham. His official career, though in a high degree useful, successful and upright, is of secondary interest to his private life, the details of which are chronicled with meticulous fullness in his *Diary* written in cypher and extending from 1659 to 1669. It was bequeathed together with his large collection of books to Magdalene College. The candour with which he has set down his everyday actions, the variations of his health and his attire, his petty vanities and his moral shortcomings, has rendered him more familiar to posterity than most men of much greater distinction, besides affording inexhaustible materials for the social history of his times.



SAMUEL PEPYS

From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely at Magdalene College, Cambridge



JOHN EVELYN

From an engraving after the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller
belonging to the Royal Society

JOHN EVELYN

(1620-1706)

son of Richard Evelyn and Eleanor Standsfield, was born at Wotton in Surrey. His father was a rich man, the family fortunes having been founded on gunpowder mills. John was educated at Lewes, and at Balliol College, Oxford. During the Civil War he travelled in Italy and laid the foundations of his exquisite taste both as a 'virtuoso' and a man of letters. He made more than one visit to England, but did not finally return until 1652, when he settled at Sayes Court, near Deptford. Here he amused himself with gardening, the arrangement of his artistic collections, and the society of men of learning like Boyle and Wilkins, among whom he may be reckoned as one of the founders of the Royal Society. In a quiet way, without any very active plotting, he did much to promote the Restoration of Charles II. After that event he was frequently consulted by the Government on questions connected with art, learning, and political economy; but the only serious office he held was the membership of the 'Council of Plantations'. Though a strong Royalist he was a firm Protestant, and was much alarmed by King James's attack on the English Church; thus the Revolution passed over his head without seriously interrupting the tenor of his useful and industrious life, although he made no pretence of approving of the change of kings. One of his later friends and correspondents was the great scholar Richard Bentley, but in truth he had what has been well described as a 'genius for friendships' with good men. His 'Diary', which was not published till 1818, contains much useful historical information. He was a devoted husband, father, and friend, and his private life was extremely beautiful.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE

(1605-1682)

was the son of Thomas Browne and Anne Garraway, of good Cheshire stock, his father being a mercer in Upton. The latter died early, and his wife married again, leaving Browne to the care of guardians. After being educated at Winchester, he entered Broadgates Hall, Oxford, and took his degree in 1626. For some time he practised medicine in Oxfordshire, before going abroad for further study at Montpellier and Padua. He received a doctorate at Leyden, and then returned to England, where he settled at Norwich as an ordinary practitioner. His reputation was considerable, and in 1637 he was made Doctor of Medicine at Oxford. Four years later he married Dorothy Mileham, by whom he had twelve children. In 1642 appeared his wonderful little book entitled *Religio Medici*; it seems to have been published without his authority. It immediately attracted much attention, and called forth the strictures of Sir Kenelm Digby, to which Browne replied in the preface to the first authorized edition (1643). A Latin translation spread the fame of the book on the Continent, and also provoked attacks on its author's orthodoxy, the usual fate of religious works of this period. Though a Royalist in sympathy, Browne continued his literary labours, and avoided taking any part in the Civil War. In 1646, he produced *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, a 'refutation of popular errors'. Being a work of immense erudition, it was hardly calculated to appeal to the vulgar, but it established his reputation for inexhaustible knowledge, and procured him the burdensome compliment of being made the recipient of inquiries on scientific subjects from numerous correspondents, among whom was John Evelyn, the diarist. The

Thomas·Brown·Eques·Auratus,



SIR THOMAS BROWNE

From the portrait belonging to the Royal College of Physicians
Painter unknown

same quality of learning is conspicuous in Browne's next publication, *Hydriotaphia*, or Urn Burial, which appeared in 1658. In this he discusses the burial customs which have been prevalent among different races and in different countries, thus founding a branch of archaeological study which has since borne amazing fruits. The width of his reading is remarkable—even Dante is familiar to him—while the peroration on death and immortality, with which the essay concludes, is perhaps the finest passage in the whole of Browne's writings. Lastly, he produced in the same year *The Garden of Cyrus; or the Quincuncial Lozenge*, a fantastic treatise on gardening, tracing its development from the horticulture of Eden downwards, mainly with reference to plantation in the form of a quincunx, which he regarded as possessing magical properties. His own 'errors' in speculation were certainly not 'vulgar' in the modern sense of the word, but they were undoubtedly superstitious. In 1664 he was made honorary Fellow of the College of Physicians, and seven years later was knighted on the occasion of Charles II's visit to Norwich. To the end of his days he continued his scientific studies, besides making a large collection of books, medals, birds' eggs, and botanical curiosities. He enjoyed, perhaps, a greater reputation for learning than any man in England when he died of colic at the age of 77.

It is, however, less as a man of science or a scholar than as the author of *Religio Medici* that Browne is known to posterity. This book has placed him among the classical writers of English prose. Its style is highly polished, if somewhat artificial, full of quaint metaphor carefully elaborated, and rising at times to flights of sustained eloquence. To a modern reader Browne's religious opinions seem antiquated and devoid of originality, but the striking beauty of many of the thoughts and phrases in which he clothes them has lent them a permanent fascination. There is a curious mingling of old and new in Browne's views. His is mainly a religion based upon faith, and where reason is adduced, it is usually in the form of scholastic sophistries. The language of the schools echoes

constantly through his writings; his belief in ghosts, in devils, and in witchcraft was profound, and he even gave evidence in a case which led to the burning of two witches in 1664. Yet in spite of these conspicuous mediaevalisms, he at times makes startling excursions outside the domains of contemporary theology. Thus he suggests that the first chapters of Genesis are an allegory, and discredits a material heaven. As he finely says, 'the soul of man may be in heaven anywhere, even in the limits of his own proper body.' There is, in fact, a vein of high-minded scepticism running amid his sublime mysticism.



JOHN BUNYAN

From the portrait by T. Sadler in the National Portrait Gallery

JOHN BUNYAN

(1628-1688)

was born at Elstow in Bedfordshire, son of Thomas Bunyan and Margaret Bentley. The father came of an old but impoverished yeoman family and exercised the trade of tinker.

It is only from Bunyan's own works that we can gather any account of his early life, and it seems that, as in the case of most saintly souls who have experienced sudden and enduring conversions, much of this account should be received with caution. Such people are but too prone to exaggerate their own early wickedness, and Bunyan was no exception to the rule. But it is also quite plain that the humble tinker (for John followed his father's handicraft) made an impression upon his contemporaries as a preacher almost as great as that which he has made upon posterity as a writer. He seems to have had little schooling, and, in the strict sense of the word, no learning at all. He served in the Civil War when he was sixteen, though it is not quite certain in which army. He married his first wife at the age of twenty, and it was from her godly conversation that he dates the beginning of his own conversion, which proceeded steadily until he became a regular preacher at Bedford in 1657. In that capacity he at once acquired fame and travelled continually over the southern and eastern Midlands, occasionally exercising his handicraft of tinker, but probably healing more souls than he mended kettles. Even before the Restoration the 'authorities'—if indeed in 1658-9 there were any—had troubled him, and he had been indicted at the Assizes. From 1660 to 1672 he was almost continuously 'in prison', being committed for trial in November 1660, two years before the Corporation Act had been passed.

But such 'imprisonment' cannot have been very rigorous, for he was able to preach and to write much in Bedford county gaol, and was frequently outside its walls preaching, once at least in London. His first great work, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, was published during his short release in 1666. After this his confinement seems to have been more strict until his final release in 1672. He tells us that the *Pilgrim's Progress* was written in prison, but it was not published until 1678, when it at once attained a widespread popularity. It was the Second Declaration of Indulgence that finally set him free, and he received a formal pardon, which he could have obtained at any previous time if he would have promised to abstain from preaching; but this the sturdy Puritan refused to do.

He had now a regular licence to preach, and became pastor of the Congregation at Bedford, but he never ceased travelling and pouring forth tracts, allegories, and parables with his pen as well as his tongue. The *Holy War* was written in 1682 and the Second Part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* in 1684. Notwithstanding the revocation of the Indulgence in 1673, there is no real evidence that the Government ever again interfered with Bunyan, who frequently visited London and preached to large congregations. James II even made overtures to him in 1687. He died in London on the eve of the Revolution. His second wife, who had continuously exerted herself to obtain his release from 1660 onwards, died soon after him, but he left descendants from both his marriages.



RICHARD BANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery

Painter unknown

RICHARD BANCROFT

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

(1544-1610)

son of John Bancroft, a Lancashire gentleman, and Mary Curwen, was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, but migrated to Jesus, where he showed at first certain Puritan sympathies. These he soon abjured, and found an easy path to ecclesiastical distinction by becoming the inveterate enemy of Puritanism. He exhibited much zeal and some intolerance against the 'Marprelatists', and soon won the royal favour. When he became Bishop of London in 1597 he was already marked out to be Whitgift's successor at Canterbury, a position which he attained in 1604. At the Hampton Court conference his bigotry even led him to oppose the translation of the Bible because the proposal came from the Puritans, but he afterwards supported it warmly when it was sanctioned by King James. He is further distinguished for the compilation in 1604 of a coercive set of canons, which the Commons so far nullified that they have never been held binding upon laymen. He invented the 'ex animo' form of subscription to the Articles, which drove many good men from the Church, and attempted by his *Articles of Abuses* to free the ecclesiastical courts from the civil jurisdiction. Few men have incurred more hatred, and with less injustice. He was doubtless genuine in his beliefs, but his narrowness and vindictiveness did little honour and less good to the English Church, which he claimed to represent. His ideals were those of Becket, and his methods those of Laud.

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER

FIRST EARL OF SHAFTESBURY

(1621-1683)

was the eldest son of Sir John Cooper and of Anne Ashley, his father being one of the foremost gentry and largest landowners in Dorsetshire. After being educated by private tutors, Cooper in 1636 entered Exeter College, Oxford, where he became an excellent scholar, and already showed his powers of influencing others. When only eighteen he married Margaret, daughter of Lord Coventry, and settled down to the pursuits of a country gentleman, in which he always found constant delight. He failed to secure a seat in the Long Parliament, and did not attach himself to either party until 1643, when he joined Charles. His local influence gained him the presidency of the council of war for Dorsetshire, but in 1644 he suddenly went over to Parliament, thus exposing his estates to the Royalists who were then predominant in the western counties, and resigning considerable prospects of advancement. Until 1646 he took an active part in the fighting, but his profession of Presbyterianism excluded him from the Independent army. Consequently he lived quietly on his estates till 1653, when he began his political career as a member of the 'Barebones' Parliament. His desire for orderly government led him to support Cromwell against the extremists, but when the really autocratic character of the Protectorate became evident, Cooper threw himself into violent opposition, though Cromwell himself seems never to have borne any personal malice against him. Under Richard Cromwell he was equally hostile to the Government, but the charge brought against him of corre-



ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, FIRST EARL OF SHAFTESBURY
From the portrait by John Greenhill in the National Portrait Gallery

sponding with Charles II was utterly baseless. It was only natural, however, that he should finally assist Monck in promoting the Restoration. He was rewarded by a barony and by the chancellorship of the Exchequer in 1661. But he was far from being a mere subservient courtier. Though probably indifferent in religious matters himself, he desired toleration for all creeds, except Catholicism. Hence he at once appeared as an opponent of Clarendon's Ministry, and throughout his life he was the champion of the dissenters. At this period he also interested himself in the encouragement of colonial enterprise. Carolina owed its foundation and its constitution to him, the latter being drawn up at his request by John Locke, his one really intimate friend. In 1667 Cooper obtained office and proceeded to put his principles into practice. His desire to ensure English commercial supremacy induced him to sign the treaty of Dover, which was directed against Holland, but he was kept in ignorance of its more secret clauses, and especially of Charles's pledge to establish Catholicism in England. In 1673 he learnt something, though never the whole truth, about these secret articles. Though in high favour, and but newly created Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Chancellor, he at once prepared to thwart the King's designs. He vigorously supported the Test Act, sacrificing for the moment his views on toleration in the face of what he considered a national danger. Charles dismissed him at the first opportunity, and the lavish offers which he made a few days later could not induce Shaftesbury to change his opinions and resume office. Henceforth he devoted himself to opposition with a fierce energy which rapidly degenerated into shameless factiousness. He led the attacks on the Catholics and the Non-resistance Bill with great ability, but in 1676 a false move enabled Charles to imprison him in the Tower, where he remained for eighteen months and employed the leisure thus afforded him in reading history and political economy. Soon after his release the agitation about the Popish Plot commenced. Though he cannot have credited Oates's story, he fanned the flames

by every means in his power, and in March 1679 Charles was forced as a political move to restore him to office. Shaftesbury's constitutional and religious views were unaltered. He proposed a measure to relieve dissenters, he was the author of the Habeas Corpus Act, and he brought in the Exclusion Bill. His dismissal in October won him immense popularity. London was at his call, and he tried to use his power to replace James by Monmouth. Happily this was a blunder of the worst kind, and the violence of Shaftesbury and his party provoked a reaction. In July 1681 he was committed to the Tower for treason, but he was acquitted by the Grand Jury, which was the signal for great rejoicings among the populace, and for the scurrilous attacks of Dryden and other Court satirists. But it was clear to Shaftesbury that Charles meant to rule despotically, and that the best hope of liberty, both personal and constitutional, lay in rebellion. When the prospects of this grew more hopeless every day, he went into hiding at Wapping, but on November 28, 1682, he was forced to fly to Holland. His health had always been weak, and he suffered from an internal abscess which, in conjunction with gout, caused him to die in great agony on January 20 of the following year.

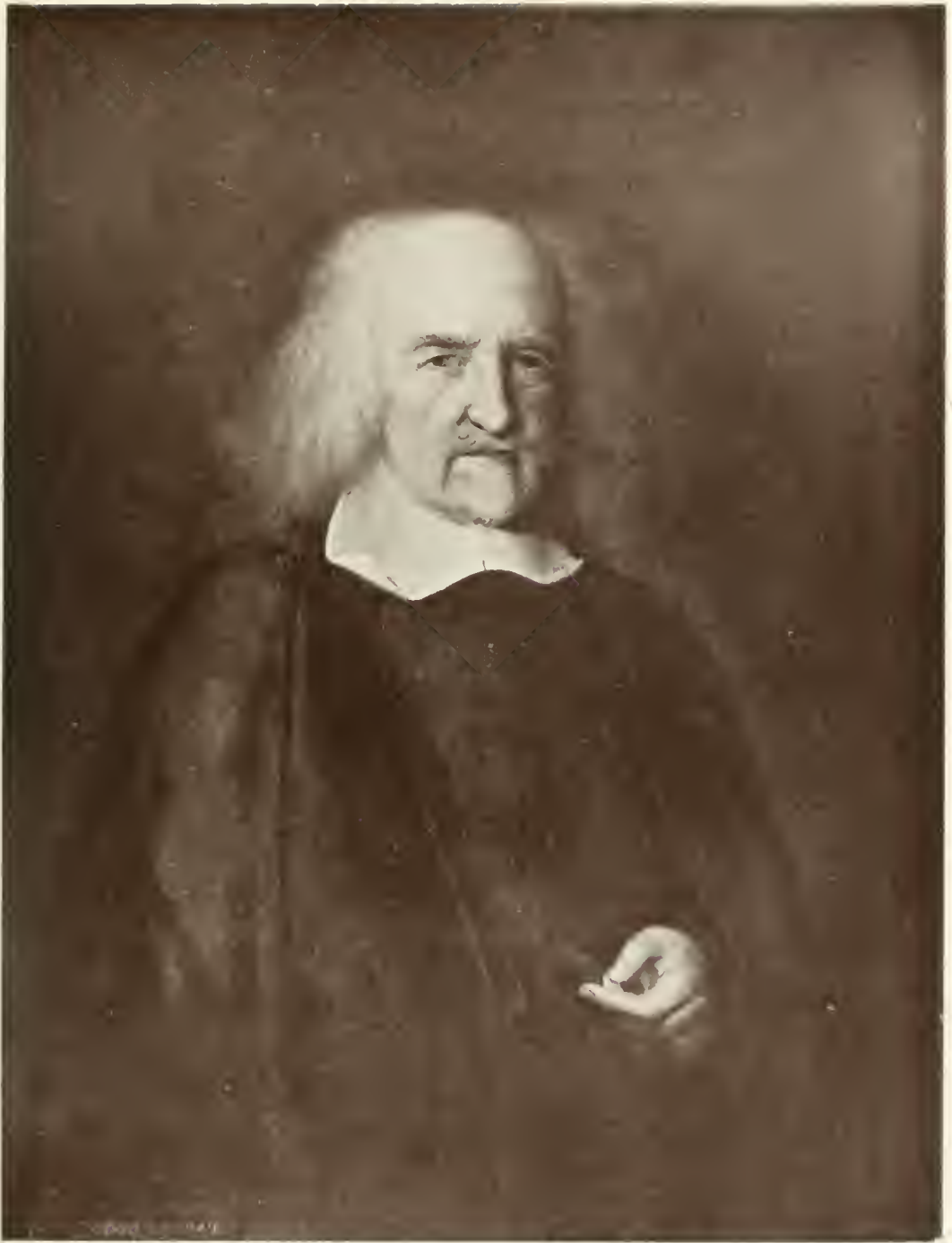
Few men have been more bitterly assailed during their lifetime, or more severely condemned by historians. It is indeed not easy to palliate Shaftesbury's early career of changing allegiances, which has won him the reputation for diabolical cunning, 'almost miraculous prescience,' and unscrupulous self-seeking. But this is a trifle compared to his later career—say from 1677 till his death, during which period he pressed into the service of the Whig party, of which he was the true founder, the passion of religious hatred and the London mob. The enduring gangrene of Parliamentary opposition for opposition's sake is due to him. Of corruption, indeed, we may unhesitatingly acquit him; being a very rich man he refused a huge bribe from Louis XIV; but it is difficult to acquit him of any other form of political vice. He is the founder of the party system, and few party leaders have excelled him in debating power or force of

character. His brilliance as a speaker was a symptom of his strong and acute intellect, which made him the constant associate of the greatest thinkers of his generation. In society he was famed for his wonderful quickness of repartee, as well as for his freedom from the fashionable vices of the day.

