ENGLISH PERSONAL LETTERS AND PRIVATE DIARIES OF 1640-80.
A STUDY OF THE GENERAL MENTAL ATTITUDE OF THE PERIOD AS ILLUSTRATED BY INDIVIDUAL TYPES, TOGETHER WITH A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF THE COLLOQUIAL LANGUAGE OF THE TIME.

THESIS PRESENTED FOR THE PH.D. DEGREE by

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This thesis embodies the result of my own research, the investigation having been carried on by me alone, under the supervision of Professor Caroline Spurgeon. My investigations appear to me to advance the study of my subject in three respects:

(1) The period has so far been approached almost exclusively from the historical point of view.

(2) The materials worked over by me have not, so far as I am aware, been used for the purposes of research into the psychological conditions of the period, and some of the MS. sources are here used, so far as I know, for the first time.

(3) The psychological treatment of the period has suggested an original theory of the similarity between the mental outlook of the seventeenth
century and that of the twentieth century. Since the completion of my research I have seen indications (for instance, in public speeches) of a superficial apprehension of the resemblance, but I have nowhere seen it advanced as a reasoned theory, with an attempted analysis of the causes for such a phenomenon. This theory seems to me to be very valuable, as throwing light on the life and literature of both centuries.

The aim of this study is to re-create the mental attitude of men and women living in the period 1860-60. The record has been built up from close scrutiny of the personal writings of individuals representative, so far as the materials allow, of different ranks of society and different schools of thought. The method has been to separate from the letters and diaries the general mental qualities of the age, to group these under three headings, intellectual, moral and emotional, and to devote a chapter to a discussion of each group, with copious illustration from the sources. The attitude thus depicted is mainly that of ordinary people, not of specialists in religion, politics or science, and where evidence is drawn from the writings of the latter class, it is in so what may be termed their human rather than their professional aspect. The
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discussion involves a consideration of the effect of seventeenth century civil troubles on the individual or national mind. In the Introduction an attempt is made to show that until the Great War England has suffered no strain equal in intensity to that of the seventeenth century, and detailed consideration of the mental outlook of the period 1640-80 suggests a theory of a special psychological relationship between this period and the twentieth century. Each chapter concludes with an exploration of this theory and an examination of typical twentieth century features which illustrate the analogy.

The fourth chapter deals briefly with linguistic details which attracted attention during the course of the study, including a comparison of the colloquial and literary language of the time, a summary of interesting features of phraseology and spelling and a few points supplementary to the data of the New English Dictionary.

Note: - The foot-note references are to the editions mentioned in the List of Sources, except where the use of a different edition is explicitly stated.
The seventeenth century is one of the most interesting in the history of England. It was an age of startling vicissitudes, such as commonly mark the transition period of a nation. It witnessed the breaking up and reconstruction of the Church. The fluctuations of the last fifty years of the sixteenth century (due very largely to the ecclesiastical sympathies of a particular monarch or group of ministers) steadied and hardened, became sharply defined and, depending still for the greater part of the century on the attitude of the party in power, crystallised at last into a compromise, and definitely shaped the future of the Church of England. There was a similar breaking-up and reconstruction of the State. The old body was too small for its developing functions,
and various operations had to be performed, some of them
drastic and dangerous in the extreme. Finally, with a changed
dynasty and the recognition of Parliament as the supreme
authority, a compromise was reached, which determined the
whole political future of England.

The period was one of transition in other fields than
those of Church and State. The Renaissance was over and the
Elizabethan impetus in life and letters dying or dead. The
spirit of adventure had departed, but the spirit of enquiry
remained. If the aesthetic impulses of the Renaissance no
longer dominated the imagination of men, the impulse to
scientific investigation grew and developed till it became
a salient feature of the century.

The century is also one of transition from conditions of
life which are almost mediaeval to such as form the germ of
modern conditions and customs. The age of Elizabeth had
decidedly primitive ideas on domestic subjects; the age of
William and Mary held views that were in essence modern. The
shifting of the stress from external action and adventure to
personal domestic life is one of the chief marks of this
difference.

The Literature of the century was in the same transi­
tional state. The great lyric impetus of the Elizabethan
Age had spent itself, and men turned their attention to
prose, which, in the form of a brilliant experiment to
Bacon and necessary as a weapon to Milton, became an artistic medium of the highest value in the hands of Dryden. The supreme dramatic impulse of the Elizabethan Age had decayed and sunk to basest uses, and when the drama revived, it did so in a form which, with all its glaring faults, contained the seeds of the modern comedy of manners. Of the "heroic play" it is not necessary to speak, so forced and short-lived was its growth.

In Church, State, the realm of intellect, conditions of life and literature, then, the seventeenth century is essentially important as showing the beginnings of our complicated modern civilisation.

The years 1640-80 comprise the most remarkable period of the century. They embrace the stern struggle between Monarchy and Parliament, culminating in the execution of the King; the domination of Cromwell; the Restoration of the Stuart line in the person of Charles II, and the merry years of that monarch's reign, with ominous signs as it drew to its close. It is the period of the greatest upheaval in English History, the record of a great experiment which proved itself unworkable. It is the psychological moment in the transition of which we have been speaking. The events of these forty years crystallised the main features of English character, and hammered into shape that curious blend of anomalies, the modern Englishman.
It was a period of extremes, which, after beating violently and vainly upon one another, were forced to begin a process of more or less tolerant fusion, which has continued to our own time. Such an age inevitably produced strongly-contrasted types of men and women, and had a unique contribution to give to the history of the race.