THOMAS HOBBS

(1588-1679)

was the son of Thomas Hobbes, vicar of Westport, Wiltshire. As his father was compelled to abscond for assaulting a neighbouring parson and died in obscurity, the boy was brought up by his uncle. He soon exhibited a taste for learning, and had translated Euripides' *Medea* into Latin Iambics before the age of fourteen. In 1603 he went to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, but seems to have preferred 'snaring jackdaws' to studying the scholastic philosophy still in vogue. After taking his degree, he became tutor to William Cavendish, whose companion and secretary he remained until his patron's death in 1628. In this capacity he travelled much on the Continent, and so came into contact with foreign thought; but he still retained his classical interests, and issued a translation of Thucydides (1629). He appears to have also acted as amanuensis to Bacon between 1621-6, but had little respect for the latter's philosophy. In 1634 he became tutor to his first pupil's eldest son, the third Earl of Devonshire, with whom he spent the next three years abroad. Here he formed friendships with Galileo, Gassendi, and especially with Mersenne, in whose circle he became acquainted with the speculative movement initiated by Descartes. His thoughts were thus turned into philosophical channels; he began to work out a theory of sensation, and to evolve a complete system, which he intended to publish in three parts, *De Corpore*, *De Homine*, and *De Cive*. At the outbreak of the Civil War, fearing the consequences of a political pamphlet which he had written, entitled *The Elements of Law, Natural and Politique*, he fled abroad. He remained in Paris, and for



THOMAS HOBBS

From the portrait by J. M. Wright in the National Portrait Gallery

a short time taught mathematics to Prince Charles ; he kept up a constant relationship with Descartes and Mersenne, until 1651 when he returned to England, and was driven by his political views to compose the *Leviathan*, which appeared in London in 1651. This however, brought him little favour, as his unorthodox religious opinions were distasteful both to the Puritans and to the Royalist divines, through whose influence he had already been forbidden the Court of Charles II. He was even charged with having written the book as a sop to Cromwell, mainly on the ground that he excuses those who had submitted and compounded for their estates—a fact easily intelligible, since his patron, the Earl of Devonshire, had taken this course. He was also accused of atheism and blasphemy, and achieved through the assaults of various ecclesiastics considerable fame as a heretic. The remainder of his life was accordingly spent in controversy with Dr. Bramhall, Wallis, and others, mainly upon religious questions. His reply to the former on the subject of Necessity is among the most vigorous and lucid of his philosophical writings. Unfortunately his moral and physical courage was unequal to his intellectual, and he was consequently in a constant state of apprehension. After the Restoration Charles II, who was pleased by his quickness of repartee, ensured him comparative repose on condition that he should publish no further books. Nevertheless in 1666 a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the question of Atheism and Profaneness with special reference to the *Leviathan*. This so alarmed Hobbes that he burnt all his papers and became a regular church-goer. At the time of his death he was the object of much respect and much vituperation, both at home and abroad, being, in fact, one of the intellectual leaders of his age.

Hobbes may be regarded as the founder of modern philosophy in England. Although he never reduced them to systematic form, all the materials which the eighteenth-century school used may be found in his works. In ethics his amiable cynicism made him the

forerunner of Utilitarianism, while on metaphysical questions his bent was partly mathematical, partly psychological, and he first outlined the associationist theory of ideas. In both these respects, as well as in his tendency to confound logic with psychology, he is the intellectual father of the empiricist school. It is, however, as a political theorist that he is most widely known. His relentless logic, his rare flashes of humour, and his trenchant English style make his restatement of the contractual origin of society, although carried to an absurd conclusion, at least difficult to refute. The ingenuity with which he adapts his argument to support his political convictions is remarkable, and it says much for the piety of the Royalists that they could reject on religious grounds such an able champion of absolutism. Modern political speculation may be said to date from Hobbes, for though the doctrines of the State of Nature and Natural Law had existed in the Middle Ages, he first put them into modern shape. In private life his tastes were simple, though not austere. He was fond of exercise, and, though usually temperate both in eating and drinking, claimed to have been drunk a hundred times in the course of his long life. Pleasant, witty, timid, irascible, the intimate friend of many of the best men of his time, he was, indeed, a very human philosopher.

JAMES II OF ENGLAND AND VII OF SCOTLAND

(1633-1701)

was the second son of Charles I and of Henrietta Maria. After his christening he was made Duke of York. His youth was stormy and adventurous. After being nearly captured at Edgehill, he was, at the surrender of Oxford (June 24, 1646), handed over to the Parliamentary Commissioners and was taken to London, where he was closely guarded. After two futile attempts, he succeeded in escaping to Holland (April 20, 1648), disguised as a woman. The next three years he spent in France and the Low Countries, and ultimately took service in Turenne's army in 1652. In the war against the Fronde, his gallantry won him much distinction and promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general. Charles II, however, cut short his military career by forcing him to retire from the French service. James exchanged it for that of Spain, and fought against the French and English in Flanders, until the news of Cromwell's death again revived the hope of a Stuart restoration. He returned to England as Lord High Admiral, and on September 3, 1660, publicly celebrated his marriage to Anne Hyde, to whom he had been secretly contracted the year before. The marriage was unpopular, but in spite of his numerous infidelities, Anne acquired a strong influence over James. His chief interest was in the Navy, and though he was perhaps a better administrator than Admiral at sea, when war broke out with Holland in 1665 he took command of the fleet. On June 3, he met Opdam off Lowestoft, and after

a stubborn fight, in which James displayed much courage, defeated him, but through slackness in pursuit failed to gain a crushing victory. The blame for the Dutch raid up the Medway, although often attributed to him, rested really with the civilians who had advised the King to lay up his big ships in harbour (1667). James's subsequent victory over de Ruyter off Southwold (May 28, 1672) did something to retrieve his reputation. Later in the year, however, his connexion with the Navy ceased. He had recently been converted to Catholicism, and preferred resignation to taking the Anglican test. Meanwhile Anne Hyde had died and James further increased his unpopularity by marrying Mary Beatrice of Modena, a devout and earnest Roman Catholic (September 30, 1673). His sympathies with Louis XIV's policy were also notorious, and he was assailed fiercely by Shaftesbury and his followers. Eventually the public animosity produced by the Oates 'revelations' forced him to retire to Holland (March 1679), and, even after Charles had frustrated a Bill for excluding him from the succession to the Crown, James had to be kept out of the way as High Commissioner for Scotland, where he administered the Scottish Test Act with the utmost harshness. In England the violence of two successive Parliaments intent on the Exclusion Bill had in the meanwhile produced a reaction, so that when he finally returned to London in 1682, his political influence was considerable. The Rye House Plot further strengthened it, and by 1684 he had gained a certain amount of ascendancy over the King. James was thus encouraged on his own accession to over-estimate his popularity. Parliament was indeed loyal, and there was strong aversion to the prospect of a civil war. Had James refrained from an aggressively Catholic policy, his throne would never have been threatened. Nothing but his own folly in cutting away the props which supported it caused its sudden overthrow. The suppression of two rebellions in his first year, those of Argyll and Monmouth, still further strengthened his position. The stern measures of repression taken against the latter in



JAMES II WHEN DUKE OF YORK
From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely at St. James's Palace

the West of England did nothing to weaken it, although there is good evidence that James personally urged the judges to exercise extreme severity. But two successive 'Declarations of Indulgence' to the dissenters infuriated the Churchmen, hitherto his best supporters, while all classes alike were alarmed by the Catholic appointments in the Army and at the Universities, as well as by the claim to suspend and to dispense with laws, which suggested a revival of despotism. James even blindly neglected his one possible alliance, that with Louis XIV, which would have been valuable, though unpopular. Nevertheless the nation would perhaps have borne longer with him but for the birth of the Prince of Wales in the summer of 1688. The Queen had often been with child before, but her children had all been still-born or had died in infancy. So every one pretended to believe that the innocent young Prince was a supposititious child brought into the Palace by a Jesuit in a warming-pan. An invitation was at once secretly dispatched to William of Orange, as the husband of Mary, heiress of England, to come to the rescue of the Protestant religion and the Parliamentary Constitution. With characteristic obstinacy James refused to recognize the growth of discontent, or to appreciate the real danger of the Dutch invasion, which was known to be imminent in September 1688. At length he tried to repair his former mistakes, but it was already too late. William landed on November 6. Even then prompt action would almost certainly have been successful, but James dallied, and disaffection spread. Just at the moment when the King had advanced to Salisbury to take command of his troops, he was seized by a violent bleeding at the nose, and retired to London. There he was quickly deserted by every one and at length fled from Sheppey on December 11, but his ship was boarded by a mob of fishermen, who detained him for two days under arrest. He returned to London for twenty-four hours on the 16th, but was sent back to Rochester, whence he again fled on the 23rd and reached France. With the aid of Louis XIV he landed in Ireland the next year, but he was irresolute

and dilatory, and was finally defeated on the Boyne (July 1, 1690). He schemed for an invasion of England in 1692, but the rout of the French fleet at La Hogue ruined his hopes. Henceforth he devoted himself to rigorous religious exercises, variegated by fruitless intrigues and attempts to assassinate William, and finally died at Saint-Germain in the odour of sanctity at the age of sixty-eight.

The most salient feature of his character was his devotion to the new Jesuitical form of his adopted religion. In this he never swerved, even under the strongest pressure, and he may almost be called the Jesuits' ideal King. Indeed, he was not wanting either in moral or physical courage. He had the obstinacy of his family, but lacked decision at a crisis. He was cruel and revengeful, qualities which were found in no other scion of his race. His private life was marked by an immorality even more shameless and more tasteless than that of Charles, but, except to Mary, he was an affectionate father, and to his second wife a kind husband. In business he was capable and industrious, and wrote with force and facility. Without possessing any of the qualities of greatness, he might yet have reigned peaceably and respectably, but for his own perverseness of judgement and short-sighted enthusiasm.

JAMES FITZROY

DUKE OF MONMOUTH

(1649-1685)

believed to be the natural son of Charles II and Lucy Walters, was born in Holland of a thoroughly bad mother; that he was the King's son at all rested principally upon that mother's word, but he was recognized by Charles as early as 1662, and grew up into a very handsome favourite and courtier. He was created Duke of Monmouth in 1663 and was married to Anne Scott, Countess of Buccleuch, whereupon he added the title of Duke of Buccleuch to that of Monmouth. This Lady Anne was 'the Duchess' of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, who

In pride of power, in beauty's bloom
Had wept o'er Monmouth's bloody tomb.

There were some disgraceful acts imputed to Monmouth during his youth; on the whole, however, he passed for a 'good fellow' of a kindly disposition and no special ambitions. But the childlessness of Queen Katharine, coupled with Charles II's real affection for Monmouth, began to suggest to the opponents of the Duke of York to put about the story that there had been a real marriage between the King and the abandoned Mrs. Lucy; that the Duke was legitimate, or, if not legitimate, should and could be legitimized. To do the King justice he refused even to play with such a suggestion; and, from 1678 till 1681, it became almost a duel between Charles and Lord Shaftesbury whether there should or should not be an 'Exclusion Bill' to keep the Duke of York from the succession in favour of the Duke of

Monmouth. The latter was only too facile a tool of Shaftesbury and the advanced Whigs: he affected extreme Protestant views, professed a belief in the Popish plot, and made tours, which looked too much like Royal progresses, through Whiggish counties, on one occasion even going so far as to 'touch' for the 'King's evil'. On the other hand, when in 1679 he was entrusted by Charles with the task of putting down a rebellion of the Covenanters in Scotland, he did it well and made his success better by the mercy he showed to his prisoners.

But after his triumph over Shaftesbury and the Whigs in 1681 Charles turned a colder and colder side to Monmouth, and at last had him arrested for his alleged share in the Rye House Plot. In his father's last year the Duke escaped to Holland, where he was at first well received by William. Plotters, both English and Scottish, Whiggish and Republican, buzzed around the unhappy young man as soon as James became King, Ferguson and Lord Grey of Wark being the ringleaders; and at last he was induced to attempt to vindicate by arms, if not his title to the English Crown, at least his design to give England a Protestant Government. The Earl of Argyll, without much previous understanding with Monmouth, was just starting to raise Scotland with a similar cry against King James.

It was with less than a hundred followers that the hare-brained expedition, under a weak and inconstant leader, landed at Lyme Regis on June 11, 1685. Monmouth put out a declaration against his uncle's 'tyranny' and popery, but left the question of his own 'rights' to the decision of a free Parliament. He was at once attainted. But the Wessex peasants flocked to the 'Protestant Duke's' standard, and soon after he reached Taunton he had seven thousand men under arms. His first objective was Bristol or Bath, for the line of the Avon or the Kennet offered the best chance of an advance upon London; but he had no serious chance of taking either town, and, being obliged to fall back towards Bridgwater, was utterly routed



JAMES FITZROY, DUKE OF MONMOUTH
From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the
National Portrait Gallery

at Sedgemoor by Lords Feversham and Churchill (afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough) upon July 5. Monmouth fled from the field and three days after the battle was caught in hiding on the borders of the New Forest. When a prisoner he lost heart and begged for his life. King James was not by nature a merciful man, and there was nothing in his nephew's career which inclined him to mercy. The Duke was executed on July 15.

GEORGE JEFFREYS

FIRST BARON JEFFREYS

(1648-1689)

was the son of John Jeffreys of Denbighshire and of Mary Ireland. After being educated at Shrewsbury, St. Paul's, Westminster, and Trinity College, Cambridge, he entered the Inner Temple in 1663. He had many qualities which ensured him success at the bar; his tongue was ready and incisive, his skin was thick, his manner formidable. At the same time he tempered his audacity with a timely subservience to men in high places, whereby he obtained a knighthood and became Solicitor-General to the Duke of York in 1677. His violence against those accused by Titus Oates gained him the Chief-Justiceship of Chester in 1680, where he was reputed to behave 'more like a jack-pudding than with that gravity which beseems a judge'. In accordance with his judicious motto, 'A Deo rex: a rege lex,' he became a zealous 'Abhorrer', and was reprimanded by the Commons. He was active in pressing the Quo Warranto writ against the City corporation, and prosecuted Lord Russell with his usual vehemence of invective, for which services he was made Lord Chief Justice (Sept. 1683), in spite of Charles's distaste for his truculent impudence. He became Lord Chief Justice in 1683 and condemned Algernon Sidney for high treason, after conducting the trial with a complete disregard for fairness. He displayed his wonted coarseness in his trial of Baxter. But it would be difficult to prove that he violated, though he undoubtedly strained the law in many cases which came before him.



JAMES GRAHAM, FIRST MARQUIS OF
MONTROSE

From the miniature by Samuel Cooper belonging
to the Duke of Buccleuch (enlarged
from original)



GEORGE, FIRST BARON JEFFREYS

From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the
National Portrait Gallery



JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

From the portrait at All Souls College, Oxford
Painter unknown



SIR WILLIAM WILLIAMS

From a copy of a contemporary miniature, which was
destroyed in a fire at Wynnstay; belonging to Lady
Verney, at Plas Rhoscolwyn, Anglesey

He became Baron Jeffreys soon after the accession of James (May 15, 1685). The City of London and legal patronage were alike under his control. Finally he presided in the Special Commission, called the Bloody Assize, to try Monmouth's supporters in the Western counties, through which his name has become infamous. Its cruelty and the number of its victims have been grossly exaggerated, and it is clear that the King urged the judge to greater severities. Jeffreys returned from the West a far wealthier man than he had been, and, though only thirty-seven, was made Lord Chancellor and in 1686 Head of the Ecclesiastical Commission; in this he presided over the proceedings against the Fellows of Magdalen in 1687, and advised the arrest of the Seven Bishops. Learning of James's flight, he hid himself on a ship in the disguise of a sailor, but incontinently went ashore in order to drink, and was detected at the 'Red Cow' in Wapping. After a narrow escape from lynching, he was taken before the Lord Mayor, who fainted at the sight of him, and he was then confined in the Tower, where his health gave way as the result of his imprisonment added to the effects of habitual drinking.

In civil cases his judgements were just and unusually able, but where political interests were involved, he was guided by no considerations but those of his own advancement. His speech was scurrilous and telling, his wit coarse, and his nature brutal and unscrupulous.

JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

(1613-1667)

was the son of Nathaniel Taylor, a Cambridge barber, and Mary Dean. He was educated at Caius College, where he was sizar and afterwards Fellow. After he had taken orders his eloquent preaching won him the favour of Laud, who with some difficulty procured his admission as a Fellow of All Souls at Oxford in 1636. Taylor made himself famous at his new University by his casuistical discourses, and by a fierce attack on popish recusants. During the Civil War he was for a time a chaplain in the King's army, but, after the defeat of Charles, he retired to Wales, where the best known of his works were written—*Liberty of Prophesying*, *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*. Until 1658 he underwent some persecution for his episcopalian views besides much personal affliction, but in that year he accepted a benefice at Portmore in Ireland. There he found himself in constant antagonism to the Presbyterian settlers. His labours and his troubles were only increased by his preferment in 1661 to the bishopric of Down, where he was unable to conciliate the bigotry of the sectarians; and it is to be feared that he made too little effort to do so. Thoroughly disheartened by the consciousness of failure, he died of a fever at Lisburn, and was buried at Dromore. A man of a lovable and courteous disposition, of great learning but no deep philosophic insight, he is now chiefly remembered for his devotional books, which his eloquent style, striking imagination, and chastened piety have made immortal.

SIR WILLIAM WILLIAMS

(1634-1700)

was the son of Dr. Hugh Williams, rector of Llantrisant, and Emma Dolben. After an Oxford career as a scholar of Jesus College, he entered Gray's Inn, and was called to the bar in 1658. He soon obtained a large local practice, and steered his way successfully to the Recordership of Chester, which he obtained in 1667. His ambitions then expanding, he entered Parliament eight years later, where he soon pushed himself forward as an upholder of Parliamentary privilege. His services as an advocate were also useful to his party in political trials, where he met his match in Jeffreys, the recognized champion of the Court. For a time Williams prospered. In 1680 he was chosen Speaker, in which capacity he dealt with some of the leading 'abhorrrers' in a most violent and high-handed fashion. The King tried to silence his bold and telling speeches by means of a bribe, but this Williams refused, perhaps because his party was still high in popular favour (1680). When Parliament was finally dissolved, Williams again returned to the bar and took a leading part in most of the important political cases. As these were usually tried by Jeffreys, who treated Williams with ill-mannered severity, a lively enmity sprang up between them. Williams was now on the losing side. In 1684 he was deprived of his Recordership, and at Jeffreys's instigation an information was brought against him for licensing Dangerfield's libellous anti-papist *Narratives*. The case came on in 1686, when Williams was no longer a Member of Parliament, his return having been disallowed. In defiance of privilege he was fined £10,000, and, as the Commons had not shielded him, Williams

by the most shameless *volte-face* decided to change his allegiance. In 1687 the King made him Solicitor-General, and next year entrusted him with the prosecution of the Seven Bishops, promising that he should replace Jeffreys as Lord Chancellor if he succeeded. His fruitless efforts earned him a baronetcy and excessive unpopularity. The crowd broke his windows and 'reflecting inscriptions' were written over his door. But seeing that the tide was turning and King James's cause in danger, he refrained from further violence, and began once more to affect great zeal for the Whig cause, when elected to William's first Parliament. Though one of the framers of the Bill of Rights, he was deprived of his office, and though subsequently returned again to Parliament, he was never prominent, but continued his legal practice until his death. As a lawyer, he was a forcible and persuasive speaker, endowed with both knowledge and industry; as a politician, his two rapid changes of front in the space of two years can be by no ingenuity glossed over. He was in fact, like his opponent Jeffreys, little better than a Welsh knave.

JOHN TILLOTSON

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

(1630-1694)

was the son of Robert Tillotson, a well-to-do cloth-worker in Halifax, and Mary Dobson. After being educated at grammar schools in Colne and Halifax, he went to Clare Hall, Cambridge, as a pensioner in 1647. There he does not seem to have fallen under the prevalent influence of the Cambridge Platonists, then led by Cudworth, but to have rather inclined to the severe tenets of Calvinism. Without becoming an accomplished scholar, he acquired a great facility in speaking Latin, and was elected to a Fellowship in 1651. After five years of further residence at Cambridge he went to London, where a gradual change came over his religious views, largely due to Chillingworth's book, the *Religion of Protestants*. Shortly after the Restoration he took orders, but, though a member of the English Church, he still retained some Nonconformist scruples on questions of observance. To preaching he paid special attention, and his sermons soon attracted large audiences. After holding several appointments in and near London, he obtained the preachingship at Lincoln's Inn. Charles II, with his usual insight, perceived that Tillotson's preaching was likely to be useful in winning over dissenters, and signified his approbation accordingly. In 1663 Tillotson married Elizabeth French, who was the step-daughter of his friend John Wilkins, and whose mother, Robina Cromwell, was sister of the Protector. In the following year he preached a notable sermon entitled 'The Wisdom of being Religious', in which the true tendency of his teaching became

manifest. Its basis was reason rather than authority, and starting from this point of view Tillotson developed an attack on Catholicism, which he embodied in his *Rule of Faith*, published in 1666. In the same year, after taking the degree of D.D., he was appointed chaplain to Charles II; but his sermons against Popery did not altogether please the King, while they drove the Duke of York from the royal chapel altogether. In 1672 Tillotson was appointed to the Deanery of Canterbury. Nothing shows his honesty and sincerity more clearly than his dealings with the Nonconformists at this period, and indeed throughout his life. In conjunction with Baxter, he drew up a scheme for the comprehension of Nonconformists within the Church, but was compelled to drop it on account of the displeasure of the King and the uncompromising attitude of many of the bishops. Opposition from the great had no influence on his convictions, yet he maintained the doctrine of passive obedience, except 'in the case of a total subversion of the constitution', when he deemed resistance justifiable on the ground that the Protestant religion was bound up with the established Government. From civil politics he held completely aloof, and to this fact the little notice taken of his broad opinions is probably due. From time to time an unguarded statement from the pulpit was seized upon by the theological harpies who were always on the watch for the least suggestion of unorthodoxy, but on the whole Tillotson was comparatively immune from controversy. During the troubled reign of James II he lived inactive and undisturbed, though he gladly welcomed the accession of William. One of his first actions was to convene a meeting to consider concessions to the dissenters, and the Toleration Act was partly due to his efforts. This was to be supplemented by a Comprehension Bill, designed to allow such latitude of subscription and observance as to bring many Nonconformists within the fold of the Church. But this Bill was successfully wrecked by the Commons, who referred it to Convocation; and Convocation refused to yield an inch in spite of Tillotson's strenuous



JOHN TILLOTSON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
From the portrait by Mary Beale in the National Portrait Gallery

advocacy. The new King on his arrival in London had suspended Sancroft from the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and it was his intention that Tillotson should succeed him, but the latter was reluctant and pleaded for delay. He was finally consecrated on May 31, 1691. His short primacy was only marked by his warm friendship for Queen Mary, who took his advice as to all the ecclesiastical patronage of the Crown, and by the publication of his four lectures on Socinianism, which evoked a bitter attack from Nye on account of their moderate tone. On November 18, 1694, the Archbishop was stricken by paralysis in Whitehall Chapel, and died four days later.

His life and character present an agreeable contrast to those of most divines of his age, and he may be called the Ken of the Low Church party. Tillotson was sincerely religious, but his fair and temperate mind was naturally averse to dogmatic strife. He is even reported to have said of the Athanasian Creed, 'I wish we were well rid of it,' since the theological wranglings which it aroused seemed to him to obscure the essential truth and meaning of religion. Personally he was generous, frank, and sympathetic, little given to resentment, though very sensitive of injury. The style of his sermons was a great advance on the ponderous and involved language then usual in such discourses, and they afforded Sunday reading for the pious minds of several generations.

JOHN GRAHAM

OF CLAVERHOUSE, VISCOUNT DUNDEE

(1649-1689)

was the son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse and Madeline Carnegie, and of the same family as the great Marquis of Montrose, whose fame he emulated. He evidently received, at the University of St. Andrews, an education above the common, and he retained much interest in polite learning throughout his career. We do not know when or under whom he first saw military service abroad, but he was certainly fighting with William of Orange against France in 1674, and perhaps earlier. He left that service in 1678, with a special recommendation from William to James, Duke of York, and at once got a commission as a lieutenant in the Scottish Horse-Guards, who were about to be employed in putting down the insurgent Covenanters. That Claverhouse executed his orders in this task with unflinching severity we may well believe; that he exceeded them or that he rejoiced in executing them there is no evidence except that of Covenanting legend. He was defeated in a skirmish at Drumclog and victorious at Bothwell Brig, 1679. He was made Sheriff of Wigtown and Sheriff-depute of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, and in this capacity he incurred the hostility of the great Galloway family of the Dalrymples and compelled the head thereof to flee to Holland (1683), where he began to hatch the Scottish side of the Revolution which was to come five years later. In the same year, 1683, Claverhouse obtained a seat in the Scottish Privy Council, but his position there was none too secure. The 'family feud' in



JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE, FIRST VISCOUNT DUNDEE
From the portrait belonging to Miss Leslie Melville

Scotland was by no means a thing of the past, and the Grahams had many enemies, such as the Douglasses, always on the look out to trip them up. This perhaps explains the unquestioning allegiance of Claverhouse, a firm Protestant, to the cause of King James, when that King was at his worst and that cause at its nadir.

When James, with his usual want of sense, stripped Scotland of all royal soldiers, Claverhouse had to march away to Salisbury, in command of the Scottish cavalry; there he was created Viscount Dundee, and, when James fell back on London and most of his army deserted him, Dundee's troopers remained faithful; Dundee and Balcarres, alone of Scots, implored the King to be firm and to throw himself on the loyalty of Scotland, but in vain. All but fifty horse of Dundee's own regiment were disbanded, and with these he rode to Edinburgh and took his seat in the Convention, in spite of his extreme danger from the swarms of west-country Whigs who had poured into the capital.

Finding that there was nothing to be done there for his master, and failing in an attempt to surprise Stirling, the Viscount retired to the Highlands, where the memories of Montrose and the magic of the name of Graham quickly raised an efficient force of the fighting clans on behalf of King James. With great skill Dundee drew William's General Mackay after him, fought and defeated him in the desperate battle of Killiecrankie, and fell himself in the moment of victory.

JAMES GRAHAM
FIFTH EARL AND FIRST MARQUIS OF
MONTROSE

(1612-1650)

was the son of John, fourth Earl, and Lady Margaret Ruthven. He early became an adept at all forms of sport, and after first studying under a tutor at Glasgow, went to St. Andrew's immediately after his father's death in 1627. Here he lived like the average gentleman of his age, which implied the acquisition of some degree of classical culture. Though he had little time to indulge in intellectual pursuits, Montrose was always a fair scholar and something of a poet. At the age of eighteen he married Magdalen Carnegie, and in 1633 he made the usual grand tour on the Continent, to complete his education. On his return in 1636 he found the struggle against Episcopacy already begun, and it was not in his impulsive nature to avoid taking part. His choice of the Covenanting side has, however, caused much controversy as to his motives. His reception by Charles I had been cold, and this was ascribed to the influence of the Marquis of Hamilton, who was notoriously hostile to Montrose. Yet since the latter did not openly support the Covenanting movement till the end of 1637, it is improbable that personal pique was his only ground. As he said in his last defence, 'Bishops I care not for them.' He may well have thought that the Covenant was directed against a great evil without in any way implying disloyalty to the King, though when war broke out this interpretation became somewhat subtle. Still Montrose acted with characteristic vigour, and

soon obtained a prominent position. In the first Bishops' War he showed his military capacity by twice taking Aberdeen and by saving Edinburgh from the royal fleet, but before war again broke out, he had an interview with Charles I at Berwick, which altered his whole career (June 1639). Thenceforth he was no longer trusted by the Covenanters, and his actions furnished ample grounds for their suspicions. How far he was persuaded by Charles's personal influence, how far by his political convictions and private motives, is difficult to determine. The King had given assurances through Hamilton that Episcopacy was abolished, and it became increasingly evident that Argyll was aiming at a dictatorship in Scotland. Montrose therefore formed the Cumbernauld Bond with Mar, Almond, and Erskine to frustrate Argyll's designs, but so far from openly declaring for the King, he remained with the Covenanting army. On the conclusion of the Treaty of Ripon, matters soon reached a crisis. The Bond was discovered, together with a letter from Montrose to the King found hidden in his messenger's saddle. Montrose was arrested, and from prison he again wrote to Charles offering to prove some one (Hamilton was not doubtfully indicated) a traitor. Clarendon's story that he also offered to kill Argyll and Hamilton is almost certainly false, but for some reason these two suddenly fled from Edinburgh (Oct. 11, 1641). There was great excitement and a Parliamentary inquiry, but no evidence being to hand, Montrose was finally released. He was now trusted by neither side, but when the Solemn League and Covenant was signed (Sept. 25, 1643), the disloyalty of the Covenanters was at last clear, and Montrose's wild scheme for raising a Royalist army in Scotland obtained sanction. In April 1644 he fearlessly crossed the Border with some 1,000 men, but the majority deserted, and he had to retire to Carlisle. He did not despair. With two friends he traversed the enemy's country in the disguise of a groom, and reached the Highlands. Here he gathered a motley army, composed partly of Irishmen with one round apiece for their muskets, partly of clansmen armed only with claymores. He had neither cavalry nor

guns. With this force he routed the Covenanters at Tippermuir (Sept. 1), almost without loss. Perth fell, and on the 12th, after another victory, he sacked Aberdeen—the one blot on his career, though hardly to be prevented with such a following. The campaign, however, was practically fruitless. His troops melted away with their booty, and when he rallied them again in December, they insisted on ravaging Argyllshire, the home of the Campbells. The story of 1645 is very similar. After taking Dundee, he only extricated himself from a critical position by a brilliant retreat. He won victories at Auldearn and at Alford through his own generalship and the irresistible courage of his men. Finally he marched south, and after crushing Argyll at Kilsyth (Aug. 15), took Glasgow. At this point, however, his army began steadily to disband itself. Aboyne withdrew in jealousy, and the Macdonalds retired to harry the Campbells. Montrose therefore reached Kelso, on his way to join Charles, with a force reduced to a few hundred men. David Leslie, a good and experienced general, hurried to attack him with tenfold strength. For once Montrose, partly through treachery, partly through negligence, was surprised. His army, though fighting desperately, was cut to pieces at Philiphaugh (Sept. 13) and he himself scarcely escaped to France. Abroad he found more honour among foreigners than gratitude among the Royalist exiles, of whom Elizabeth of Bohemia alone appreciated his great qualities. Although Charles II granted his request to be allowed to avenge the execution of his father by a fresh invasion of Scotland, he did not hesitate to betray Montrose in the Treaty of Breda in order to further his own ends with Argyll. But the venture was always hopeless. Montrose crossed from the Orkneys with a few Germans and some raw levies, but found no support. His force was routed, and after three days' flight he was taken in Sutherlandshire. The hatred with which he was regarded by the extreme party in Scotland was unbounded. The epithets of butcher, plunderer, traitor, which the Covenanters, regardless of their own brutalities, had hurled at him, were on every tongue. He was

led through Edinburgh in triumph, and sentenced to be hanged and quartered. Yet his dignity and courage, both before his judges and on the scaffold, won him the grudging respect even of his foes. He died a victim to his own passionate loyalty, with him almost a religion. With his unwavering devotion, his boundless daring, and his military genius, he represents the height of heroism and romance which royalism was capable of inspiring.

WILLIAM III

(1650 1702)

was the posthumous and only child of William II, Prince of Orange, and Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I. His early years were overshadowed by the jealousy of the republican party under John de Witt, whose main object was to diminish, and ultimately to abolish, the power of the Stadtholderate. They maintained a close watch over William, lest he should make use of the affection of the common people to overthrow the ruling oligarchy. Surrounded by enemies and even deprived of his confidential servants, William learnt to hide his emotions under a mask of impenetrable and frigid reserve. His intellect, too, was stimulated to premature development, so that he had acquired a habit of calm, resolute judgement when still a boy. Being haunted by political cares from his cradle, he had time neither for education nor amusement. His only exceptional knowledge was of modern languages, while to artistic or other intellectual pleasures he was completely insensible. His only real delight was in hunting or in war. By the courage and firmness which he displayed in his first campaign against France (1672), he ruined de Witt's schemes. The outburst of patriotic enthusiasm evoked by his action enabled William to re-establish the Stadtholderate with all its prerogatives on a solid foundation; he became Captain-General and Admiral-General of all Dutch forces, and henceforth his life was devoted to a crusade against the ambitions of France. For five years he maintained his first struggle against Louis XIV with invincible determination. Without being a great general and though devoid of military training, William fought veterans like



WILLIAM III

From the portrait after William Wissing belonging to the
Duke of Portland, K.G., at Welbeck

Condé with no little success. His personal courage bordered on temerity, and, though he was often beaten, his coolness and stubbornness in defeat always robbed his enemies of the fruits of their victories. When peace was signed at Nimeguen (1678), he had kept the possessions of his people intact, though he had not obtained the favourable terms for which his marriage with Mary of York in the previous year had led him to hope. To his father-in-law, James II, he behaved with complete honesty. The rebellions of Argyll and Monmouth William hindered by every means in his power; indeed, the success of either would have been fatal to his wife's chance of succession to the English throne, which as far back as 1680 had been hailed by all good Protestants and patriots as the hope of the future. But when James's Catholic policy stood revealed, William opposed it openly, both as a good Protestant and as the enemy of Louis XIV. From the beginning of 1687 onwards he received frequent appeals from England, and in July 1688 he finally resolved to accept the invitation to interfere. On October 19, he sailed with 14,000 men, and, after being delayed by a storm, landed on November 5 at Torbay. His intention was to establish a government favourable to his own and hostile to French interests, but the unlooked-for flight of James left the throne vacant. William refused to be his wife's 'gentleman usher', and was therefore chosen to rule jointly with her. Though the centre of gravity of his dominions had now changed, the preservation of the United Provinces from French aggression still occupied the chief place in his thoughts, and it must be sadly confessed that, great man as he was, he was never a real English King. For a time his attention was diverted by James's appearance in Ireland, and after gaining a complete victory on the Boyne, William bent all his efforts to make effectual his Grand Alliance against Louis. From 1691 to 1697 he was intent on the French War. Each summer he fought in the Low Countries with his wonted pertinacity and his wonted ill luck, leaving Mary to govern with a factious council; each winter

he returned to England only in order to obtain fresh supplies from Parliament. This division of labour was not infelicitous since the English people disliked the King's austere manners and foreign origin, but had much affection for the Queen. Hence Mary's death on December 28, 1694, besides causing him the most poignant grief, greatly enhanced William's difficulties in England. With the aid of the Whigs, he was able to carry through the war to a fairly successful conclusion at Ryswick (September 1697), but the popularity of the peace was soon nullified by the King's proposal to maintain the army on a war-footing. He was forced to yield to its reduction to infinitesimal limits, and towards the end of his reign the Tories harassed him incessantly. In 1700 opened the question of succession to the vast inheritance of the Spanish Monarchy, and it was obvious that England would again be forced to play a leading part in Europe. But the Tory majority in the Commons was little inclined to uphold William's warlike attitude against France, until the acknowledgement of the title of young James III by Louis XIV brought about a strong revulsion of feeling. Loyal addresses poured in, but, just as the war, which was to achieve his cherished ambitions, began, William died. His iron will had already prolonged his life beyond the span usually allotted to such a frail constitution, and a severe fall from his horse finally exhausted his strength. He was buried at night without pomp in Westminster Abbey (April 12, 1702).

Until Macaulay's history was written, William's greatness was scarcely recognized. Since that time his heroic qualities as a man have been appreciated, and his significance as an English King perhaps exaggerated. The main objects of his policy were always Dutch, but for this very reason he gave England an importance in Continental affairs unknown since the days of Elizabeth. At home William's rule might have been beneficent, in spite of the stain left upon his name by the Massacre of Glencoe, but for his profound indifference to domestic questions so far as they did not affect his Continental schemes. Thus he saw without a blush of shame the development

in all its baleful virulence of the party system which has gone on increasing, to the unspeakable loss of Great Britain, ever since. His personal character was concealed by the veil of his taciturnity. By nature passionate, and with one or two warm friends, he repressed all outward emotion, just as he repressed physical weakness, to serve the cause to which he devoted his life, the destruction of the French power. He was uniformly unfaithful to his sweet and saintly wife, and the knowledge of her continual forbearance no doubt deepened his grief at her death. But the truth is that he never valued her while she lived and often scolded her heartlessly.

MARY II

(1662-1694)

was the elder daughter of James, Duke of York, and Anne Hyde. Her father was compelled by his political position to bring her up as a Protestant, and from her training under Bishop Compton she imbibed those strong religious convictions and sentiments which came to form the key-note of her character. In other respects her education was somewhat neglected, and it was not until after her marriage that she began to develop her mind. When she was but ten years of age the question of a match with William of Orange was mooted, and after various vicissitudes the project was definitely accepted in 1677. On hearing that her father had yielded his assent, Mary 'wept all that afternoon and the following day', but the wedding was duly celebrated on November 4. William regarded it from a purely business point of view. He made little pretence of affection for his wife, and had little leisure to devote to her company. Hence Mary, during the first years of her married life, led a lonely existence in her Dutch palaces, and it was in this solitude that her strong character formed itself. For politics she had no taste. Though not averse to gaiety, she found no permanent satisfaction in frivolous pleasures. Of her husband's company she enjoyed little, since he openly acknowledged Elizabeth Villiers, one of Mary's maids of honour, as his mistress. The princess was therefore thrown back on religion as a solace for her domestic unhappiness and as an occupation fitting the serious bent of her nature. By dint of theological study she became able to give a very creditable account of her deep and sincere faith, so that when James wrote to her a very shallow



MARY II

From the portrait by William Wissing in the National Portrait Gallery

letter setting forth in stereotyped phrases the reasons which had led him to adopt Catholicism, Mary was able to answer him with considerable assurance and incisiveness. At the same time her constant and uncomplaining affection for her husband gradually won her some measure of his confidence, though he never shook himself free of his attachment for Elizabeth Villiers. After James's accession to the English throne it became increasingly clear that Mary would ultimately have to choose between her husband and her father. Her conjugal devotion and her religious beliefs made her course plain to her, but she was most unjustly misconstrued and maligned by those who averred that she had no filial sentiments. Her Memoirs and letters abound with expressions of the intense pain which her choice gave her, but she remained staunch to William throughout, though lamenting that she 'could not so much rejoice as a wife ought' at his success. After the sailing of the expedition for England, she remained in complete seclusion, 'opening her heart to nobody,' chiefly occupied by religious exercises. She rejected immediately and categorically the proposal that she should reign alone, and when summoned to join her husband in London, she left the Dutch people, by whom she was much beloved, with great reluctance. Indeed, the prospect of the part which she was called to play for the remainder of her life might well cause her misgiving. Without any knowledge of politics, she was compelled to undertake, as Regent in the years 1690-3, the greater share in the government of England, owing to William's frequent absences abroad. She was constantly beset with fears for his safety, tormented by the captious complaints and opposition of her sister Anne, distracted by the intrigues and the treachery of the political factions around her. Yet in spite of the paucity of good and sincere counsellors, she managed the affairs of the kingdom with much tact and wisdom, and steered safely through each successive crisis. She even found time to take active measures for the suppression of the prevalent immorality, and for the advancement of her religion. In her Memoirs she records with pathetic

dignity the discouragement and the difficulties from which she could not escape. In 1693 she was more than ever depressed, since William himself, though in reality completely ignorant of English ways and dependent upon Mary for his position in the country, was displeased with her conduct of affairs. In the following year the death of Archbishop Tillotson, her best friend and adviser, was a great grief to her, and on December 20 she herself became ill. Her malady proved to be a virulent attack of small-pox, and within eight days she was dead.