The years 1640-80 have besides their general historic importance, a peculiar interest for the English of the twentieth century. Studying the history of the three centuries that have passed since 1640, we come to the conclusion that never until 1914 has there been a period of strain equal to that of the mid-seventeenth century. The Revolution of '88 was bloodless probably because of a certain inevitability which gave it the impression of a revolving wheel in an inexorably-moving machine. The mass of the nation was not vitally concerned in the Wars of the Spanish and Austrian Successions; while the Seven Years' War and the American War affected the Mother Country in much the same way as the Boer War of 1899. The interests were pressing indeed, the issues fraught with tragedy, but the entire country was not involved nor did the conflict ever threaten the soil of Britain itself. The Napoleonic Wars were a long-drawn-out and ineffective struggle between "a land-monster and a sea-monster", and except for the comparatively short period of the invasion-panic, were regarded with detachment by England as a whole. The
Crimean War was fought out at too great a distance to stir
the imagination of the average English man or woman, with the
usual pitiful exception of those whose kin had the misfortune
to be serving. Its only legacy was a superficial jingoism
which later expressed itself in the chorus that "Russia shall
not have Constantinople".

In both 1640 and 1914 the case was different. Civil
War is, by its very nature, the most vital and agonising ordeal
a nation can be called upon to face, and involves a strain upon
the national spirit of a unique and most exacting kind. In
1914 it was sufficiently obvious that the national existence
was threatened, ultimately if not immediately, and what was
lacking in this ordeal of the peculiar horrors of Civil War
was made up by the magnitude of the struggle and the univers­
ality of its appeal. It appears, then, that in the history
of the last 300 years the two periods of England's intensest
conflict have been the early twentieth and the mid seventeenth
centuries.

Beneath the chaos, and in spite of individual irregular­
ities, English national character persists and is evident.
A particular kinship between the twentieth century and the
seventeenth in details is very striking. In certain matters
the men and women of 1640-80 seem to have a closer relation
with ourselves than either we or they have with those of the
eighteenth century.
Whether in broad outline or in detail, the temper of a people can only be profitably studied in one way. The biography of men is compiled, not mainly from the records of their external activities, but from their intimate papers. The surest and most unprejudiced material for the biography of an age is similarly to be found in its personal papers. This is especially true of the seventeenth century. State Papers are impersonal and concerned with fact rather than spirit; the drama reflects the ideas of one section of the community, and that sharply divided from the rest of the nation; the greatest literature (e.g. Milton) is hardly representative. The personality of the age, which it is our business to discover, appears in the letters and diaries, even when the latter take the form of a long epistle addressed to one particular person.

"As keys do open chests, So letters open breasts"

is the motto of James Howell, Historiographer to Charles II and writer of the entertaining collection of letters entitled "Ho-Elianae", and though in his own case the exact degree of spontaneity has been questioned, most of the letters of this period bear the stamp of a genuine personal intercourse. Lack of postal facilities, as we know them, does not seem to have discouraged a surprisingly frequent interchange of letters, though it probably set a higher value on those received.

"People who received letters in those appreciative days
treasured them sacredly, and our best friend, the waste-paper basket, seems to have been then unknown."¹ To the care of "those appreciative days" we owe a debt of gratitude, and not less do we owe it to the simplicity of mind of men and women who, while treasuring up their correspondence, yet expressed themselves with natural and candid intimacy. "The revelation which we seek and find in the best letters and biographies is one of which the personality revealed is unconscious; we must spy out his ways and thoughts from the covert of invisibility and make our own inferences from them."²

Our impression then is of a period rich in vivid personalities. As they stand out against the background of their time, they give a steadiness to the chaotic age in which they lived. Here are men and women of high purpose, intellect and culture, living out their daily lives in a difficult world and reacting to their problems in ways which we recognise and with which we feel a certain kinship.

Other factors too must enter into the estimate of any given period. Human nature remains fundamentally the same throughout the centuries and throughout the races, and the seventeenth century has its universal as well as its purely national features. Varying influences play upon different periods, and in this case allowance has to be made both for traditions inherited from the Elizabethan Age and for the

¹ Rannie, Letter-Writing as a Form of Literature, p.8.
² (2) Rannie, Introduction to "Ho-Klianae", 1907.
inevitable reaction from them, a reaction which was approaching its highest development by 1640. Something must always be allowed for individual peculiarities, and the period 1640-30 is particularly rich in outstanding personalities of an original type. But in a consideration of the character of an age, it is that elusive person, the average man, who has to be taken particularly into account. By a judicial balancing of evidence a certain average estimate can be arrived at. The proportion of those who could write was much smaller in the seventeenth century than it is to-day. The poorer classes have left no personal record, a loss which is incalculable, though some indirect information can be gathered from the correspondence of their superiors in education. Our judgment has to be made from the sources available, and if one group is unrepresented, the richness of the material supplied by the rest is a sufficient encouragement.

This study, then, is an attempt to reconstruct the mental outlook of the period 1640-30, in its intellectual, moral and emotional aspects, and to draw certain parallels between this attitude and that of the present day. A brief examination of the colloquial language of the time, as illustrated in the Letters and Diaries, will be added.
CHAPTER I.

THE MENTAL ATTITUDE OF THE PERIOD IN ITS INTELLECTUAL ASPECTS.

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him from them by individual traits peculiar to himself. The same holds good of any given age in the life of a nation.

The background of universal, racial or national characteristics is as much a part of the mentality of the period as the local or temporal development of certain aspects. The difference is always one of emphasis, and this emphasis is due to certain conditions of the national life that tend to bring out in different periods traits in the national character which in other circumstances lie dormant.

The period 1660-80 falls naturally into two equal divisions. Their historical significance was widely different, and their mental attitude largely affected by it. The distinction cannot, however, be made rigidly chronological. Sir Ralph Verney was still living in 1686, when Henry Seville
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The mentality of an individual, that is, his attitude of mind, his way of looking at life, has always a twofold significance. It links him to his fellow-men by characteristics common to all of his race and time, and it also distinguishes him from them by individual traits peculiar to himself. The same holds good of any given age in the life of a nation. The background of universal, racial or national characteristics is as much a part of the mentality of the period as the local or temporal development of certain aspects. The difference is always one of emphasis, and this emphasis is due to certain conditions of the national life that tend to bring out in different periods traits in the national character which in other circumstances lie dormant.

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was already a man of nearly sixty, yet the former belongs as unquestionably to the pre-Restoration as the latter to the post-Restoration period. The outlook of those who had grown up before the Civil War was as different from that of the next generation as the pre- and post-War attitudes of the twentieth century. The troubled years under Charles I. and the Commonwealth had sapped the spirit of the nation. Fiery devotion and enthusiasm had spent themselves, and a certain apathy remained. It is a curious fact that in such a case those who have had no personal part in the great crisis feel the reaction from it more intensely than the direct sufferers. Always it seems that the legacy of disillusionment is passed on to the new generation, while the actors in the original drama are inclined to forget that those whom they stigmatise as selfish and soulless are suffering from an upheaval, the disastrous effects of which they bitterly resent, while its inspiring force is outside their range of experience. The younger generation react unconsciously to their heritage, but when the heritage derives from some national cataclysm, the reaction tends to be so violent and so incomprehended by its subjects that cause and effect become obscured, and the new is regarded as unaccountable, whereas it is really due to a natural if violent swing of the pendulum.
It will be obvious that close comparisons can be made between the periods 1640-80 and 1900-23. A study of the seventeenth century, a period remote enough to be viewed dispassionately, yet intimately connected in spirit with our own, may prove a guide to a fresh understanding of twentieth century mentality. Though by no means complete, the analogy is decidedly suggestive, and an attempt will be made to draw some conclusions from the evidence collected in each of the chapters on the Mental Attitude of the period.

The problem confronting all Englishmen in 1640 was one of no ordinary difficulty. It was an age whose qualities have sometimes been obscured by their inevitable degeneration under the unusual strain to which they were subjected. "That most rare of human events, a Revolution loftily enacting lofty ideals, can occur only in a State where wealth is well distributed, classes fairly balanced and kindly related, the common intellectual food wholesome, the imagination alive, and the moral standard high. It is seldom that all these conditions are fulfilled; it is yet more seldom that the politics of so fortunate an era demand a revolution. Yet for this once in history all causes for the unique event were found together."¹ The rarity of such a situation involved peculiar complexities. Mr Trevelyan justly describes

¹ Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, p.195.
the patriots of the time on both sides as "prosperous men, enamoured of liberty, or of religion, or of loyalty, each for her own sake, not as the handmaid of class greed", but their very qualities increased the difficulty of choosing a definite line of conduct. Those few who had an axe to grind had a clear and easy path, but the God-fearing, prosperous, respectable man who wished to stand by his deepest loyalties found himself torn by irreconcilable claims, and involved in bitterest perplexity.

The issue can have been very far from clear to an ordinary level-headed Englishman of the time. Even modern thinkers, from their vantage-point of time and with all the sources at their disposal, have found it difficult to state precisely the root of the trouble. Buckle, in the nineteenth century, held that our rebellion, unlike the Fronde (with which he draws an interesting comparison), was social as well as political, but denied that it was religious in origin.

"In the reigns of James and Charles, theology was for the first time merged in politics. It was no longer a struggle of creeds and dogmas; but it was a struggle between those who favoured the crown, and those who supported the parliament. The minds of men, thus fixed upon matters of real importance, neglected those inferior pursuits that had engrossed the attention of their fathers." In it is impossible to feel that

(1) Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, p.196.
he has understood the temper of the time, or that the protagonists would have agreed with him that questions of dogma were "inferior pursuits". On the other hand, Seignobos maintains: "It was a religious uprising"¹, while Trevelyan's judgment is perhaps the shrewdest: "It was not a war between two fierce fanaticisms. The Cavaliers were fighting to prevent the excess of religion...... The Roundheads indeed were enthusiasts, but they were enthusiasts for Calvinism, the religion of self-restraint."² Probably the rising had strong political motives; in fact, the intermixture of religious and political motives was clearly shewn in the Long Parliament, where "affinities appeared between religious and political opinions too subtle for analysis, but demonstrated by innumerable particular examples to be general laws. The Catholics and Ritualists were the friends of despotism; the Protestant Churchmen were staunch for legal rights, but dreaded popular support; the Puritans alone would go all lengths in the defence of political liberty."³ But that the people generally regarded it as mainly religious is abundantly proved in the Letters and Diaries. We have it explicitly stated by Sir Edmund Verney: "I will deal freely with you, I have no reverence for the bishops, for whom this quarrel subsists."⁴ Captain Gardiner, a gallant soldier,