Like her husband, she was engaged throughout her life in a ceaseless struggle with adversity, though her troubles were personal and mental rather than political and physical. Married when yet a child, she had to face solitude and humiliation until she succeeded in winning William's esteem by her beauty of character. In later life, torn by conflicting allegiances and oppressed by burdens to which she felt herself unequal, she never knew careless happiness and was often cruelly misunderstood; but her simple faith and unflinching courage enabled her to reach a standard of duty and rectitude such as few women and fewer queens have attained.

FREDERICK HERMAN
SCHOMBERG
DUKE OF SCHOMBERG

(1615-1690)

was the son of Meinhard von Schönberg, an official of high rank in the service of the Palatinate, and Anne Sutton, daughter of Lord Dudley. Born at Heidelberg, he spent most of his youth in France, though for two years he was a student at Leyden. At the age of seventeen he embarked upon his career as a soldier of fortune. After fighting and fleeing with the Swedes at Nördlingen (1634), he entered the French service, in which he was almost constantly engaged in active campaigning until 1659. In the course of so much warfare he gained a wide experience and a considerable reputation; hence, when the Peace of the Pyrenees was signed between France and Spain, he was invited once more to take command against the Spaniards in Portugal. In spite of the frequent obstacles thrown in his way by jealous colleagues and meddling politicians, he gained two signal victories, which effectually established Portuguese independence. When this was recognized by Spain in 1668, Schomberg returned to France, and became a French subject. Four years of inactivity made him eager for further military adventure, although he had married his second wife during this period. Hence, in 1673, he joined the English service, and was appointed to command the army collected in the Eastern counties for the proposed invasion of Holland. The failure of the English fleet to win complete command of the sea frustrated

his hopes of fighting. Returning to France, he was appointed in the following year to lead the army in Roussillon. At first he met with ill success owing to the poor quality of his troops and the disloyalty of his subordinates, but in 1675 he retrieved his position by the brilliant capture of Bellegarde. For this he was created Marshal of France, and on Turenne's death was sent to join the army in Flanders, where he fought with conspicuous ability until the Peace of Nimeguen was made (1678). The revocation of the Edict of Nantes caused him to sever his connexion with France. He would not abandon his Huguenot faith, though constantly assailed by persuasive Catholics, and after some wanderings settled in Berlin as commander-in-chief of the Prussian forces. Yet, though now seventy-three years of age, his love of his profession induced him to leave his palace in Unter den Linden in order to throw in his lot with William of Orange, with whom he landed as second in command in Torbay in November 1688. Thus he won an English dukedom and a liberal grant from Parliament, for which he returned thanks in person before sailing to conquer Ireland. In August 1689 he landed in Ulster with a large but raw force very badly provisioned. He marched to Dundalk and, fearing to risk a battle, took up a strong defensive position. James came and looked at his entrenchments, but dared not attempt anything against them; and the old Marshal had to wait till William landed in June 1690 before he could take the offensive against James. He met his death at the battle of the Boyne, gallantly rallying his Huguenot troops which showed signs of wavering. Schomberg was an adventurer of the best type. At home in all countries and speaking all languages, he had the knowledge, courtesy and dignity of a truly cosmopolitan gentleman. His charm of manner and his great abilities disarmed the hostility which greeted most of William's foreign satellites in England. He was, in fact, as distinguished in society as he was in war, which he had made both the profession and the passion of his life.



MARSHAL SCHOMBERG

From the portrait by William Wissing belonging to the Earl Spencer

SIR MATTHEW HALE

(1609-1676)

son of Robert Hale and Joan Poyntz, was born at Alderley in Gloucestershire, was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn in 1628. During his early years at the bar he was the intimate friend of Glanville, Noy, and Selden, and, although brought up in an atmosphere of rigid Puritanism and maintaining the Puritan creed to the end of his life, he became a man of wide culture and reading outside his own profession. Of that profession he has always been reckoned to have been the brightest ornament, both for character and for learning, that the seventeenth century produced; his judgements, dicta, and legal treatises have been quoted with admiring reverence by all subsequent generations of lawyers. He was in politics a moderate Royalist, defended most of the distinguished Royalist prisoners on their trial, and is said to have offered his services to the King, who, however, refused to plead to his indictment. He accepted the Republic and the Protectorate, and became under the latter a Serjeant and then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He was elected to the 'Parliament' of 1654, but excluded for refusing to take the qualifying test. He resigned office on Oliver's death but sat successively in Richard's Parliament and in the Convention. He was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1660 and Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1671. As he had during the interregnum done his best to protect and favour Royalists, so after the Restoration he did his best for Puritans and dissenters, earning thereby the warm friendship of Richard Baxter as well as of Tillotson and Barrow. He resigned his office in 1676, only a few months before his death.

DANIEL DEFOE

(1661?-1731)

was the son of a Nonconformist butcher, James Foe, of Cripplegate, who changed his name after retiring from business. Daniel was educated in a dissenting school, where he claimed to have acquired a considerable knowledge both of ancient and modern languages, besides undergoing the theological training required for the ministry. Renouncing this profession as too precarious, he took up the hosiery trade. But his real interest was in politics, which distracted his attention from business and finally reduced him to bankruptcy in 1692. His active support of William III at length won him recognition. In 1697 he published a plea for a standing army, and four years later produced a vigorous satire entitled *The True born Englishman*, a caustic reply to those who belittled the King on account of his Dutch descent. Besides winning him fame, this pamphlet procured him William's favour, and Defoe devoted himself henceforth to political journalism. He drew up the 'Legion memorial' in 1701 protesting against the imprisonment of the Kentish petitioners, which gained him further prominence in Whig circles. When the Occasional Conformity Bill was introduced, he published 'an inquiry', in which he boldly deprecated any opposition to the measure on the ground that no dissenter should go to church, and that it was therefore desirable that weaker brethren should be prevented by law. His attitude was resented as too thorough-going by his own party, but Defoe continued his original plan of campaign by publishing *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*. This was ostensibly a vehement demand for the extirpation of Nonconformists; and the Tories,



SIR MATTHEW HALE

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown



DANIEL DEFOE

From an engraving after a portrait by
Jonathan Richardson



CHARLES MONTAGUE
EARL OF HALIFAX

From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the
National Portrait Gallery



SIR RICHARD STEELE

From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the Kit-
Cat Collection belonging to H. C. Baker, Esq.,
of Bayfordbury

failing to perceive its elaborate irony, fell into the trap and hailed the book as a brilliant exposition of their views. One enthusiastic cleric declared that he ranked it as second only to the Bible. When they discovered their error, the wrath of the High Churchmen was unbounded. The House of Commons ordered the book to be burnt, and Defoe was tried for libelling the Church. He was condemned, and after standing three days in the pillory as a popular martyr and crowned with flowers, he was imprisoned in Newgate, July 1703. As a prisoner he founded *The Review*, a political journal, which appeared thrice weekly. But in spite of the distinction, imprisonment was an expensive method of obtaining renown, especially for Defoe, who had a wife and six children. Hence when Harley, who had recognized his journalistic abilities, offered to release him, Defoe readily accepted his terms (August 1704) and renounced the expression of some of his views in order to assure himself of protection and a livelihood. He performed various confidential missions for Harley, and upheld the Government both in *The Review* and in frequent pamphlets. In 1706 he went to Scotland to promote the Union, of which he wrote a history, but on his return in 1708 he found Harley fallen. Defoe, either at Harley's recommendation or prompted by his own needs, offered his services to Godolphin, and accommodated his views to meet the demands of his situation. He extolled Marlborough, denounced Sacheverell and abused the Tories with his wonted vigour, but when the latter returned to power, Defoe again reverted to Harley, and supported the peace as whole-heartedly as he had previously upheld the war. Nevertheless he still maintained his hostility to the High Churchmen and to the Jacobites, although he continued to pour forth pamphlets in Oxford's interest, to which he always remained faithful. At George's accession he naturally returned to Whiggism, which was for him always the more congenial, and now also the more profitable creed. By this timely reversion he saved himself from a third conviction for libel, and remained comfortably in the Government service. With the firm establishment of

the Hanoverian dynasty and the Whig ascendancy, the era of political pamphleteers passed away. Defoe accordingly turned to fiction, which he had already essayed in his *True relation of the apparition of Mrs. Veal*. *Robinson Crusoe* appeared in 1719, and at once won a European reputation. It was translated into many languages, and provoked many foreign imitations, especially in Germany, where *Die Robinsonaden* became a recognized form of literature. His other books, of which there were many, tended towards sensationalism, being concerned with criminals or with vulgar superstitions, which apparently had some fascination for him. *Captain Singleton* (1720) and *The Political History of the Devil* (1726) are good examples of these two classes. A more remarkable work is the *Journal of the Plague year* (1722), a description of such intense realism that many believed it to be genuine. Finally he wrote at various times of his life numerous treatises on political economy, in which his commercial training and his financial difficulties gave him a personal interest. His last years were spent in comparative affluence, and undiminished literary activity; indeed, his fertile brain devised an 'Effectual scheme for the immediate preventing of Street-robberies' within a few months of his death, which took place at Moorfields on April 26, 1731. His quick and versatile mind made Defoe an ideal journalist. He could write easily and attractively upon any subject. Though most of his work was ephemeral, it is nevertheless only fitting that his genius should have found one outlet which has immortalized it, and he may fairly claim to be the father of the modern novel.

CHARLES MONTAGU

EARL OF HALIFAX

(1661-1715)

son of George Montagu, of Horton, Northamptonshire, and of Elizabeth Irby, and grandson of the first Earl of Manchester, was educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he gained some reputation for wit and a Fellowship. He also won the friendship of Isaac Newton, with whom he tried to found a philosophical society. On leaving Cambridge, he obtained an introduction into the *beau monde* in London on the strength of some clever verses upon the death of Charles II, and in 1687 he wrote in conjunction with Matthew Prior a parody of Dryden, entitled 'The Hind and the Panther transvers'd to the Story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse', which won general approval. After the landing of William III, whose cause he had supported, Montagu abandoned his design of entering the Church in favour of politics, for which he was more obviously fitted. Accordingly he was elected to Parliament in 1689, and also obtained a pension of £500 a year from the King. In the House he soon displayed unusual debating powers, which gained him a Lordship of the Treasury in 1692. In this position he at once began a series of financial schemes which have produced considerable results. He first raised a loan of a million pounds, which may be taken as the foundation of the National Debt (December 1692). In 1694, £1,200,000 was required for the French war, and in order to obtain it, Montagu, in spite of vigorous opposition, formed the subscribers to the loan into 'The Bank of England', guaranteeing

them 8 per cent. interest from the taxes. The expedient was immediately successful, and he was promoted to be Chancellor of the Exchequer and sworn of the Privy Council. He was next called upon to remedy the depreciation of the currency. He recalled clipped money, substituting good coinage with milled edges, but during the inevitable crisis of the change credit reached a very low ebb. Montagu averted a disaster by the issue of exchequer bills, which provided a medium of exchange till the new silver was in full circulation (1695-6). On May 1, 1697, he became First Lord of the Treasury, but the power of the Tories was now increasing, and, in spite of his great influence in the Commons, he had gained many enemies by his arrogance. Being made subject to constant attacks, he resigned his offices (November 1699), and retired on a peerage to an Auditorship of the Exchequer. The Commons then impeached him for complicity with the Partition Treaty, which he denied, and the Lords dismissed the accusation. After escaping another Tory attack he opposed the Occasional Conformity Bill with success (1703). Throughout Anne's reign he supported Whig interests and the Hanoverian succession with vigour, but never obtained office again, until six months before his death, when he was made First Lord of the Treasury and an Earl by George I. His financial ability was as remarkable as his vanity and arrogance. Indeed, the Duchess of Marlborough compared his ill-breeding to that of Sir Robert Walpole. Despite Swift's remark that he only gave 'good words and good dinners', he was a munificent patron of letters and of literary men, especially of Joseph Addison.

SIR RICHARD STEELE

(1672-1729)

was the son of Richard Steele, a Dublin attorney, and Elinor Symes. He was educated at Charterhouse, where his warm friendship with Addison was first formed, and at Merton College, Oxford; but before taking a degree he entered the army. Though he rose rapidly in rank, he found military life 'exposed to much irregularity' and repugnant to his strict notions of virtue; accordingly he devoted his energies to literature of a puritanical kind which won him little favour either with his brother officers or the public, and for which he was in truth little fitted by nature. It was not till 1709 that he found his true vocation, and published, in collaboration with Addison, the *Tatler*, followed by the *Spectator*, which was equally successful. In 1712 Steele became drawn into the political vortex, and entered the House of Commons. As a pamphleteer he was far less effective than as an essayist, although one of his productions (*The Crisis*, 1714) led to his expulsion from the House. His Whig patrons certainly made life easier for him and gave him a knighthood (1715), but they could not restore the vanished freshness of his writings or recompense him for his fatal breach with Addison, which took place just before the latter's death. Until the end of his life Steele remained the same cheerful, reckless and loveable man whom Thackeray has portrayed in *Esmond*. In literature he does not take a very high place, but his essays possess an inexhaustible charm as reflecting a very true and generous nature.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE

(1628-1699)

was the son of Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and Mary Hammond, by whose brother, Dr. Hammond the divine, he was brought up. After a schooling at Bishop Stortford, he studied under Cudworth at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he forgot his smattering of Greek without imbibing much other learning. Without taking a degree he set out on his travels. While on his way to France in 1648, he met an attractive young lady, named Dorothy Osborne, at an inn in the Isle of Wight. Her brother was foolish enough to scratch on the window-pane some insulting reflections upon the Roundheads, and was arrested. His sister saved him from danger by taking the action upon herself; which so impressed Temple that he fell in love with her. As their parents held opposite political views, and as Dorothy had many other suitors, including Henry Cromwell, there seemed little chance of their being married, but after seven years of strenuous courtship, Dorothy was smitten by small-pox, and Temple was at length allowed to marry her, (January 31, 1655). The following years he spent in Ireland, but in 1663 he migrated to England and settled at Sheen. By paying assiduous court to Arlington, he obtained a diplomatic mission to the Bishop of Münster. The prelate's craftiness and hard-drinking completely overmatched Temple's inexperience, but in spite of his egregious failure, he was rewarded with a baronetcy and was sent as envoy to Brussels (October 1665). Two years later, just after the conclusion of the war of 1667, he went to Holland. There he met John de Witt, and with him concerted the famous Triple Alliance to



SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE

From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the National Portrait Gallery

check French aggression. In this business Temple displayed much energy and dexterity. He won over the English council to his views, and by pushing aside all hindrances, surprised the world by concluding and ratifying the treaty in the incredibly short space of five days (January 23, 1668). This feat caused great rejoicings in England, and won Temple a European reputation, but its actual importance has been greatly exaggerated. The alliance was clearly intended by Charles II to be a temporary shift to obliterate the memory of the recent war. Indeed, on the very day after the signature, he wrote to his sister, Henriette d'Orléans, excusing himself to Louis XIV on this ground, and thenceforth worked steadily against the new Alliance. Thus Temple found himself informally recalled in 1670, and seeing another Dutch war inevitable, he judiciously withdrew to his fruit-gardens at Sheen rather than risk his position by denouncing the King's policy. During his leisure he turned to letters, for which he had always had a leaning. He had already produced a somewhat shallow pamphlet on the settlement of Ireland, which was now followed (1671) by a scarcely more profound Essay on Government, in which he developed a patriarchal theory of absolutism. His style, however, was elegant and lucid; and when he found a subject demanding intelligence rather than intellect, he succeeded in producing a very agreeable book in his *Observations upon the United Provinces*. This work was published in 1672, and gained a wide popularity. When the Dutch war ended, Temple was sent to the Hague to hasten the peace, and was soon afterwards appointed Ambassador, having refused a Secretaryship of State. While in Holland, he added to his fame by negotiating the match between Mary and William of Orange, but in 1679 he was recalled to bolster up by his unblemished and solid reputation the crumbling ministry of Danby. Charles pressed the seals upon him, but Temple, with his fastidious care for his good name, skilfully evaded the request. Nevertheless a scheme was adopted bearing his name, by which a council of thirty was established, comprising the richest and most

influential men of all parties. This curious experiment was probably suggested by the similar assembly in Holland, with which Temple was familiar, and would, if successful, have set up an oligarchy, mediating between the Crown and Parliament and usurping the powers of both. From the first it was doomed to failure, and was merely treated as a new means of getting money from Parliament. Temple himself was a member, but owing to his manifest distaste for hazardous situations was never trusted with important matters. At this time he was also in the House of Commons, but here too he displayed a caution amounting almost to pusillanimity, and Charles struck his name off the Privy Council. Temple now retired to his new estate at Moor Park to cultivate fruit and literature. James II and William III both received his respectful homage, the latter even his advice on some occasions, but Temple never risked his fortunes in politics again. In the field of letters, however, he was recklessly audacious. He published a number of pleasant essays, and among them one, based on his slight Latin and long extinct Greek, upholding ancient as against modern writers. He extolled the letters of Phalaris as masterpieces, which drew from Bentley a proof that they were forgeries. And thus the 'Battle of the Books' began. Fortunately Temple found a much needed ally in Swift, who was now his secretary and had aided him in the compilation of his memoirs. Swift's scathing wit saved his patron from immediate annihilation, and before Bentley's final and crushing rejoinder appeared, Temple, who had long been afflicted by gout, was dead.

Temple's character was that of a thorough dilettante. His abilities were sufficient to give him rare opportunities for statesmanship, which, like a true holiday-politician, he shunned because he feared to jeopardize his winnings. In literature he was a graceful stylist wholly lacking in depth of thought or fertility of imagination. In both spheres he attained a position of genteel respectability, which effectually stamped him as a mediocre man.

JOHN LOCKE

(1632-1704)

was the son of John Locke, a successful country attorney, and Agnes Keene. His home was in the neighbourhood of Bristol, where he lived until sent to Westminster in 1646. Thence he passed in due course to Christ Church as a Westminster student, but he found the atmosphere of scholasticism at Oxford as repugnant to his intellect as the enforced rigours of Puritanism were to his tolerant spirit. Still he seems to have shown himself proficient in the studies whose value he somewhat unwarrantably despised, for in 1660 he was appointed Greek lecturer at his college. After holding other similar posts, he took up the study of medicine, though still retaining his studentship, but he never passed the examinations for a degree in this subject, and such practice as he exercised seems to have been chiefly on his friends and patrons. The turning-point of his life was reached in 1667, when he went to live with Lord Ashley (Shaftesbury). Perhaps their common zeal for toleration formed the original bond of a friendship which lasted until Shaftesbury's death. Locke became his confidential adviser and agent in all matters, from the provision of a wife for his eldest son to the framing of the 'fundamental constitutions of Carolina', which was under Ashley's administration. When his patron took office, Locke was made secretary of presentations, with a comfortable salary, and was transferred to a medical studentship at Christ Church. Thus he was fully provided with the measure of material prosperity which is generally admitted to be the first condition of fruitful philosophical speculation, and was never subsequently troubled by pecuniary cares. In 1676 he went to France,

where he remained for three years. During this time he was studying philosophy, and probably became acquainted with the Cartesian system, then at the height of its fame. On his return to England Locke was, to some extent, involved in the whirlpool of intrigue which centred round Shaftesbury, although he never seems to have been privy to the darker designs of his patron when the latter had begun to be a dangerous agitator. Part of his time was spent in London, part at Christ Church, where his marked reticence on political questions, his mysterious goings and comings gained him among his colleagues the reputation of 'living a very cunning and unintelligible life'. His activity was terminated by Shaftesbury's flight to Holland, whither Locke followed him in 1683. There he found congenial intellectual surroundings, which gave him a welcome opportunity of abandoning politics for philosophy. Meanwhile, in England he was regarded with natural suspicion. He was deprived of his studentship, and on account of his supposed connexion with Monmouth's rebellion a demand was made for his extradition, which caused him to live in concealment for some time. His only political occupation, however, was the composition of the *Treatises on Government*, which were published soon after his return to England with William of Orange, in whose favour he had obtained a high place. The next ten years were the most important of his life. In 1690 appeared the *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, which he had long been maturing. Just previously he had published anonymously his *Letter on Toleration*, which was closely followed by other letters in answer to critics. In 1693 he produced his *Thoughts concerning Education*. Numerous controversial writings of his also belong to this period. Two years previously he had gone to live with Lady Masham, daughter of the philosopher Cudworth, in whose house he was affectionately cared for until his death. His health was already failing, and on this ground he had refused the King's urgent request that he would accept a foreign embassy. Nevertheless, his advice was much sought both by William and his



JOHN LOCKE

From the portrait by T. Brownover in the National Portrait Gallery

ministers, Somers and Halifax, who applied to the currency crisis in 1695 the views which Locke had just set forth with great ability in two economic pamphlets. As a recognition he was made a Commissioner of Trade, but he retired from this post in 1700, to live the last years of his life in quiet enjoyment of his friendships with Newton, Peter King, his nephew and adopted son, and the Masham family. His strength ebbed slowly, and he died peacefully on October 28, 1704.

Locke, in his treatment of metaphysical problems from the point of view of common sense, stands out as a typically English philosopher. By developing systematically the empiricism latent in Hobbes's teaching, he founded one of the two antagonistic schools of eighteenth-century thought. He was wanting in the relentless logic, as in the subtlety of Hume; his terminology is often loose; his conclusions are less far reaching than his premises demand. But his distinction in the history of thought lies in the fact that he first evolved the psychological theory of knowledge, from which philosophy has never altogether freed itself. In so doing, he cleared away much *a priori* rubbish, and restated the problem in a new and more searching light, a feat of inestimable value, quite apart from his own attempted solution. As a political speculator he was essentially the defender of the revolution of 1688, which he justified by an ingenious adaptation of Hobbes's conceptions rather than by any profound or original theory of political obligation. But this too was but in accord with his moderate and practical habit of mind. His contributions to the nascent science of Political Economy are also of the highest value. By nature he was devoid of strong passions or burning enthusiasms. In social relations he was always kindly and amiable, in his tastes simple and unaffected, in everything genuine and human. Indeed, his character was the moral counterpart of his catholic, expansive and reasonable intellect.

ANNE

(1665-1714)

Queen of England, 1702-14, was the second daughter of James II and his first wife, Anne Hyde. From the first her life was devoid of happiness. She lost her mother at the age of six, and her relations with her step-mother, Mary of Modena, were never very cordial. After the marriage of her sister Mary in 1677, having few other companions, she formed a close intimacy with Sarah Jennings, the future Duchess of Marlborough. At Charles II's order, she was brought up under the tuition of Bishops Ken and Compton in Anglicanism, to which she developed a strong attachment. After being courted by the future George I, she was in 1683 married to Prince George of Denmark, a man of unparalleled dullness, but for whom she entertained as much affection as her somewhat tepid and wholly unimaginative temperament was capable of conceiving. As the Duchess of Marlborough said at his death in 1708, 'I believe she fancied she loved him.' Nevertheless Anne's married life was consistently unhappy. Her attempts to obtain public honour and recognition for her husband always met with failure, and she was even unable to secure him against the open assaults of political opponents. Though she gave birth to many children, all died in infancy, except the Duke of Gloucester, who died in 1700, at the age of eleven. During her father's reign, Anne was on friendly rather than affectionate terms with him, and fell even more than before under the influence of Sarah Jennings, now Lady Churchill and one of the ladies of her bedchamber. Their famous correspondence under the names Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman began 1684, and when the crisis of 1688 arose, Anne was persuaded by the Churchills



QUEEN ANNE WHEN PRINCESS, WITH HER SON
WILLIAM, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER

From the portrait by Michael Dahl in the National Portrait Gallery

to abandon her father. She fled from Whitehall in a hackney coach on the night of November 26, accompanied by Lady Churchill and the warlike Bishop of London on horseback. After a triumphal progress through the Midland counties, she returned to greet William and Mary. During the first years of their reign, however, Anne was conspicuously neglected by the King, and seems to have been bitterly jealous of her sister's elevation to the throne. Owing to a suspicion of treachery which Marlborough had incurred, she was compelled to dismiss 'Mrs. Freeman' from her service, though their mutual regard and their correspondence continued unabated, while her relations with the Queen, her sister, never became any warmer. The latter died childless in 1694, and Anne's position was immediately altered. She was now courted as much as she had been previously slighted, while the Earl of Marlborough and his wife were restored to favour. In return she was loyal to William, and prepared to carry on his foreign policy after his death.

Her situation at her accession was, however, by no means easy. Her religious views naturally inclined her to favour the Tories, but if Louis XIV were to be checked and the Duke of Marlborough's ambition satisfied, it could only be with the aid of the Whigs. As the War of the Spanish Succession, which opened in 1702, proceeded, this became constantly clearer. Anne was accordingly driven by Marlborough and his wife to substitute Whig for Tory ministers, which she did unwillingly, though at the same time rejoicing at the success of the war. The Duchess gained her crowning success when she secured the appointment of Sunderland in 1706 (December), but Anne never forgot this blow to her pride, and from that time 'Mrs. Freeman's' power began to wane. Gradually the favourite was supplanted by Abigail Hill, afterwards Mrs. Masham, who used her influence to further Harley's intrigues against the Whigs. The Duchess fought desperately against her rival. She hurled passages on friendship from the *Whole Duty of Man* and extracts from their early correspondence at Anne's head, but without avail. By the

end of 1710 the breach was complete, and the Whigs were doomed. The Queen used her freedom from this long domination to support the Tory Ministry in its oppression of the dissenters, and in the conclusion of a somewhat inglorious peace. Her health, never good, now became steadily worse, and the chief interest of her last two years centred on the question of the succession. Anne had always upheld the Hanoverian arrangement, but, like Elizabeth, she resented the constant speculations on the subject of her own death, and her omission to mention the Succession in her last speeches to Parliament—together with the favour conferred on Bolingbroke—raised the hopes of the Jacobites. On her death-bed, however, the Queen handed the staff not to him but to Shrewsbury, and before the Tories were ready, George I was proclaimed King.

Historians have found few notable qualities to remark in Queen Anne. Intellectually she was perhaps inferior to any of her predecessors. She was without wit or penetration, but was possessed of a dull obstinacy, which was impervious to reason. Of artistic or literary interests she had none, and found no pleasure in music. Her chief amusement was hunting, of which she was passionately fond all her life. Her religion, like her affections, was of a placid and unemotional character, but her genuine devotion to the Church is proved by her Bounty, by which the Crown revenues from tenths and first-fruits were transferred to the Clergy. It was her favourite boast that she was 'entirely English', and she conscientiously attempted to fulfil it. If she fell very far short of greatness, yet her patient endurance of her unceasing private misfortunes must always command compassionate respect, while the great achievements of her reign will always make it memorable.

SARAH CHURCHILL

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH

(1660-1744)

was the daughter of Richard Jennings, a Hertfordshire gentleman, and became Maid of Honour to Mary Beatrice, Duchess of York and afterwards Queen-consort. In 1678 she married the rising young soldier John Churchill, who loved her passionately and was governed by her absolutely until the day of his death. Sarah very early became the especial friend of the dull and discontented Princess Anne; it was she who in 1688 won Anne over to the cause of the Revolution, and it was probably her influence which moved her Tory husband (whom King James had loaded with favours) in the same direction. From the date of Anne's marriage, 1683, began the series of letters between Princess and the Lady Churchill under the assumed names of 'Mrs. Morley' and 'Mrs. Freeman'. From that time until 1703 there was no cloud upon this remarkable friendship, which, one would think, must have bored the witty and high-spirited Sarah considerably. Her only son died in boyhood (1703) and her eldest daughter Henrietta married the son of Lord Godolphin; her second daughter married the son of Lord Sunderland, her third married the Earl of Bridgewater, and her fourth the Duke of Montagu.

Meanwhile Sarah became, at Anne's accession, Mistress of the Robes, Keeper of the Privy Purse, and soon afterwards a Duchess. What is more to the point, she also showed strong tendencies to become a Whig, and to move her husband into the same political sphere. Quarrels with the Tory Queen were the natural result, and

the Duchess continued to show great favour to her bitterly Whiggish son-in-law Sunderland, whom she at last succeeded in forcing upon Anne as Secretary of State (1706). This was the beginning of the end, and Anne's favour was gradually transferred to Abigail Hill, Mrs. Masham, a relative of the Duchess, who had in fact introduced her to Court. Anne was evidently frightened of Sarah, who did not scruple to use strong and, indeed, inexcusable language to her. The last interview between this strange pair of friends took place in April 1710, and, early the next year, Sarah was dismissed from all her offices. When in 1712 her husband was also dismissed, she followed him to the Continent, and returned with him to England on Anne's death.

After her husband's death in 1722 she was busy completing the hideous structure of Blenheim Palace, and she had a long series of spirited quarrels with most people around her, including her architect, her family and the King's ministers. She left by will a legacy to William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, probably because she believed him to be the re-incarnation of her own spirit of opposition and pugnacity.



SARAH CHURCHILL, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH
From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery

JOHN CHURCHILL

FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

(1650-1722)

came of good West-country stock, being the son of Sir Winston Churchill and Elizabeth Drake. He was educated at St. Paul's School, but his masters failed to inspire him with any literary tastes, or even to teach him the art of correct spelling. At the age of seventeen he entered the army, where, with the assistance of his sister Arabella, then mistress *en titre* of the Duke of York, he advanced rapidly. Churchill's handsome face and attractive manners also aided his rise, but he early showed his real military capacity by his conduct at the sieges of Nimeguen and Maestricht, where his gallantry earned him the praise of Turenne. In 1678 he crowned an arduous courtship by marrying Sarah Jennings, one of Princess Anne's attendants. In pursuance of his interests, which were always his chief concern, Churchill shared James's vicissitudes of fortune in the later years of Charles II, and was raised to the peerage as Lord Churchill in 1682. The defeat of the rebels at Sedgemoor was largely due to his coolness, nor was there any reason to doubt his loyalty to James until the success of William's usurpation was inevitable. It is true that Churchill was a firm Anglican, and that, when the King's Catholic leanings became notorious, he had open communication with the Prince of Orange; but it is difficult to believe that religious scruples alone would have sufficed to change his allegiance, had he been unable to reconcile them with his worldly advantage. His desertion from James was a great accession of

strength to William, for through the influence of his wife he brought over also that lady's bosom friend, the Princess Anne. William soon created him Earl of Marlborough, and a member of the Queen's Council. In 1690 the King further entrusted him with the command of an expedition against Cork, in which his military talents were for the first time indisputably shown. Yet in spite of these honours Marlborough was in correspondence with James. His motives are difficult to discern, but they must have been strong, for his judgement was seldom at fault. Some inkling of his dealings leaked out, however, and he was disgraced, together with his protectress, Princess Anne (1692). In later years his correspondence with the Jacobites was renewed, but his overtures were never received with confidence. The story that he betrayed to the French King a plan of attack upon the port of Brest in 1694, and that the result was the defeat of the English troops and the death of their gallant leader Talmash, wears a different colour if we may believe (as in the light of new evidence we fairly may) that William actually suggested to Marlborough to write the information to France, in the hope of diverting a large French army to the west, and that the attack on Brest had merely been intended as a feint, which Talmash's rashness pushed home. It is certainly difficult to think of Marlborough as a betrayer of English soldiers, whatever he might have been with regard to English and Dutch Kings. The death of Mary brought about his return to favour, but William bestowed no further post of trust upon him until 1698, when he became governor of the little Duke of Gloucester, who died in 1700. In 1701 he was appointed to command the troops in Holland. Anne's accession made Marlborough the most powerful man in England, Commander-in-Chief, Master-General of the Ordnance, and a K.G. By means of his wife's domineering influence he was able to impose his views upon the Queen, and to carry on the war with little fear of opposition at home. He became Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces, and after his first campaign was promoted to a Dukedom (December 14,



JOHN CHURCHILL, FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery

1702). His army was a motley force, which he could only control by exercising the most unfailing courtesy and the most delicate tact, while at critical moments his dispositions were liable to be utterly frustrated by the timorous obstinacy of the Dutch deputies. Yet at the end of nine years he had four times routed the best armies and the best marshals of France, had captured numberless fortresses thought to have been rendered impregnable by the skill of Vauban, and was threatening to march on Paris itself. No leader was ever called upon to overcome greater obstacles before bringing his troops into action, and no leader ever handled his men more consummately on the field of battle, or took more zealous care for their comfort and welfare in camp and on the march. He was rewarded with adoration by his soldiers, and was able to expect of them marches and fights such as no one else could expect. In Marlborough a genius for administration, for diplomacy, and for war were united. As a general he had an unerring and instantaneous perception of his enemy's weak spot, together with that complete coolness of calculation which enabled him to form a sound and clear judgement in dealing with any situation, whether military or political. Thus from 1702-11 his summers were spent in fighting the French, while each winter he returned home to receive fresh honours and to secure his position. His fame reached its height after the campaign of Ramillies, one of the most brilliant ever fought. From this point his power at home waned. The intrigues of Harley and Mrs. Masham gradually undermined at Court the position of his Duchess and also that of the Whigs, on whom Marlborough relied. Swift's attacks, which began 1710, were most bitter, and constant successes could not stifle the foolish cry that Marlborough was prolonging the war from motives of ambition. Finally, his own ill-judged demand of the Captain-Generalship for life gave his enemies an opportunity to overthrow him. In 1711 he was recalled, and was violently assailed in Parliament. Next year he retired abroad rather than face the ingratitude of his countrymen. On George's accession

he returned, and was once more Captain-General, but was never seriously trusted or consulted. His health had long been weak and he took little part in public affairs. A third paralytic stroke finally ended his life, and he was buried in Westminster Abbey.

No adequate estimate has ever been written of Marlborough's complex character. In few men have greatness and meanness been so inextricably interwoven. Utterly lacking in idealism, intent only on his own advancement, of an extraordinary avarice, he yet possessed the moral force and the power of inspiring others without which no great commander can be truly great. In political life he was unstable and unprincipled, yet he was singularly devoted both as a husband and a father. Whatever his defects as a man and a politician may have been, in the field he exhibited all the spiritual and intellectual qualities which mark a born general; and, judged by these alone, not even Wellington can claim to have equalled him as a soldier.

HENRY SAINT-JOHN

VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE

(1678-1751)

only son of Sir Henry St. John, and Lady Mary Rich, daughter of the second Earl of Warwick, was educated at Eton, but probably never went to a University, though tradition would have it that he was at Christ Church. At any rate he soon made a name for himself as one of the most reckless and accomplished rakes in London. The stories told of his hard drinking, of his innumerable amours and his wild escapades prove that he attained the pre-eminence which always awaits a great man who turns his serious attention to commonplace occupations. After the usual continental tour, he entered Parliament in 1700 as member for Wootton Bassett. The brilliance of his oratory at once won him the attention of the House. Though none of his speeches were preserved, their fame remained a tradition for three generations, and caused Pitt to declare that he would rather recover one of them than the lost decades of Livy. He soon became the invaluable supporter of Harley and the fast friend of Marlborough, with the result that he was made Secretary-at-War, when the moderate Tory party came into power in 1704. His natural quickness of intelligence and readiness of wit enabled him to deal effectively with any business set before him; in later years Swift was constantly amazed at St. John's capacity for combining riotous pleasure with the perseverance and industry of a clerk. When Harley was dismissed, as the Ministry tended to become more and more Whiggish, St. John affected to retire to the

study of philosophy, and was considerably piqued by the refusal of his friends to take his pose seriously. Nevertheless he maintained his relations with Harley, and was appointed Secretary of State, when the Tories came into power again in 1710. The alliance was always incongruous and certain to be ephemeral. St. John chafed at his colleague's caution, and was jealous of the popularity which accrued to him after Guiscard's attempt at assassination. Hence when Harley became Earl of Oxford, St. John, now unfettered in the Commons, began to push forward his own policy of stopping the war. In the tortuous negotiations which followed he was the moving spirit. He brought about the fall of Marlborough, issued secret orders to Ormonde to abstain from attacking the French, and eventually concluded peace on terms which, on his own admission, were far less advantageous than England's position warranted. For one thing in the peace he deserves real credit, for he introduced a clause in favour of a commercial treaty with France, which, had it not been thrown out by the jealousy of the English merchants, would have proved of inestimable benefit to both countries. His breach with the Whigs was now final and irrevocable. As Queen Anne's health steadily declined it was plain that St. John had nothing to hope from a Hanoverian succession, which would inevitably make them omnipotent, and he therefore opened negotiations with the Jacobites. Oxford would not commit himself to the bold measures which alone could ensure success, and St. John, who had been created Viscount Bolingbroke in 1712, began to intrigue with Lady Masham for his colleague's overthrow. Eventually Oxford was dismissed on July 27, 1714, but Anne died five days later, before Bolingbroke's plans were yet ripe. He summed up the situation to Swift with his usual philosophy, 'Oxford was removed on Tuesday, the Queen died on Sunday. What a world this is! and how does fortune banter us!'

At the age of thirty-five his career as a statesman was ended. One of the first actions of the Whig ministers was to attack the authors of the treaty of Utrecht, and Bolingbroke fled in disguise to



HENRY SAINT-JOHN, VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE
From the portrait by H. Rigaud in the National Portrait Gallery

France. An Act of Attainder was passed and his name was erased from the roll of peers. His only refuge was the Court of the exiled James III, where he obtained the position of Secretary of State. The extravagant and ill laid schemes of the exiles revolted his practical sense as much as their religion stirred his cynical contempt. Yet for a time he worked in the interests of James, because they coincided with his own, until his wise efforts to hinder Mar's rising brought upon him a charge of treachery. With little reluctance he parted from the Jacobites for ever. He continued to live in France, amusing himself with literary compositions and the study of philosophy. In 1720, his first wife having died, he married Madame de Villette, and bought a small estate near Orléans. He also made the acquaintance of Voltaire, who professed great admiration for his talents. At length in 1723 he obtained the pardon for which he had long been striving, but his seat in the House of Lords was not restored to him. Settling down near Uxbridge, he divided his time between the occupations of a country gentleman, literary intercourse with Pope and obscure excursions into politics. By means of a series of letters in the *Craftsman*, he attached himself to the opponents of Walpole, whom he detested, but in 1735 he suddenly withdrew once more to France, disgusted by the failure of his efforts and the distrust with which even his allies regarded him. Three years later he tried to join the opposition party headed by the Prince of Wales, and with this object wrote *The Patriot King*. His influence had, however, vanished and he had few friends. The last years of his life were spent at Battersea, still chiefly occupied in literary and political controversy. In 1750 his great and genuine grief for his wife's death further weakened his declining health, and he himself died of cancer in the following year.

Bolingbroke has been well called the Alcibiades of English history. His personal character presents few agreeable traits. He was ambitious, unscrupulous, faithless, devoid of any kind of morality or any trace of religion. It does not raise one's esteem for the

'High Churchmen' of the later years of Anne that they could take such a man for a political leader, though his 'Occasional Conformity Act' and his really iniquitous 'Schism Act', both directed against the dissenters, were no doubt pleasing to them. His philosophy was always that of a dilettante and usually that of an opportunist. Yet the extraordinary political ability and audacity of mind which rendered him the greatest young man of his age, coupled with his brilliance as an orator and a stylist, which won the praise of Pitt and Chesterfield, lend an irresistible fascination to his personality by removing it so far above the commonplace.