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¹ Seignobos, Hist. of Mediaeval Civilisation, p.392.
² Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, p.281.
³ Ibid. p.297.
⁴ Clarendon, Life, p.69.
who was to lose his life in the King's service, gives it as his view of the situation in 1642: "I am persuaded that conscience hath much to doe on both sides"\(^1\), while James Howell laments that "a strange Maggot hath got into their [English] heads..... and it reigns in the Pulpit more than anywhere else."\(^2\) It is a commonplace of history that Charles I would have yielded at necessity to all demands except the abolition of Episcopacy. In the critical year 1642, his Roman Catholic queen repeatedly urged his submission on this point, and his deference to her judgment in other matters emphasizes the sturdy resolution of his denials in this. He writes from Oxford on January 11th: "The difference between me and the rebels concerning the church is not bare matter of form or ceremony, which are alterable according to occasion, but so real, that if I should give way as is desired, here would be no church, and by no humane probability ever to be recovered; so that, besides the obligation of mine oath, I know nothing to be an higher point of conscience. This being granted, I am sure thy persuasions will be turned into praises of my constancy."\(^3\)

And on March 3rd he replies to a letter in which the queen has obviously upbraided him in language which he says is to him "a greater affliction than the power of the rebels can inflict upon me": "I will not seek an excuse from a

\(^1\) Verney Memoirs, Vol.II. p.69. (1893).
\(^2\) Epistolae Ho-Elianae, Vol.II. p.427.
\(^3\) Letters of Charles I to H.M. In 1646, p.7.
clause in thy letter - 'Je vous çounsaille de faire paie [paix] a quelque prix que ce soit' - for I know it was never thy meaning by it to persuade me either to go against my conscience, destroy monarchy, or for sake my friends.....

I must repeat to thee, that indeed thou mistakest the question, for it is not whether I should lay by the bishops for a time (like the militia for seven years), but whether I should alter my religion or not. And for God's sake remember, that I love thee so much, that thou wilt far sooner hinder me, than I will shrink, from hazarding or losing anything for thy sake; and, believe it, thy contentment is so dear to me that I will not vex thee with contradiction, in such a point as this, upon probability, where I see not a clear certainty for my assertions. But consider, that if I should quit my conscience, how unworthy I make myself of thy love..... For the Scots, I promise thee to employ all possible pains and industry to agree with them, so that the price be not giving up the church of England, with which I will not part upon any condition whatsoever..... is not the perpetual forfeit of my conscience more than the suspension for seven years of any government?".

To confusion as to the issue was added uncertainty as to the outcome of the struggle. When it began, men hoped against hope for a speedy decision. Says Baxter: "So wise in matters of war was I, and all the country besides, that

(1) Letters of Charles I. to H.M. in 1646, pp. 21, 22.
we commonly supposed that a very few days or weeks by one other battle would end the wars. But to thinking minds it must have been evident that the differences were too fundamental to be quickly composed, and that even speedy victory for either side could hardly mean permanent peace. After the First Civil War, the Cavaliers were indeed treated with remarkable leniency, but circumstances proved too strong for the Parliament, and when the struggle broke out afresh, it was with an ever-increasing bitterness which rendered the result still more problematical. It is safe to say that at this time no one foresaw the lengths to which the anti-Royalist party would be driven. The dominance of the Army alone secured the execution of the King, and the phenomenon of an England governed first by a militant minority of her population and then by the iron will of one of her middle-class citizens would have seemed beyond the bounds of possibility in 1642. What with confusion as to the cause and uncertainty as to the result of the Civil War, it is perhaps not surprising that certain puzzled spirits evaded the issue, and, like John Evelyn, took refuge in foreign travel.

The fact that this was a war "not of classes or of districts, but of ideas" accounts for the neutrality of the bulk of the nation. The war was fought out between two

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(2) Trevelyan, p.299.
powerful minorities, while the inarticulate mass of the population looked on in bewilderment, and, as a rule, took sides only when personally threatened or injured by one or other of the warring parties. The small tradesmen, the country labourers, the small farmers suffered at the hands of both armies, but sympathised with neither. By the end of the war hatred of both was probably the prevalent feeling, and right up to the Restoration the notion persisted that the great affairs debated at Westminster and fought out on English battlefields were not the concern of quiet dwellers in the provinces. This attitude is the more comprehensible when the extreme isolation of remote country districts at this epoch is taken into account. Macaulay held that the development of travelling facilities has done more "for the civilisation of our species" than any other inventions, except the alphabet and printing, and he definitely attributes the non-fusion of the various elements of seventeenth century society to the lack of such facilities.