ROBERT HARLEY

FIRST EARL OF OXFORD

(1661-1724)

was the son of Sir Edward Harley and Abigail Stephens, his second wife. He was first educated at a private school near Burford, in Oxfordshire, from which he probably went to Westminster. In 1682 he was admitted to the Inner Temple, but was never called to the Bar. His father was a staunch Puritan who had played his part during the Civil War, and a notorious hater of the Stuart dynasty. Hence Harley was brought up as a Whig and a dissenter, and assisted to establish William III on the throne. Two years after the Revolution he was returned to Parliament for New Radnor. Owing to his rare habit of delving among old records, he soon became a master of Parliamentary procedure, while his aptitude for intrigue equipped him for party politics. Though his abilities were distinctly mediocre, he soon obtained a reputation for solid knowledge which he did not possess, but which his air of mysterious wisdom and his obvious want of brilliance enhanced. At first he was known as an uncompromising Whig and an enemy of the Church, but, his Whiggism being of the old-fashioned sort which mistrusted the royal prerogative, he joined the Tories in their opposition to William III, and gradually became inoculated by the party views of his allies. Hence on Anne's accession Harley was for the third time chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and wielded a great influence, which he was now prepared to exercise on behalf of the Queen and the High Church party. Nevertheless his characteristic caution prevented him from taking up extreme positions,

and in 1704, at the instigation of Marlborough and Godolphin, he was made Secretary of State in place of the extreme Tory, Nottingham. Though nominally the ally of the Whigs, to whom he gave frequent dinners, Harley secretly set himself to undermine their power, his chief abettor being his cousin, Abigail Hill, more famous as Mrs. Masham. His loyalty to the Government was finally suspected, and he was forced to resign (February 1708), but his intimacy and influence with the Queen grew rather than diminished. Thus on the fall of the Whig Ministry in 1710, his manœuvres had opened the way to his becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in fact Prime Minister. With typical duplicity he still tried to conciliate both parties by supporting the war openly while carrying on clandestine negotiations for peace. His fading popularity with his party was revived by the fortunate accident of his attempted assassination by a French renegade, Guiscard. Harley was stabbed in the breast with a penknife, but the wound had no serious consequences apart from causing Swift great anxiety as to his future. Congratulations flowed in, and on his recovery Harley was created Earl of Oxford and Lord High Treasurer (May 1711). This was the high-water-mark of his career. The peace of Utrecht earned him the hatred of the Whigs, while his subsequent quarrel with Lady Masham and Bolingbroke destroyed his power with the extreme Tories and the Queen. Oxford had been dallying with both Hanoverians and Jacobites with a view to the succession, but Bolingbroke, fearing that his irresolution might ruin the Stuart cause, procured Oxford's dismissal on July 27, 1714, five days before the Queen's death. Though he had nothing to hope from George, since his shameless double dealing had been fully exposed, Oxford courageously refused to fly, and was impeached (June 1715). He was sent to the Tower, whence he 'practised how to lay his head on the block' and corresponded cautiously with the Jacobites until his release two years later. Henceforth he took small part in politics, and died, little lamented, at his house in Albemarle Street in 1724.



ROBERT HARLEY, FIRST EARL OF OXFORD

From the portrait after Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery

The dictum concerning him—'if any man was ever born under the necessity of being a knave, he was'—is certainly more just than the partisan adulation of Pope and Swift. Harley had no qualities which entitled him to the place which he achieved, save a genius for tortuous methods, and a shrewd discernment in his choice of means. Thus in the absence of principle or capacity, he obtained much of his success by a judicious use of journalism. Defoe and Swift he made his devoted adherents and his most powerful weapons in politics. But at the same time a certain pedantic culture inspired him with a genuine love of literature and of literary men. He gathered a great library, and was the founder of the celebrated 'Harleian Manuscript' collection now in the British Museum; he was the friend, as well as the liberal patron, of Pope, Prior, Swift, and Congreve. He even wrote a great deal of most atrocious poetry himself. His conversation was dull, his oratory confused and faltering. Even Swift characterized an eulogy of his speaking as 'a great lie', while Pope accused him of 'always beginning in the middle', a habit partly due to Harley's shrinking from definite statement. His personal attractions were as few as his talents. His figure was ungainly and deformed; his chief pleasure was in drinking. He had no scandalous vices and no conspicuous virtues, save that of incorruptibility.

JOHN, LORD SOMERS

(1651 1716)

was the son of John Somers, a Worcestershire attorney who had fought for the Parliament, and of Katharine Severne. He received his early education at several private schools in the Midlands before going to Trinity College, Oxford. Without taking a degree he devoted himself at the age of eighteen to the study of the Law, but he acquired a wide culture and lively interests outside his professional pursuits. Though he never went abroad, he attained a great knowledge of modern languages, to which he was attracted by his love of philology. Italian he mastered completely and could write faultlessly, but he did not allow his taste for learning to interfere with his legal career. His ability as an advocate and his great erudition paved the way for his rapid advance, and he made his name when he appeared as a junior counsel for the Seven Bishops. He had the power of lucid exposition, rendered more effective by a musical voice and a pleasant delivery. Hence on entering the House of Commons in 1689 he at once won its ear by his eloquence and its respect by his familiarity with constitutional matters. The Whig plan for the coronation of William and Mary owed its success in great measure to his influence, the Declaration of Rights was largely the work of his hand. As a reward for these services he was made Solicitor-General on May 4, 1689. He performed his functions, political and legal, with continual success, three years later was promoted to the post of Attorney-General, and in 1693 became Keeper of the Great Seal, though for the title of Chancellor and his peerage he had to wait till 1697. The King relied constantly on his advice in his dealings



JOHN LORD SOMERS
Baron of Evesham
Lord High Chancellor
of England
Obiit 1716.

JOHN, LORD SOMERS

From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery

with Parliament, and in 1695 Somers was appointed one of the Council of Regency during William's absence in Holland. In this capacity he was made to bear a larger share of responsibility for the King's foreign policy than his actions warranted. Addison and the Whig satellites sang his praises without stint, while the Tories reviled him without mercy; but in fact Somers lacked the decision of character to force his will on William. He had sufficient insight to detect the weaknesses of the First Partition Treaty when it was laid before him, but he had not the force of mind to impress them strongly upon the King, or to refuse the ratification of the Great Seal. His unpopularity grew steadily with the revival of the power of the Tories, who in 1700 found a convenient handle against him in the assistance which he gave to a certain Captain Kidd who, starting on a cruise to repress piracy, had ended by turning pirate himself. Somers was of course absolutely innocent, but was forced to resign the Lord-Chancellorship. In this position, which he had held since May 2, 1697, Somers had displayed all the qualities of a good judge without having any very conspicuous opportunity for their exercise. Diligent, profound, subtle, and fair-minded, he yet never distinguished himself by any epoch-making decision. The seriousness with which he regarded his official duties cast a strain on his feeble constitution which he was glad to relieve by retirement. In his leisure, he cultivated the society of savants, like Newton and Locke, and patronized Addison, Steele, and other members of their fraternity. His relaxation was short-lived, however, for in 1701 he was compelled to defend himself against an impeachment based on his share in the Partition Treaties. His defence was to attribute all responsibility to the King, and the proceedings eventually terminated in an acquittal which must have left Somers's reputation as a statesman considerably impaired. When Anne succeeded, being still excluded from the Privy Council, he became one of the leading members of the Whig junto, but even the influence of Marlborough and the gradual expulsion of the Tories from the ministry failed

to render him acceptable to the Queen, or to procure him any more important office than the Presidency of the Council. It was only when the Whig party was on the brink of disaster that Anne became convinced of his integrity, and then Somers decided to fall with his colleagues. Failing health caused him to take an ever diminishing part in public affairs, and he spent most of his last years at his villa near North Mimms in Hertfordshire, where he died of paralysis on April 26, 1716.

Macaulay and other Whig writers have extolled Somers in extravagant terms. Not even Swift in the days of his bitterest hostility denied him capacity or learning or industry, though his enemies could manufacture a charge of atheism out of his latitudinarian views on religion and had some solid foundation for their exaggerated stories of his libertinism. On the whole Somers seems to have been a singularly amiable man, free from the irritability which generally accompanies a feeble body, famed for the distinction and the erudition of his conversation, and unflinching in his ceremonious courtesy. But in spite of his intellectual talents and conspicuous merits, he lacked the vigour and incisiveness of character which make a great statesman, and so failed to stamp his mark upon his generation.

SIDNEY GODOLPHIN

FIRST EARL OF GODOLPHIN

(1645-1712)

was the son of Sir Francis Godolphin and Dorothy Berkeley, of a good Cornish family. His father was a staunch cavalier, and at an early age Sidney entered the household of Charles II as one of his pages. In due course he held various positions at the Court, and, his ability for business coming to be recognized, he was appointed a Lord of the Treasury in 1679. He soon became known as one of the 'Chits', the clique of the King's most intimate confidants. Charles liked him as being 'never in the way and never out of the way', and this happy genius for unobtrusive usefulness ensured Godolphin of the royal favour in spite of the vicissitudes of party fortunes and Court intrigue. When James succeeded, he still maintained a position at Court as chamberlain to the Queen. Yet so unassertive and colourless did his conduct appear, that, after the Revolution, William III readily forgot his loyalty to the Stuarts and reappointed him Commissioner of the Treasury, for which office his experience and his clerical and financial ability made him almost indispensable. Nevertheless Godolphin characteristically provided against future contingencies by corresponding with the Jacobites and obtaining a prospective pardon from James. Fenwick's embarrassing confession made it advisable for him to resign office in 1696, but with the return of the Tories to power in 1700 he was again at the head of the Treasury, strengthened by the recent marriage of his son to Marlborough's daughter Henrietta.

This alliance brought Godolphin into close relations with the Duke and completely under the influence of the Duchess, and on Anne's accession he became Lord Treasurer. The support which he gave to the war and his connexion with Marlborough's faction drew him slowly and reluctantly over into the Whig camp, until, when the Tory revival took place in 1710, he was bitterly attacked by Swift and, under the nickname of 'Volpone', by Sacheverell. This last insult roused Godolphin from his cautious passivity to insist on the impeachment of the famous Doctor, and his own downfall was the result of that impeachment. After a half-hearted resistance he retired (August 1710) with a fortune much impaired by gambling. His health had long been bad, and two years later he died. Though cold, uninspiring and uninspired, Swift judged that he was a great support of the Whigs. He never did any conspicuous thing in his life, but his clear head and his conscientious industry made him a welcome ally to all parties, while his studious avoidance of extremes and lack of dangerous enthusiasms prevented him from deeply offending any.

THOMAS OSBORNE

EARL OF DANBY, MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN AND FIRST DUKE OF LEEDS

(1631-1712)

was the son of Sir Edward Osborne of Kiveton by his second wife, Anne Walmesley. For the first thirty years of his life he was condemned to obscurity by his father's Royalist sympathies, but in 1665 he entered Parliament as 'a creature of the Duke of Buckingham's', through whose influence he rose rapidly, and in 1673 he became Lord Treasurer in succession to Clifford. His personal unpopularity was remarkable, but he nullified its political effects by lavish bribery. As a staunch Cavalier, he upheld the monarchical power, but he was also a firm Protestant and an opponent of France. To safeguard these principles he brought about the marriage of Mary with William of Orange, but against his will he was forced to acquiesce in Charles's secret negotiations with France for neutrality in the next war. This together with Oates's false charges of popery, led to his fall. He was impeached, and imprisoned in the Tower (1679), where he remained for five years, having narrowly escaped an Act of Attainder. On his release in 1683 he became an opponent of Prince James, and after his accession continued to oppose him as King. He was one of the seven signatories of the Invitation to the Prince of Orange and was the great champion of Mary, whom alone he would have put upon the throne in 1689. But, though the new Queen acknowledged great obligations to him, she could never like him, even when as President of the Council he was virtually Prime

Minister in 1690-5. The Whigs, however, again impeached him in 1695, and, though the proceedings were dropped, his influence never revived, in spite of his feverish efforts to regain his position. He earned the reputation of a popular villain, owing largely to the deathly pallor of his face, to his venal methods, and to his disagreeable manners. His chief virtue was ambition, his chief vice avarice: both were gratified far in excess, perhaps, of his deserts, though not of his undoubted abilities.

GILBERT BURNET

BISHOP OF SALISBURY

(1643-1715)

was the son of Robert Burnet, an advocate of high standing, who refused to take the Covenant. His mother was a sister of Lord Warristoun and a rigid Covenanter. At Aberdeen, where he was educated, Burnet displayed the love of learning and the capacity for hard work which distinguished him throughout his life. He acquired a thorough knowledge of divinity, and, with it, broad and tolerant views; which were increased by his passion for travelling, inquiring into everything, and picking the brains of everybody. He successively became the friend of Bishop Leighton, of Cudworth, of Boyle, of Lauderdale, and a Fellow of the Royal Society in England. In 1665 he became minister at Saltoun, and though but twenty-three, openly attacked episcopal abuses. In politics, where his influence was always on the side of moderation in Church matters, he took an active part. In 1669 he became Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, but always looked back with affection to his old parish of Saltoun, and he more than once declined a Scottish bishopric which Lauderdale would have pressed upon him. In 1672 he married Lady Margaret Kennedy, and began to draw away from Lauderdale, for whose ardent Scottish patriotism this young man was too 'English-minded'. Burnet resigned his professorship and settled in London, holding various important preferments in the English Church. He was intimate with men of both political parties, and, in spite of the amazing plainness of speech which he used to Charles about his immorality, was evidently

liked and trusted by him. While he did his best to save many victims of the Popish plot, he afterwards interceded for Argyll and attended Russell on the scaffold. Besides his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (1676), he published, in 1679, the first volume of his *History of the Reformation in England* which gained great popularity owing to its anti-papal tone. Under the Tory reaction his broad opinions and his friendship with Russell made retirement to France advisable in 1683. Returning in 1684, not without risk to his liberty, he found his popularity still great, but he had been deprived of his preferments and went abroad again, visiting Paris, Rome, Geneva, and Heidelberg. Finally he settled at the Hague, in the confidence of William and Mary (1687). James had conceived an intense mistrust of Burnet, and demanded from William that he should be dismissed, but there is little doubt that he continued to give secret advice at the Dutch Court throughout the critical year 1688, and he accompanied William's expedition to England. In 1689 William created him Bishop of Salisbury, and throughout his reign consulted him frequently on ecclesiastical questions. Until his death Burnet continued to uphold toleration staunchly and to administer his diocese with almost unique industry and ability. He also composed, in addition to religious tracts and treatises, a *History of his own Times*. This work, which was posthumously published, is an invaluable record, though possessing few literary merits. It abounds with the sanity of judgement and knowledge of affairs which had always distinguished its author during his public career. While he was one of the most generous, loveable, tolerant, and industrious men of his age, it cannot be denied that he was somewhat vain and given to exaggerating his own influence; he was a little of a busybody and was not always careful to keep the secrets that were confided to him.



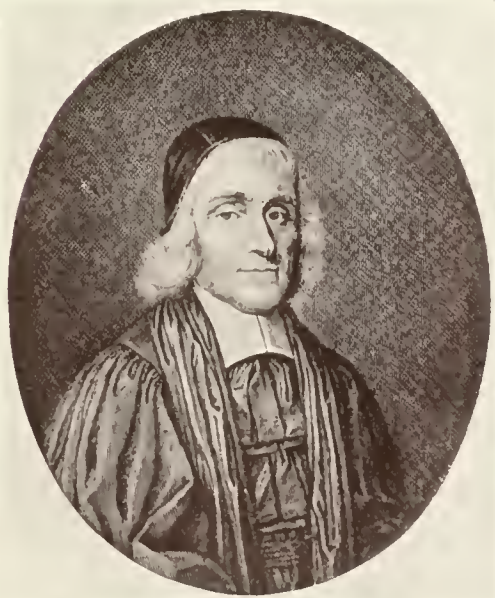
GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY
From the portrait by John Riley in the
National Portrait Gallery



THOMAS KEN, BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS
From the portrait at New College, Oxford
Painter unknown



HENRY COMPTON, BISHOP OF LONDON
Part of the whole-length portrait by John Riley (?
in the Deanery at Christ Church, Oxford



JAMES SHARP
From an engraving by D. Loggan

THOMAS KEN

BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS

(1637-1711)

was the son of Thomas Ken, an attorney, and Martha Chalkhill. Much of his youth was spent in the house of Izaak Walton, who had married his half-sister and took care of him after the death of his father. In 1651 Ken went to Winchester as a scholar, whence he duly passed to New College. After taking his degree, he taught logic and mathematics for a short time before accepting a country living (1663). Two years later he resigned his rectory to return to Winchester, where he was elected fellow, and where he published his *Manual for Winchester scholars*, perhaps the best known of his prose works. In 1679 he was appointed chaplain to Mary, Princess of Orange. His strong principles and his complete freedom from respect of persons led him to view William's infidelity towards his wife with great indignation. With much courage Ken openly reproved the Prince, and resigned his post in consequence of William's anger. He was persuaded to remain a short while longer, but in 1680 he returned to England, and was made chaplain to the King. His residence was still at Winchester, and on the occasion of a royal visit to the town, he stoutly refused to yield up his house to Nell Gwyn. Delighted by his boldness, Charles insisted on appointing 'the little black fellow that refused his lodging to poor Nelly' to the see of Bath and Wells, when it became vacant in 1684, and when on his deathbed, consented to lend an unheeding ear to his exhortations. In his diocese Ken tried hard to improve both the

education and standard of morality among his people, and took little notice of politics, but when summoned to preach at Whitehall in 1687, he made an outspoken attack on Popery, and later exhorted all Protestants to unite against the first Declaration of Indulgence. When the second Declaration was published, he was one of the seven bishops who were tried for seditious libel on account of their petition against it. He sat in the Convention and, on the question of the vacancy of the throne, voted with the moderate Tories, but when the new oaths of allegiance were demanded by William, after long and anxious hesitation, he refused to swear. He almost apologized for this excessive scruple and discouraged others from following his example; and, although he died last of all the 'Seven Bishops', he never until the end of his life approved of the schism of the Non-jurors, and was against its continuance by fresh consecrations. In 1691 he was deprived of his bishopric, and spent the remainder of his life with friends, as he had given away the greater part of his own possessions in charity. Anne in 1702 offered to restore him to his see, but Ken declined on the ground of infirmity; he died of paralysis at Longleat on his way to Bath. A collected edition of his voluminous prose works was published in 1713, but his hymns have justly obtained a more lasting reputation than his theological writings. Seven generations of English children, of whatever denomination, have repeated with their prayers his Morning and Evening hymns, 'Awake my soul' and 'Glory to thee, my God, this night'.