A more complicated question arises when we consider the mental attitude of those whose lives were actually caught up "in the turning wheels of vicissitude", and who, voluntarily or involuntarily, had to take a part in the stirring activities of the years 1640-60. We have seen that the problem facing them was one of extreme complexity, and in their case

there was no question of neutrality. Prominent men must either espouse one of the two warring causes, or else retire overseas, a course impossible for many and unpalatable to most. It was necessary to come to a decision, and probably no generation of Englishmen has ever been faced with a choice so difficult. It is extremely interesting to see how in this crisis ways of thought emerge which we recognise as typical of the English mind of all time. We have a national preference for action over thought. M. André Maurois, in a recent newspaper article on "faults in the English character", brought against us the accusation "You do not like realities", and the suggestion has frequently been made that our concentration on all forms of sport is an involuntary protection against the necessity of reasoning on less congenial subjects. We deny the possibility of a crisis until it is actually imminent, and then drift into three groups, those who, obstinately disregarding the signs of the times, maintain an unreasoning optimism; those who lapse into comfortable pessimism with the remark that "the country is going to the dogs"; and those who, with as little exercise of the reasoning faculty as may be, set themselves doggedly to the obvious task before them. Heroism of action is part of our national heritage; the less conspicuous quality of sustained clarity of thought appears to be denied to us. Our capacity for seeing both

(1) Daily Express, Jan.31st, 1937.
sides of a question makes for a mental balance which is sometimes wholly admirable, but it does not render easier the task of coming to a decision. In the First Civil War, before the days of the bitterest party feeling, there were many divided minds in England. Amongst the common soldiers on both sides an attitude of uncertainty made it hard for the officers to rely on their men, and sometimes led to unpleasant incidents. Richard Symonds' Diary furnishes us with two of these. He tells us that Colonel Sir William Boteler was killed at Banbury "by his own trooper unfortunately," and records that in the same battle a rebel Captain Martin was killed because "after he had charged twice, his men did not follow." More significant than these spasmodic indications of irresolution is the attitude of that most loveable seventeenth century squire Sir Ralph Verney. His father followed the King; two of his brothers took the same course, one, the scapograce Tom, for what he could get out of it, the other as a matter of loyalty and obvious duty. This Edmund Verney the younger illustrates the gallantly haphazard spirit of the professional soldier. Reasoning upon the causes of the war is not his business; after the defeat at Newburn he prays for "anything but peace", warning his brother that if peace should unfortunately follow, Ralph may expect him home "singing good

(1) Diary of Richard Symonds, p. 23.
(2) Ibid., p. 23.
your worship, cast your eye on a poor soldier's misery."¹

To him his active duty was so obvious a fact that it carried
absolution from the much more unpleasant passive duty of
reasoning. Ralph himself took a different line. He faced
the intellectual problem, and reached a point at which he
was unable to throw in his lot with the King. The naïve
compliment of his devoted cousin Dorothy Leake who affirmed
her inability to believe that he would remain on the Par-
liamentary side, because "God hath given you to learn a pro-
portion of sense" moved him no more than the masculine
logic of his cousin Parker, whose opinion was that "if
other scale have but one of photons in it to sway you, you
are as much bound to obey that sway, as he is that has the
strongest proportion of judgment."² But Sir Ralph's mental
efforts failed to show him the conclusion to which his party
would be driven, and this, as we have shown, was hardly to
be expected, though both his brother and a lady correspondant
of his wife pointed out an already apparent inconsistency in
the Parliamentary position. "Yea will all say", writes
Edmund, "yea intend not to hurt the King, but can any of yee
warrant any one shott to say it shall not endanger his very
person?"³ Though Sir Ralph clung with admirable moral courage
to the side he had espoused, he was too truly a walker in

² Ibid. p.296. (1925).
³ Ibid. p.326. (1925).
⁴ Ibid. p.333. (1925).
the middle of the road" to follow it to all lengths, and he found himself at last a "neuter" and an exile, trusted by neither side and penalised by both. His favourite sister, married to a Royalist captain, who also seems to have felt that his brains were not needed in the cause which he served so gallantly with his sword, struggled hard to think equally well of both sides, and thereby permanently estranged her relations-in-law. The position of such men and women was pitiable. Torn by conflicting claims, they had neither the power of judgment nor the hardness of character which might have enabled them to give whole-hearted support to one side or the other, and in the thick of the struggle it was equally impossible to take up the latter and typically English position of Baxter "I make no doubt but both parties were to blame.... and I will not be he that shall justify either of them."  

A popular twentieth century novelist has stigmatised "that famous British middle-class, the most impotent because the most thought-lazy of any in the Western world". This sweeping condemnation is probably based upon the same idea that is contained in M. Maurois' accusation that we like to live in a fool's Paradise. The seventeenth century produced a section of the community, which, if not socially equivalent to the modern "famous British middle-class", shared its...

(1) Baxter, Autobiography, p.56.
(2) Hugh Walpole, The Great Tradition.
characteristic of 'thought-laziness' to a very marked degree.
It is hard to see how any member of seventeenth century
society could feel otherwise than personally interested in
the struggle, but it has been shown that certain causes made
for the limitation of such an interest to a minority of
the nation. A considerable section of the educated popula-
tion regarded the war as a regrettable incident in an other-
wise comfortable existence, and did not allow the main in-
terests of that existence to take a secondary place. As
far as in the war as 1647 the antiquary Roger Dodsworth is
writing to Sir Simonds D'Ewes lengthy epistles on so un-
topical a subject as English families and genealogies. In
one of these he mentions casually that a cousin who was to
have shown him some evidence "is since slayne at Hedgelymore
battell", and refers sadly to the loss of valuable papers
[italics mine] in "these wofull times". John Rous applies
the collector's spirit to the phenomena of his time. Ignor-
ing the gravity of the situation, he copies light-heartedly
into his Diary a miscellaneous collection of proclamations,
speeches and comic popular songs. One of the latter may be
taken as typical of his irresponsible attitude to manifesta-
tions of a spirit more serious than he knew:
"I hate these following railing rimes,
Yet keeps them for president of the times." 2

(1) Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir S. Dewes, p. 311.
(2) Diary of John Rous, p. 109.
This attitude of comparative indifference to the motives and tendencies underlying the struggle, though not to the actual conduct of the war, is well illustrated by a group of women who were forced by circumstances into close personal touch with one side or the other. Lady Fanshaw seems never to have given a thought to the rights or wrongs of the question. Royalist tradition she had in plenty. Narrating her visits to Charles I, she describes herself proudly as "the daughter of his servant and the wife of his servant" and, loyalty to the throne being her plain duty, she seems to have had no interest whatever in the motives of the quarrel. The circumstances of her life necessitate constant references in her Memoirs to political affairs and personages, but nearly all such allusions can be traced to an interest which is purely personal. "Remember your father" is the keynote of the Memoirs, addressed to her only surviving son. This straightforward woman favours Clarendon with an uncompromising hatred; he is an enemy whose mean-spirited attacks gravely injure her husband. It is her profound resentment, not her sense of his influence on English politics, that breaks out in the words: "I will show you something of Sir Edward Hyde's nature". The same attitude is traceable in her allusions to Cromwell. He is spoken of casually once or twice as "Oliver", but with no particular show of interest. The

(1) Memoirs of Lady Fanshaw, p.75.
(2) Ibid, p.103.
only detailed reference is on the occasion of her personal solicitation for her husband's release from prison, and apparently the point that most struck her at this interview was that the Protector "had a great respect for your father". Lucy Hutchinson, on the opposite side, is animated by the same spirit, reinforced in her case by a determined Puritanism which left no room for argument. Sir Roger Twysden's sympathies with the Parliament of 1542 were forfeited by its treatment of Strafford, yet he could not make up his mind to espouse, with Falkland, the cause of the King. Such an attitude is reflected in his wife's curious diary, written on the fly-leaves of contemporary almanacs. The records of the battle of Naseby and of herself being taken into custody occur casually enough, side by side with such attractive items as "Roger was put into breeches the 15th Oct. 1648. being somewhat above 6 years old, he was very little of growth". She devotes more personal comment even to the "tirriblest wind" she ever experienced than to the stirring events of the day, which receive only a bare mention, with no judgment of her own upon them. In the letters of Lady Conway, mostly dated from Ireland and after 1650, political events are not so much as mentioned, her mind being preoccupied by her pressing "servant problems" and her constant and acute headaches.

(2) Add. MS. 34169.
This evidence is not only typical of the period, but tends to verify the conclusion that women in all ages form their judgments rather by the heart than by the head.

By the year 1680, when the first division of our period ends and the second begins, the temper of the nation had undergone a great change. The military rule of the past ten years had been maintained by force, and the movement begun in the sacred cause of liberty had ended in tyrannic domination. Neither religious nor secular government under the Commonwealth was in accordance with normal English modes of thought. Extremes in religion have never come naturally to the nation, while government by such as Cromwell could hardly fail to outrage the instincts of a people accustomed to that "peculiar sort of intoxication produced in the most reasonable Englishmen by the contact or sight of an English peer." The power of custom dies hard. "The Government of civilized nations, especially of England, has often been the government of custom, opposed alike to brute force and to rational reform. . . . . The most successful politicians are men of talent who hold by the common ways of thought. But between the end of the First Civil War and the Restoration, the governors of England were men of a different type; they desired to pursue ends.

(1) Gustave Le Bon, The Crowd, p.149, quoted from "a recent book of travel", the title of which M. Le Bon does not give.
not customary, and they held power by no prescriptive right..... As a vacuum was thus left in sovereignty, strange things rushed in."¹ These experiments had had their day, and were discredited; the nation was weary; and there was a general desire for return to conservative stability.

M. Le Bon points out that "peoples are governed by their character, and all institutions which are not intimately modelled on that character merely represent a borrowed garment, a transitory disguise"². Yet the Restoration, though natural and in a sense inevitable, was no easy transition, and appeared far from inevitable to those who lived through the anxious months between the death of Cromwell and the landing of King Charles II. The nation was divided into a number of sects and factions, each of which was a more or less incalculable factor in the situation, while from the mass of the people no articulate expression of opinion could be expected. "All political institutions" says one writer, "..... should tend to the improvement and organisation of the national intellect."³ The political dominance of a military minority had tended to retard the development of the national intellect, while the unprecedented happenings of the past twenty years had produced a condition of dazed apprehension amongst the middle and lower ranks of the

population. Cromwell was the symbol of an ordered, if
sometimes hated régime; his death produced a sense of doubt
and unrest, which grew, on the abdication of Richard, into
something resembling panic. It is to be remembered that
Charles II was restored by a conjunction undreamt of twenty
years earlier, and probably in 1660 still incredible to the
unenlightened. The Puritans threw in their lot with the
Cavaliers to bring back the son of the man whose every
action had been to them a source of offence. Those who had
kept their fingers on the national pulse were ready for
this turn of affairs, but these were an obvious minority.
The majority are represented by such a man as Mr Butterfield,
the country parson who writes half-dispassionately, half in
apprehension: "The dangerous aspect of our state affairs
troubles my thoughts not so much in reference to my own
condition as the publice good." And a little later, two
days before Richard Cromwell's abdication, he voices the
popular feeling: "Tis a pleasant time in the country and
quiet; only trading is dead and most men are full of
feares." In the weeks immediately preceding the return
of the King, we have the curious spectacle of a nation
preparing a Restoration, gratifying to almost all classes
of the community, by stealth, in fear, and almost with bated
breath. Until Monk had declared himself, there was an
element of great danger in the situation, and so eminent

men crept away by night to interview the royal exile, and returned without informing even their confidential secretaries of the object of their recent expedition. The mass of the nation meanwhile awaited the issue in virtually passive fear and hope.