HENRY COMPTON

BISHOP OF LONDON

(1632-1713)

was the youngest son of the second Earl of Northampton and of Mary Beaumont. He entered Queen's College, Oxford, in 1649, and subsequently travelled abroad, where he saw some military service. At the Restoration he became a cornet in the Horse-guards, but after a few months exchanged the army for the Church, though he retained so much of his soldierly training that James II accused him of talking 'more like a colonel than a bishop'. His rise was rapid, and by 1675 he was Bishop of London. Under Charles II his importance was considerable, and he educated the Princesses Mary and Anne in Protestantism. But his extreme hatred of popery together with his tolerance of dissenters rendered him unpopular with the Court party, though he vigorously opposed the Exclusion Bill. On James's accession he stood firmly against the inroads of Catholicism. He refused to suspend Dr. Sharp for denouncing popery, and was accordingly himself suspended on the verdict of the Ecclesiastical Commission under the presidency of Jeffreys. His disgrace greatly enhanced his popularity and his influence, which he used to detach Anne from the King. He conducted her flight in 1688, riding in military uniform with drawn sword into Oxford fully prepared to lead a revolt. William showed him much favour, but refused to create him archbishop, doubtless on account of Compton's manifest lack of spiritual force. In his disappointment Compton gradually inclined to Toryism, and under Anne became a strong supporter of the Queen's high church views, thus incurring a just reproach of treachery to his former principles. Though too fond of preferment and devoid of great qualities, his devotion to his creed was sincere, and was proved by his lavish generosity to distressed Protestants.

JAMES SHARP

ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS

(1613-1679)

was the son of William Sharp and Isabel Lesley. He was educated at Aberdeen, and was afterwards a professor for a short time at that University. From 1648-61 he was minister of the parish of Crail, in which capacity he displayed much intelligence as head of the moderate party in the Kirk. At least once he was in trouble with Cromwell and spent some months in the Tower of London. In 1659 Monck employed him to draw up his 'Declaration', before his advance into England. Thus he was marked out as the leader and spokesman of those moderate Presbyterians who longed for the Restoration of Charles II, and was commissioned by them to present their views to that King both at Breda and in London. What arguments he used we do not know; what arguments were used to him, in order to convince him that the cause of the Kirk was hopeless, we may perhaps guess. But throughout 1660 he seems to have kept his brethren in the dark as to the upshot; and his diplomacy may be mildly described as tortuous. At the end of 1661 he became Archbishop of St. Andrews in the restored Episcopal Church. In this position he refused to take any steps, which, up to 1665 at least, he might well have taken, towards reconciling the Covenanters to the change, and in the Scottish Privy Council his voice seems generally to have been on the side of severity. Lauderdale alternately patronized and snubbed him; as for the Covenanters, they perpetually hurled at his head all the curses of all the Prophets of the Old Testament, and, after more than one attempt had failed, they succeeded in murdering him in 1679.

JOHN DRYDEN

(1631-1700)

son of Erasmus Dryden and Mary Pickering, who both came of families of some distinction, was born in Northamptonshire and educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge. His relations had generally taken the Parliamentary side in the Civil War, and one of his earliest known compositions is a lament for the death of the great Protector (1658). His next was *Astrea Redux*, a fine poetical welcome to Charles II. But it is quite clear that Dryden had already both patronage and fame; he married a lady of rank, Elizabeth Howard, in 1663, and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. It was now that he began writing for the theatre a long series of Comedies, chiefly remarkable for their grossness and by no means superior in their wit to the average 'Restoration Comedy'. But he also wrote Tragedies, several of which contain passages of great splendour. He appears to have been poorly paid for all these works, and, though appointed Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal in 1670, his salary was irregularly paid and he was always in want of money. His real fame rests upon compositions of a different character; first and least upon his lyrical pieces, of which the best are in *Annus Mirabilis* (1666), and *Alexander's Feast* (1697); secondly upon his great satires, the best and best known of which is *Absalom and Achitophel*, a brilliant attack upon Shaftesbury and the Whig Party (1681), of which the setting is said to have been suggested by Charles II, and which was followed by *The Medal* (1682), *MacFlecknoe* (1682), *The Hind and the Panther* (1687); thirdly upon his admirable translations and adaptations from the Ancients,

which include English versions of Juvenal, Persius and Virgil, and the famous *Fables*, his last work, published in the year of his death. Fourthly, and best of all, his fame rests upon his perfect prose essays, beginning with the *Essay on Dramatic Poesy* (1668), and going on with the numerous series of notes, prefaces and prologues to his own work and to the works of other writers. In these he shows himself to be the first of English critics in point of time, and one of the first for all time in point of style and perception of the true functions of criticism. It was Dryden who, as the first professional 'writer for bread', freed English prose style from the elaborate conceits and the over-laid and over-sweet embellishment which had survived from the Elizabethan into the Caroline age. He meant the 'ordinary reader' to understand him, and he succeeded in being perfectly understood. And he did this without in the least vulgarizing the language; on the contrary his style, while perfectly simple, is none the less classical, majestic, and vigorous, and it was the reflection of a mind of essential vigour and manliness.

Dryden was no sycophant, as he was no saint; he obeyed the powers that were, and, when he liked them, he flattered them too much, for he had to live by their patronage and they loved flattery. He turned Roman Catholic under King James, who would otherwise have turned him out of his poor little office; but it is clear that he attached little weight to the difference of creeds, and he refused, in spite of much pressure, to revert to Protestantism after the Revolution, although he lost the laureateship by this refusal. The best trait in his character is perhaps his generous and sound appreciation of the work of others, even of such bitter political opponents as Milton. He staunchly maintained the fame of Shakespeare as the greatest of Englishmen, in an age which had forgotten and belittled him. He died revered by the whole literary world of England, the oracle of the wits and the cynosure of all eyes at his favourite coffee-house.



JOHN DRYDEN

From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the Kit Cat Collection
belonging to H. C. Baker, Esq., of Bayfordbury

SIR CLOUDISLEY SHOVELL

(1650-1707)

was the son of John Shovell, a Norfolk squire, and Anne Jenkinson. To enter the Navy was a county and a family tradition, and at the age of fourteen Shovell went to sea. During the Dutch War he saw some fighting; there is even a legend of his swimming with dispatches in his mouth under a hot fire. Promotion came to him steadily as the reward for much hard service, and after the Battle of Bantry Bay he was knighted (1689). Next year as Rear-Admiral of the Blue, he commanded a squadron in the Irish Sea, while two years later in the famous Battle of La Hogue his manœuvre in piercing the French line at Barfleur contributed greatly to the English victory. Subsequently he joined Rooke, and had a large share in the capture of Gibraltar and the victory of Malaga (1704). Shortly afterwards he was created Admiral of the Fleet. During his last command in the Mediterranean, he assisted at the siege of Barcelona, and in 1707 he brought about the destruction of the French fleet at Toulon, while co-operating with the Duke of Savoy. On the homeward voyage his fleet was carried among the Scillies by an unknown current. The flagship was wrecked, and Shovell was cast up on the shore still living, but was murdered by a woman, who found him, for the sake of his ring. He was what Addison calls him 'a brave rough English Admiral', and, in recognition of his fine record of constant and conspicuous service, he was honoured by a burial in Westminster Abbey and a very hideous monument.

JOHN, LORD CUTTS

(1661-1707)

was the son of Richard Cuttes of Arkesden, Essex, and Joan Everard. After an education at Catherine Hall, Cambridge, he became a member of the Duke of Monmouth's suite at the Hague, where he employed himself by courting one of William's mistresses and writing moderate poetry. In 1686 he fought as a volunteer against the Turks in Hungary, and made his mark by his reckless daring at the siege of Buda. On his return to England, he published some more poems, but soon went back to Holland, whence he accompanied William to Torbay in 1688. Cutts was made colonel of a foot-regiment, and for his services at the battle of the Boyne received an Irish barony. Later in the same year he married Mrs. Trevor, a wealthy widow, but did not forsake his military career. After holding a command in Ireland, he went to Flanders as Brigadier-General. There he fought and was severely wounded at Steenkirk, being forced to return home on crutches. During his recovery he governed the Isle of Wight, but in 1694 he took part in the attack on Brest, where he was again wounded. Next year he had a large share in the capture of Namur. His unflinching bravery in leading forlorn hopes and his eagerness to face the hottest fire won him the nickname of the 'Salamander', and the success of the final assault on the fortress was mainly due to his splendid example. He became a popular hero, and, on his return to England, captain of the body-guard. In 1697, his first wife having died some four years before, he married Elizabeth Pickering, but she too died shortly afterwards. After the peace of Ryswick, which he helped to negotiate, he was mainly



SIR CLOUDISLEY SHOVELL

From the portrait by Michael Dahl in the National Portrait Gallery



JOHN, LORD CUTTS

From the portrait by William Wissing in the National Portrait Gallery

concerned in pacifying his numerous creditors, until the outbreak of war in 1701 gave him fresh employment in the field. He served as lieutenant-general under Marlborough, and struck the first blow by surprising an outwork of Venloo (September 18, 1702), a feat of extraordinary daring, which his enemies termed a vainglorious foolhardiness and which evoked a scurrilous lampoon from Swift, entitled *Ode to a Salamander*. At Blenheim he commanded the left wing, and directed the desperate assaults upon the village, but in 1705, to his great chagrin, he was made Commander-in-chief in Ireland, where he died, broken in health and fortune, two years later. He was the typical *beau-sabreur*, handsome, vain, extravagant, romantic, but a true soldier of undaunted courage. To him Richard Steele dedicated his *Christian Hero*.

WILLIAM HARVEY

(1578-1657)

was born of good Kentish yeoman stock and educated at the King's School, Canterbury, and Caius College, Cambridge. Immediately on taking his degree he went to Padua to study medicine, and became a Doctor of Medicine there in the last year of the reign of Elizabeth. Throughout the reigns of James I and Charles I his life was closely bound up with the great corporations of the College of Physicians and St. Bartholomew's Hospital; he was appointed 'Physician' to the latter in 1609. But it was as 'Lumleian lecturer' at the College that he first made his name famous in 1616, by a series of lectures in which he announced his discovery of the circulation of the blood produced by the action of the heart. This discovery was based upon long and patient study and dissection both of animals and human bodies; but it was not published in the form of a book till the year 1628. Attempts, but very weak ones, were made to confute it, just as attempts have been made in recent times to impugn Harvey's title to have been the original discoverer; all seem to have failed completely. Harvey travelled upon the Continent on more than one occasion, and was everywhere received with honour, for, besides being a great man of science, he was an excellent scholar. Though he cared nothing for politics he accompanied the King when he left London at the outbreak of the Great Rebellion and followed his fortunes at Oxford until that city surrendered in 1646. Not unnaturally, therefore, he forfeited his appointment at St. Bartholomew's, for which loss it was little amends that Charles had made him Warden of Merton College while the Court was in Oxford. But he seems to have borne no malice either to his victorious enemies or his defeated friends, and returned peaceably to London after the failure of the Royalist cause. He must have been a wealthy man, and evidently had wealthy relations with whom he resided in London, for his benefactions to the College of Physicians were very large, and he retained his lectureship until the year before his death. The Presidency was offered to him in 1654, but he refused it, and died in 1657.



WILLIAM HARVEY

From the portrait by C. Jansen belonging to the Royal College of Physicians

ROBERT BOYLE

(1627-1691)

was the seventh son of Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, and of Catherine Fenton, his second wife. Born at Munster Castle, he went to Eton at the age of eight. In 1638 he went abroad, where he acquired a knowledge of French, Italian, fencing and tennis, besides studying the new doctrines of Galileo. The zeal for science thus engendered kept him, on his return to England in 1644, aloof from the struggle of the Civil War. He became a prominent member of the 'Philosophical College', a body not less famous for speculation than for experiment. His occasional visits to Ireland convinced him that it was no place for the pursuit of chemistry, and in 1654 he settled at Oxford. There he was the centre of that group of learned men which afterwards grew into the 'Royal Society'. He made numerous experiments in the laboratory, which he founded. He discovered the relation between elasticity and pressure, now known as 'Boyle's Law', and in 1660 published the first results of his researches. In 1668 he migrated to London, where he lived with his sister, Lady Ranelagh, until his death. His scientific studies and writings continued without interruption, and won him a European reputation as one of the intellectual leaders of his times. He was the friend of Newton, Locke, and Evelyn, while no foreigner of note visited London without seeking an interview. But besides creating empirical science, he also was an ardent champion of revealed religion. From early years he had always been deeply religious, though tolerant in his views. Not only was he the author of several theological treatises, but he had made himself a master of

Greek, of Hebrew and some other Oriental tongues. He took a lively interest in the propagation of the Gospel both at home and in heathen lands, and devoted energy and money unsparingly to that cause. By his will he founded the Boyle lectures for the defence of the faith against unbelievers.

In private life he was simple and unaffected, while his generosity to struggling students was unbounded. The magnitude of his intellectual achievement was enhanced by his delicate constitution. Nothing testifies more eloquently to his intense love of knowledge than the perpetual contest which he waged from his youth up with extreme bodily weakness, though he had the means to live comfortably without taxing his brains. Although his researches were not systematic, they covered almost the whole field of chemistry and physics. Of these sciences he can claim to be the founder, since he first realized in practice that experimental method which Bacon had dimly surmised in theory. Though himself not free from the superstitions of alchemy and demonology, he indicated the true path of science, and cleared it of much of the mediaeval rubbish which still encumbered it.



ROBERT BOYLE
From the portrait by Frederic Kersboom in the National Portrait Gallery



JOSEPH ADDISON
From the portrait by Michael Dahl in the
National Portrait Gallery

JOSEPH ADDISON

(1672-1719)

was the son of Lancelot Addison, Dean of Lichfield, a man of some literary eminence. He was educated at Charterhouse, where the foundation of his almost life-long friendship with Steele was laid, and at Queen's College, Oxford, whence he passed to Magdalen as a demy in 1689. He gained a Fellowship in 1697, and at about the same time won the favour of Charles Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, who procured for him a pension of £300 a year from the Crown. As a scholar, Addison won a considerable reputation. His knowledge of Latin literature was extensive, and he wrote Latin verses with an ease and skill which earned him the praise of so severe a critic as Boileau. From 1699-1703 he travelled on the Continent, his Italian tour rousing his classical enthusiasm to the highest pitch. On his return he obtained through Halifax a commission from Godolphin to celebrate the victory of Blenheim, which he did in a poem entitled *The Campaign*. Though not poetry of the highest order, it won him no little repute, and constituted the preface to his literary and political career. His ability as a pamphleteer procured him a seat in Parliament in 1708. He defended the Whig Ministry in the *Whig Examiner* (1708), but his fame as a writer was first founded by his contributions to Steele's paper the *Tatler* (1709-10), which was followed by the *Spectator*, issued daily throughout 1711 and 1712, for which Addison wrote two hundred and seventy-four essays. For this type of literature his genius was peculiarly fitted. His style is a model of lightness and elegance, while his refined humour and delicate imagination render his treatment of

social and semi-serious topics inimitable. His reputation now established, he produced *Cato, a tragedy* in 1713. It is rhetorical and ill-constructed, but proved highly successful, winning the approbation of Voltaire and being translated into many languages. In 1716 he married the widowed Countess of Warwick, in the education of whose son he had previously interested himself, but the marriage was not very fortunate. The Whig ascendancy had also brought him into political prominence, and, in spite of never having opened his mouth in Parliament, he was made Secretary of State (1717-18), a testimony both to the importance of journalism in the politics of that age and to his own personal popularity. The latter, notwithstanding quarrels with Pope and Steele which clouded his last year, was unbounded. The qualities of his style were the reflection of his character, and were reproduced in his conversation. The charm of the latter was conceded even by Pope, soon to be one of his bitterest opponents. In his manner he was almost excessively modest, and he always preferred the company of a few friends in a coffee-house to more pretentious social gatherings. Few men have led more uniformly happy lives, or been less spoilt by constant admiration. Fortunately for those who live after him he has transmitted some of the fascination of his personality to his writings.

JONATHAN SWIFT

(1667-1745)

was the son of Jonathan Swift, one of a good Yorkshire family, and Abigail Erick. His father died before he was born, and he was brought up away from his mother, though afterwards he became warmly attached to her. His boyhood was spent with an uncle in Ireland, and at the age of fifteen he entered Trinity College, Dublin. His career as a student was wild and unprofitable. Formal studies were obnoxious to him, and owing to his preference for history and poetry, he only obtained a degree by a special grace. Leaving Ireland in 1689, he entered the household of Sir William Temple as amanuensis, and while in this employ used to play with a child named Esther Johnson, better known as 'Stella', thus laying the foundation of an intimacy which gladdened and tormented them both through life. For two years Swift was absent in Ireland, where he took orders, but in 1696 he returned to act as Temple's secretary. He had already made several literary attempts in prose and verse, but his patron's unlucky encounter with Bentley suggested to Swift the true field for his genius. As a defence of Temple, he wrote *The Battle of the Books*, a witty but scurrilous attack on Bentley and Wotton, written in the style of a Virgilian translation. Soon afterwards he completed *The Tale of a Tub*, a bitter satire on the theological pedantries of Papists and dissenters, which raised, even among Anglicans, grave suspicions of Swift's orthodoxy. These two works were circulated in manuscript among Temple's friends, and were finally published together in 1704. After his patron's death in 1699 Swift obtained from Lord Berkeley the living of Laracor, near Dublin, with a modest, but

sufficient income. In 1701 he was again in London, writing his first pamphlet for the Whigs, and at the end of the year he returned to Ireland with Stella and Mrs. Dingley, whom he established in his house during his absences, but who always lived in their own lodgings when he was present. Much of his time was spent in London, where he became the warm friend of Addison and a member of the fraternity of wits. He still followed the Whigs and especially Halifax, but he found that good words and good dinners were more easily got than substantial preferment. A sense of resentment, added to a strong aversion for dissenters, gradually drove Swift to change sides. In October 1710 he joined the Tories, and became the devoted adherent of Harley, just at the time when the *Journal to Stella* begins. This daily account of his life for nearly three years is the most simple and delightful of all Swift's writings. In it his frugal habits, his proud, sensitive nature, his caustic humour, are all clearly brought to light; but its main personal interest lies in the tender and pathetic affection displayed by the writer for the reader whom he had most in his mind. Whether this affection be called love, or in his, Swift's, own phrase 'violent friendship' 'more lasting and as much engaging as violent love', Stella touched a chord in his strong, melancholy nature, which no one else touched. Swift certainly exercised an unfortunate fascination upon women, as upon the luckless Vanessa or Esther Vanhomrigh, whom his affectionate regard could not satisfy; but Stella alone aroused in him any stronger feeling. During the years covered by the diary, Swift was serving the Tories in London, writing trenchant papers in the *Examiner* and telling pamphlets, such as the *Conduct of the Allies*. In society, he was much sought after, but he rejected haughtily anything savouring of patronage, and consequently got few material benefits. At last, in 1713, he was made Dean of St. Patrick's, and retired to Ireland, as if to banishment, a completely disillusioned and disappointed man. His personal feelings and his view of mankind were closely interdependent; hence, as his private troubles increased, his misanthropy



JONATHAN SWIFT

From the portrait attributed to Charles Jervas in the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford

grew more sombre and morose. To the beginning of this period, 1716, his supposed marriage with Stella is ascribed. Whether this ceremony was performed or not, they continued to live apart as before, but her company alone gave him any pleasure, save when Addison came to Ireland. Swift's tone in controversy grew constantly more bitter, and at length he found a worthy theme in the oppression of Irish trade by the English Government. In 1724 he put forth his fierce plea for liberty in *Drapier's Letters*. The patent known as Wood's halfpence was swept away by their savage invective, and Swift became the idol of the Dublin populace. Three years later he published his satirical masterpiece, *Gulliver's Travels*, which he had been writing since 1720. Its instantaneous success was, however, completely marred for him by the failing health of Stella, who died in January 1728, leaving Swift utterly desolate. He tried to console himself by writing his *Character of Mrs. Johnson*, but his gloom gradually deepened, accentuated by the fits of giddiness to which he was always liable. In his letters to friends like Bolingbroke and Pope he frequently expressed his forlorn pessimism, to which he gave further vent in morbid outpourings and ferocious pamphlets. To constant physical agony was added a haunting dread of insanity during his last years and a longing for death, which finally came to him after he had lain for many months in complete apathy. He was buried beside Stella in Dublin Cathedral.