When the Restoration was an accomplished fact, the reaction was of a violence proportioned to the repression of the years of passive endurance, and to the intensity of the recent strain. "When once the Restoration had been agreed upon in fear and doubt, a chord in men's minds snapped with long tension and sudden relief, and all, save the very few, rushed delirious into old memories and new desires. The joy of men just escaped from a fearful danger, gave electric force to the reviving passion for all that was old."¹ For a short time it seemed as though the nation was fired with new life. Exuberant loyalty appeared in the "Cavalier Parliament"; demonstrations of affection to the new order were visible throughout the community; the balance of parties responsible for the Restoration and the far-sighted wisdom of the Government was shewn in the lenient treatment of the late "rebels". A passage in Clarendon's "Life" illustrates the natural effect of so great a reaction. He points out that reforms in the Household contemplated by the King before the actual Restoration vanished.

¹ Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, p.330.
and expired in the jollity of the return" and because of
"the natural desire of his Majesty to see every body so
pleased". This first-hand evidence of the prevalently too
attitude is significant of the possibility of future
trouble in a society where everyone not only wished, but
felt instinctively that he had a right, to be pleased.

The period of unreasoning optimism soon passed, and was
it became obvious that the underlying spirit was one not
merely of material discontent but of a mental disillusion­
ment which was only to be increased by the course of a reign
that had excited such high hopes. The material discontents
were difficult enough. Referring to a period only one year
after the Restoration, Clarendon points out: "Men were well
enough contented that the King should grant indemnity to all
men that had rebelled against him; that he should grant their
lives and fortunes to them, who had forfeited them to him;
but they thought it very unreasonable and unjust, that the
King should release those debts which were immediately due
to them, and forgive those trespases which had been com­
mittied to their particular damage. They could not endure to
meet the same men in the King's Highway, now it was the
King's Highway again, who had heretofore affronted them in
those ways because they were not the King's, and only be­
cause they knew they could obtain no justice against them."2

(2) Ibid, p.96.
But infinitely more serious was the decay of the national spirit, concealed at the moment of the Restoration by an outbreak of hysterical fervour, but soon to become only too evident, and to persist throughout our period. The desire to avoid the duty of hard thinking was, under a changed form, still a national characteristic. In the reign of Charles I, indifference to the laws of cause and effect was often heroic, in the reign of his son it was the outcome of a disillusioned attitude to life itself. Clarendon can trace this new spirit in the nation as early as 1665: "A general despondency seemed to possess the minds of men, as if they little cared what came to pass; which did not proceed so much from malice, as from the disease of murmuring, which had been contracting above twenty years and became almost incorporated unto the nature of the nation." When the Chancellor wrote these words, he had himself suffered disaster from the "disease of murmuring", and his criticism, though superficially accurate, lacks depth of penetrative insight. Modern psychology, from its detached vantage-ground, goes deeper. "The national spirit", says Fouillée, "does exert an effect which is different from all effects of individual minds; it is capable of exerting a sort of pressure and a constraint upon the individuals themselves; it is not only an effect, but is also in turn a cause; it

(1) Clarendon, Life: (Continuation), p.192.
is not only fashioned by individuals, it fashions them in turn.\(^1\) In 1663, the individual knew that his brief outburst of optimism had been as unreasonable as it had proved delusive; and the knowledge, though unanalysed and possibly half-unconscious, produced in him a disbeliever in all progress and a contempt for even reasonable optimism. Now his personal experience was also the national experience, and the same spirit of disillusionment pressed on him from without while he himself contributed to it from within. Stability was not to be assured by any amount of thinking; the nation was tired and thinking was, of all forms of fatigue, the most fatiguing; any exercise of the reasoning faculty was thus both futile and uncomfortable. We might take as the keynote of the second division of our period the words of a twentieth century novelist: "We've struck a disturbed patch of history, and we know it in our bones, and live from hand to mouth according."\(^2\) This would even serve as a commentary upon Charles II. History has come to endorse the verdict on his mental qualities given by his devoted admirer Thomas Earl of Ailesbury: "He was endowed with a great temper of mind, and of king-craft, and knew men to a hair..... and usually said 'Give them but rope enough and they will hang themselves'."\(^3\) He was probably one of

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(1) Fouillée, Psychologie du peuple français. Quoted by McDougall, Group Mind, p.107.
the ablest of English Kings, but the national spirit of scepticism, reinforced by his personal dislike of taking trouble, so powerfully influenced him that he is popularly regarded as our most typical royal exponent of the policy "Eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die".