Swift's character and writings have been severely judged by many who see in him only the snarling pessimist, hurling unnecessary insults at humanity. To comfortable optimists like Macaulay his vigorous and lucid style is insufficient to palliate his indecent violence, but any one who has appreciated his life truly must recognize in Swift's rage not the cheap sneering of a cynic, but the utterance of a noble and tortured spirit, often perverted by disease and misfortune to ignoble uses, but at bottom passionately sincere.

SIR GODFREY KNELLER

(1646-1723)

painter, son of Zacharias Kniller and Lucia Beuten, was born in Lübeck. He inherited his artistic talents from his father, who was a painter of portraits, and he learnt the rudiments of the art under Rembrandt and other Dutch masters in Holland. To complete his education, he visited Italy, and during his stay in Venice paid special attention to the works of Titian and Tintoretto. On returning to Germany, he soon made a name for himself as a portrait-painter at Hamburg. In 1675 he visited London as the guest of a wealthy merchant, who duly had his picture painted. Other commissions followed, and at length Charles II himself was persuaded to sit to him. From that moment Kneller's fortune was made. He became and remained the established Court-painter until the time of his death. He was knighted by William III and raised to the baronetage by George I. Besides numerous pictures of the five English sovereigns under whom he lived, he painted portraits of Louis XIV, Peter the Great, and the Emperor Charles VI. The total number of his pictures is prodigious. He worked with great rapidity, and, when his fame was secure, left the greater part of the work to be done by pupils. At the time of his death he left some five hundred portraits in an unfinished state. In his own day he was thought a second Rembrandt, and, though modern critics are less enthusiastic, he had the instinct and execution of a true artist. His works, which are to be found in every large country house in England, form an invaluable record of the celebrities of his time. With the great wealth he amassed he built an imposing house near Hounslow, where he now lies buried.



SIR GODFREY KNELLER

From a mezzotint by J. Beckett of a portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller



SIR PETER LE LY

From the portrait by himself in the National Portrait Gallery

SIR PETER LELY

(1618-1680)

was the son of a Dutch soldier called Van der Faes, and appears to have studied painting at Haarlem when Franz Hals was at the height of his fame. He came to England in the train of Prince William of Orange in 1641, in a fortunate hour for himself, for Vandyck died within that year, and Lely, whose assumed name seems to have been taken from the sign of a 'lily' over his father's home in Holland, painted portraits of Prince William and his bride Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I, which at once made his name. In 1647 he painted King Charles in his captivity at Hampton Court, and he painted Cromwell at least once. A painter is, rightly, of no party in the State, but it was natural that the Restored Monarchy should give commissions more freely than the Protectorate, and, after 1660, Lely, in receipt of a permission from King Charles II, was continually busy in painting the beauties of the Court—so busy indeed that many found it exceedingly difficult to get a sitting. He was knighted in 1679, and was fully at work when he died suddenly in the next year.

No one would now call Lely a great painter—but he had the makings of greatness in him, and might have been greater had not success, fame, and ample reward come, as they came afterwards to Thomas Lawrence, far too easily.

HENRY PURCELL

(died 1695) ,

was probably born in Westminster, where his father had once been attached to the musical staff of the Abbey, shortly before the Restoration. It is believed that he died at the age of thirty-seven, which would give 1658 as the date of his birth. His precocity was great, for he had composed music for the stage while yet in his teens, and an opera at the age of twenty-two, before he became organist at the Abbey in 1680 and at the Chapel Royal two years later. Neither his favour at the Stuart Court, nor his lofty taste in Italian music, prevented him from composing the air of Lillburlero, with which Tom Wharton 'whistled King James out of three Kingdoms'. Musicians, even more than painters, can afford to be quite indifferent to politics, and for Whig and Tory alike it was a musical age of which Purcell was the fine flower. It is by his beautiful anthems that he is now, perhaps, best remembered.



HENRY PURCELL

From the portrait by J. Closterman in the National Portrait Gallery

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN

(1632-1723)

mathematician, meteorologist, experimentalist, and, above all, architect, was the son of Christopher Wren, afterwards Dean of Windsor, and Mary Cox. He was born at his father's Rectory of East Knoyle in Wilts, and educated at Westminster School under the great Dr. Busby. After an interval, during which he studied anatomy, he went to Wadham College, Oxford, and at the age of twenty-one was elected Fellow of All Souls. For this Society he always retained the warmest affection, and bequeathed to it a large collection of his own architectural drawings.

He was one of the founders of the Royal Society, and, at one and the same time, held the astronomical professorship at Gresham College in London and the Savilian professorship at Oxford. It was only slowly and under great pressure that he finally came to devote his chief energies rather to the practical art of architecture than to experimental philosophy; and it was probably the accident of the Great Fire of London, together with his appointment as 'Surveyor of His Majesty's Works' to Charles II, that finally determined the sphere in which his genius was to bear the greatest fruit. 'If', as his epitaph in St. Paul's Cathedral says, 'you seek a monument of him, look around you.' But look not only at the perfect proportions and majesty of the rebuilt Cathedral, not only at the few remaining specimens of the fifty-two parish churches which he built in London, of which St. Stephen's, Walbrook, is perhaps the gem, but at the Library of Trinity and the façade of Emmanuel at Cambridge, at the Ashmolean and Sheldonian buildings at Oxford, at Chelsea Hospital,

at Greenwich Observatory, at Hampton Court, at Kensington Palace. And, when you look, remember that the architect who planned or beautified these great buildings was the last as he was the greatest artist in stone that England has produced. Remember also that before he had settled down to the business of his life he had anticipated several of the scientific discoveries of Newton and Leibnitz in the high and cold regions of pure and of applied mathematics.

In private life Wren was so loveable that he seems never to have made an enemy ; he lived in high favour through four reigns without a breath of scandal or envy blowing upon him, and it was only at the accession of George I that, already in his eighty-sixth year, he was removed from his office of Surveyor. He was, moreover, so modest and so tactful that, if the parsimony or stupidity of his clients prevented the execution of his designs on the great scale on which he had planned them, he was always willing to modify them. Had his grand design for the rebuilding of London, with a radius of streets converging at St. Paul's Churchyard, been carried out, the City would have been the most beautiful Capital in Europe ; but no man knew better than Wren the limits of the possible, or was more willing to do his best within those limits.

He was twice married and left a son Christopher, who collected the memorials of his father's life under the title of *Parentalia* (London, 1750).



SIR ANTHONY VAN DYCK

From the portrait by himself in the National Portrait Gallery



SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN

From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery

SIR ANTHONY VAN DYCK

(1599-1641)

son of Franz van Dyck and Maria Cupers, was born at Antwerp, where his father was a rich merchant. His genius for painting was manifested in extreme youth and won him the admiration and friendship of Rubens, whom he occasionally assisted without ever being his pupil. Indeed, he early learned to shun the 'fleshly' style and gaudy colouring of that great artist's later work. Van Dyck's early career, whether in the Netherlands, in Italy, or on his occasional visits to England, the first of which was in 1620 or 1621, was one of uninterrupted success and progress; but it was the work he did at Genoa which first attracted the attention of Charles I, who often sent agents to Italy to purchase masterpieces for the English Royal collection. In 1632 the painter settled in London, was knighted and received a pension and a settlement from the King; he made two visits to the Continent in 1634 and 1640, but probably without intention to remain, and all the best of his later work was done in England. The amount of this work is prodigious, but, although details and accessories may have often been entrusted to his numerous pupils, there is much evidence that the composition, first sketch, and final touches of all his 'authentic' work were done by himself. The limits of that authenticity are admirably discussed by Mr. Bell in the Introductory pages of this volume. The best of all his sitters were the King, the Queen, and the royal children; and the series of portraits of these that he produced are, of themselves, enough to place him in the very first rank of all painters of all ages and countries. He was also supreme in the art of etching.

In private life he was extravagant, sentimental, and somewhat immoral; he was married in 1640, perhaps rather by royal command than at his own desire, to a Scottish lady of rank, Mary Ruthven, by whom he left one daughter. King Charles did not pay his pension more regularly than he paid his other royal debts, and Van Dyck died, a prematurely aged and disappointed man, in 1641.

SIR GEORGE ROOKE

(1650 1709)

Admiral of the Fleet, was the son of Sir William Rooke of a Kentish family. He entered the Navy and served with distinction in the wars of the reigns of Charles II, William III, and Anne, whether against Dutchmen, Frenchmen, or Spaniards. Of Tory family and an avowed Tory in politics, he yet made no difficulty in accepting the Revolution Settlement, although it is possible that divided sentiment may have made him less keen to effect the relief of Londonderry (1689) than he should have been. His greatest exploit was the completion of the victory of La Hogue in 1692, when by extraordinary daring he thrust his ships into shallow water, and cut out or burned the remainder of the French fleet under the guns of the fort of St. Vaast on the eastern shore of the Cotentin peninsula. The capture of Gibraltar in 1704 was another fine piece of Rooke's work; shortly after this, with a very insufficiently equipped force, he met off Malaga the French fleet which was coming to recapture the Rock, and drove it back, after a desperate battle, into Toulon. He was not, however, uniformly successful, for it was to his negligence in the matter of scouting that the French capture of the great 'Smyrna Convoy', of English and Dutch vessels sailing to the Levant in 1693, was largely due. Nor was he wholly free from the charge of being a 'political' admiral. He was (no doubt quite rightly) a warm partisan of Lord Torrington against Edward Russell in the matter of the battle off Beachy Head in 1690: he did not always get on well with the military commanders who were associated with him in expeditions, e.g. in the attempt on Cadiz in 1702; and at least once he was called upon to defend his conduct in Parliament. Had he been less of a politician he would not have been shelved by the Whigs immediately after his great victory off Malaga. But he was never employed again, and died in 1709.



SIR GEORGE ROOKE

From the portrait attributed to Michael Dahl in the
National Portrait Gallery



ALGERNON PERCY, TENTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, K.G.

From a copy by Henry Stone from the portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck
in the National Portrait Gallery

ALGERNON PERCY

TENTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND

(1602 1668)

son of Henry, ninth Earl, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and succeeded his father in 1632. He commanded the two 'Ship-money' fleets (1636 and 1637) and was made Lord High Admiral in 1638, but was unable to do anything to remedy the disorders which were rampant in the Navy. He commanded the forces South of Trent in the first Bishops' War, 1639, and the whole army in the second Bishops' War, 1640, but his health obliged him to quit the field. In the Short Parliament, and at the opening of the Long Parliament, he represented moderation and conciliation, but gradually went over to the Opposition; and the Commons, who were thankful to have caught so big a fish, loaded him with praise and with offices which it did not need much active energy to execute. On every occasion of treaties for peace, at Colnbrook, at Oxford, at Uxbridge, and at Newport, Northumberland was spokesman of Parliament to the King. Though he had supported the Self-denying Ordinance, he stood firm for Parliament against the Army in 1647; he resisted the Vote of Non-Addresses, and every measure for the King's trial. He utterly refused to take any part in the politics of the Interregnum, and yet, in 1660, was warmly opposed to the unconditional Restoration of Charles II and to measures against the Regicides. Although he was sworn of the new Privy Council in 1660, he again stood wholly aloof from public life until his death.

He was, however, by no means an example of a man of 'no settled convictions'; rather, he was by nature a moderate Whig, driven by the zeal of the active leaders on both sides in the Civil War into a position of helplessness which at last came to look like apathy. But, while any chance remained of making his voice heard, he always expressed his opinions with courage and probity.

ROBERT BURTON

(1577-1640)

belongs to the select and curious band of persons who have made themselves famous by a single book. Apart from his one great work, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, there is little known of him and little to be known. His father, Ralph Burton, lived at Lindley in Leicestershire, and sent his son first to school at Nuneaton, and then to Brasenose College, Oxford. In time Burton became a Bachelor of Divinity and a Student of Christ Church, where he continued to live as a bachelor, and incidentally as a divine, until the end of his days, drawing a sufficient income from a College living in the town, to which a country rectory was later added. Of his mode of life in academic society we know but few details. Apparently he had a reputation for kindness and wit, but was retiring and subject to fits of depression, which he relieved by going down to the river and listening to the picturesque language of the bargemen wherein he found much diversion. This melancholy trait in his character he makes the excuse for his book, which he wrote, as he says, 'being busy to avoid melancholy.' To classify his work would be impossible. It is just the creation of an eccentric fancy, a strange medley of psychology, philology, medicine, and theology, interspersed with discourses on such incongruous topics as love, sport, and spiritualism. His style is like his treatment, loose and rambling, often a furious flow of words almost unchecked by punctuation, and loaded throughout with an extraordinary wealth of quotation from classical and other writers. 'I have read many books,' he says, 'but to little purpose for want of good method, I have confusedly tumbled over



ROBERT BURTON

From the portrait at Brasenose College, Oxford
Painter unknown



WILLIAM, FIRST EARL OF CRAVEN

From the portrait by Gerard Honthorst in the
National Portrait Gallery



WILLIAM JUXON, ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY

From the portrait at Lambeth Palace
Painter unknown



INIGO JONES

From the portrait, copied probably by Henry Stone
from an original by Sir Anthony Van Dyck
in the National Portrait Gallery

divers authors in our Libraries with small profit for want of art, order, memory, judgement.' These words give a just idea of his quaint and various erudition, but the world certainly has not judged the result to be unprofitable. His learning is tempered by a delicate humour, and, despite his hermit's life, he possessed a shrewd and genial insight into human nature. The first edition of *The Anatomy* appeared in 1621, and before his death four further editions were published, to the great advantage of his printer who is said to have made his fortune. Burton died at Christ Church and was buried in the Cathedral, rumour maliciously asserting that he hanged himself in order that his death might coincide with his own astrological forecast. Such an ending would not, indeed, have been inconsistent with his quaint and original turn of mind.

WILLIAM CRAVEN

EARL OF CRAVEN

(1606-1697)

was the eldest son of Sir William Craven, a city magnate, and Elizabeth Whitmore, the daughter of an alderman. After a brief career at Trinity College, Oxford, he took up soldiering, perhaps in order to shake off the commercial associations of his parentage by entering the chief profession of the gentleman of his day. If this was his object, he was surprisingly successful, for, in recognition of his martial services on the continent, he was raised to the peerage at the age of twenty-one. In 1632 he sailed for Germany as one of the leaders of the English force enlisted to serve under Gustavus Adolphus in the hope of restoring Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and her husband Frederick to the Palatinate. He fought with distinction and was wounded. Like so many of the warriors of the age, he appears to have fallen under the spell of the ill-fated Elizabeth, whose service thenceforth became the chief purpose of his life. In 1637 he spent his great wealth lavishly in fitting out another expedition to North Germany, but the army was defeated and Craven, again wounded, was taken prisoner together with Prince Rupert. After remaining some time in captivity he ransomed himself at a high price. Thenceforward he maintained an intimate correspondence with Elizabeth, assisted her cause with large sums of money, and eventually became a regular resident at her wandering Court. Being absent from England, he took no active part in the Civil War, but he sent to Charles large subsidies, which gave Parliament in 1651 an excuse for confiscating

his estates. In spite of this misfortune he remained faithful to Elizabeth, until the Restoration afforded him an opportunity of giving still further practical proof of his devotion. Craven was made lieutenant-general, loaded with offices, and finally created an earl. As Charles would at first make no provision for Elizabeth, Craven put his own London house at her disposal. She came to England in 1661 and remained his guest until a short time before her death. It was said that they were privately married, but of this there is no sufficient proof. Craven continued to be a person of importance at the Courts of Charles and James, and the close friend of Rupert. He made his peace with William III without difficulty, but the last ten years of his long life were spent in retirement on his numerous estates. There is no reason for thinking that he was a man possessing any exceptional talents, but the chivalrous knight-errantry which led him to devote himself and his resources unstintingly to the service of Elizabeth lends his character a romantic and curious distinction. His brother John was the founder of the Craven Scholarships at the two Universities.

WILLIAM JUXON

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

(1582-1663)

son of Richard Juxon, an official of the diocese of Chichester, was born in that city. His early life was quite uneventful. He passed as a scholar from Merchant Taylors' School to St. John's College, Oxford. After taking orders, he held two Oxford livings until elected to the presidency of his College in 1621. When Laud became Chancellor of the University he detected Juxon's capacity and his good qualities as a churchman, and made him one of his lieutenants by creating him Bishop of Hereford. On being promoted to the see of London in 1633, Juxon became for the first time a prominent figure in Church and State. He was distinguished for the discretion which he displayed in dealing with the difficult questions of conformity that troubled his diocese. His sincerity, uprightness, and moderation were recognized even by his opponents, and so much impressed the King that the latter made him Lord Treasurer. No ecclesiastic had been appointed to this post for more than one hundred and fifty years, but Juxon fully justified this revival of a mediaeval practice by an honesty in administration which of late had been uncommon. At the fall of Laud in 1641 he resigned his office, but he was left undisturbed and even the revenues of his see were not withdrawn from him till 1649. This is a remarkable proof of the esteem in which he was held even by the King's enemies. He did not join the Royalist forces, but Charles, who put great faith in his judgement, consulted him frequently. Juxon was by the King's side during his trial and,

after his sentence, Charles refused all other comforters. On the scaffold the King gave him a copy of his speech in defence of his rule, and as he bowed his head to the axe addressed to him his last charge in the one word 'Remember'. With a few faithful friends Juxon buried the King's body in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, though he was forbidden to read the burial service. Until the Restoration he lived in retirement in Gloucestershire, where he kept one of the best packs of hounds in the country. Charles II on his return made him Archbishop of Canterbury, and received the crown at his hands, but Juxon's last years were clouded by failing health and he died in 1663. No better testimony to his character could be found than the words of Pepys who calls him 'a man well spoken of by all for a good man'.

INIGO JONES

(1573-1652)

was born in London, apparently of poor Catholic parents of Welsh extraction. We do not know to whom he was apprenticed nor how he came to the notice of the Earl of Pembroke, but, towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, that nobleman sent him to travel in Italy, whence he returned at the opening of the reign of James I; he was then employed about the Court as a designer of the dresses and settings of the masques which were then much in vogue. A second journey to Italy followed in 1613, and when, on his return to England in 1615, Jones was appointed 'Surveyor of Works', he was a professed admirer of the Palladian style of architecture. He built the chapel of Lincoln's Inn and the row of buildings on the west side of the square of Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Banqueting House at Whitehall (now the United Service Museum), and the Water Gate at the end of Buckingham Street, Strand; and these are the only extant buildings in London which can, with absolute confidence, be assigned to him. But enormous numbers of houses and several public squares (such as Covent Garden) were built by others from his designs, or, if originally built by himself, have been but slightly altered; and his fame is best attested by the common belief concerning any beautiful red-brick building of the Jacobean or Caroline age that it must have been 'built by Inigo Jones'.

When the King left Whitehall for good in 1642 Jones, who apparently had a residence in the Palace, was in some danger; he was in Basing House during the siege of that mansion, and was taken prisoner when it was stormed, but was allowed to compound for his estate. His last known architectural work was done at Wilton House, the residence of the family of his old patron, Lord Pembroke.

Oxford: Horace Hart, Printer to the University

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