The necessity for compromise seems to have impressed itself indelibly upon the post-Restoration mind. The return of Charles, though in theory a Royalist victory, was in fact the recognition of this necessity. It finds expression in such a work as Halifax's "Advice to a Daughter", when he maintains that "a rational subjection to a prince, great in himself, is to be preferred before the disquiet and uneasiness of unlimited liberty." Halifax himself owed his position to his grasp of the principle of compromise. Macaulay says of him: "His place was on the debatable ground between the hostile divisions of the community, and he never wandered far beyond the boundary of either. The party to which he at any moment belonged was the party which at that moment he liked least because it was the party of which at that moment he had the nearest view. He was therefore always severe upon his violent associates, and was always in friendly relations with his moderate opponents." Halifax, in some respects the most typical man of his time, is in many ways its finest representative, and his honesty of

(1) Advice to a Daughter, p.61.
purpose was neither shared nor understood by his own age. The whole trend of thought was to enforce the doctrine that to feel too deeply upon any subject was a folly, and, more important, a handicap. To the Cavaliers of the preceding generation, leadership of a forlorn hope was a glory and a pride; their successors found their pride in a judicious compromise which gave effect to their hope while admitting certain obnoxious but inevitable elements. The result of such a mentality is a tendency to superficiality, and the Letters illustrate this change. The stability of tempera­ment and seriousness of thought characteristic of the earlier Verneys contrasts with the delightful effervescence of the Saviles. To Henry Savile, courtier and ambassador, politics are an amusing side-show in the still more amusing game of life, to be conducted as brilliantly as circumstances allow, but not to be treated with either intense seriousness or exalted devotion. Even in his official relations he is unable to be serious. He writes to his brother from Paris that he is about to take leave of the King, "who has by his discourse distinguished me from ordinary envoyes; how he will do it by his jewells I am yet to know." Such remarks are perhaps natural, though certainly new at this period, in a family letter, but it is decidedly unusual for an envoy, writing to his chief on official business and emphasising the compliments sent by a foreign monarch to

1 Savile Correspondence, p.32. (1672).
the King of England, to comment: "I doe hardly see how he
can say much more to his mistresse". Flippancy, as a
general characteristic, dates from the Restoration.

The second half of our period is distinguished by
strong common sense. In the first half of our period we
have noticed that the tendency was to deal with the situ­
tion by action, and we have seen how the common-sense point
of view was brought before waverers for encouragement or
persuasion. But actually, the period 1640-60 was swayed
less by the dictates of practical sense than probably any
other epoch of our modern history, especially from the
beginning of the Second Civil War onwards. It was an age
of extremes; people were perforce less level-headed than
they would have wished; and the ways of thought of the
"godly" lacked a sense of proportion as much as they lacked
humour. With a man of Cromwell's penetration, such loss
of balance was indeed not due to loss of common sense.

Mr Trevelyan attributes it to his very acuteness of per­
ception, and says of him when forced to take steps that he
knew to be disastrously unwise: "Desperate of all rational
expectation, he could only keep repeating to himself and to
others, that his God would not allow so great a work to
perish. When the brave and the clear-sighted dull their
vision with spiritual drugs, it is because the pain of sight

(1) Savile Correspondence, p.34.
which they cannot endure is intense beyond the apprehension of posterity."¹ But in men of less powerful intellectual calibre, the tendency becomes almost ludicrous. Captain John Hodgson, though he can give as straightforward an account of a battle as any official report, attributes every trifling advantage to the direct interposition of Providence. Yet the staunch Puritan Lady Brilliana Harley, typical of the less fanatical majority of her party, is typical too of that quality of sturdy common sense which has come to be regarded as characteristic of the nation. She writes to her son, from the country house which she so gallantly defended: "Heare I have sent you a copy of the summons was sent me; I wish with all my hart that every on would take notice what way they take: that if I doe not give them my howes, and what they would have, I shall be proceeded against as a trator. It may be every onse case to be made traytors; for I beleive every on will be as unwilling to part with theare howes as I am."² On the other side, the heroine of a highly romantic love-story and one of the most loveable women of the century, stands as an example of the "sensible" submission to limitations or inevitable circumstances so typical of the English people. Dorothy Osborne's father held Guernsey for the King; Sir William Temple's sat in the Long Parliament. No attachment could have been less

(1) Trevelyan, p.279.
(2) Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, p.195.
propitious. Neither could adopt the cause of the other; both families were equally opposed to a match. Dorothy neither did nor said (except under extreme provocation) anything violent; she refused to give up her lover; she equally refused to marry him against the wishes of her family. She went so far as to give her sometimes impatient suitor her reasons for this attitude: "I shall never be ashamed to own that I have a particular value for you above any other, but 'tis not the greatest merit of person will excuse a want of fortune; in some degree I think it will, at least with the most rational part of the world, and as far as that will reach, I desire it should. I would not have the world believe I married out of interest and to please my friends; I had much rather they should know I chose the person, and took his fortune, because 'twas necessary and that I prefer a competency with one I esteem infinitely before a vast estate in other hands...... I do not see that it puts any value upon men when women marry them for love (as they term it); 'tis not their merit, but our folly that is always presumed to cause it; and would it be any advantage to you to have your wife thought an indiscreet person?" Common sense and prudence could go no further; yet Dorothy was by no means a prosaic young woman, and her marriage, when it came, was romantically happy.

The Restoration involved the triumph of common sense over unpractical idealism. Professor Barrett Wendell has pointed out that the principal phases of Restoration literature show a common characteristic, "and this trait I may call, perhaps, by no more solemn name than common-sense, - an impulse more mature than that of elder times, to recognise and to respect plain fact, and to hold that ideals are things essentially apart, not to be ignored or neglected, but not to be confused with the inevitable circumstances of material existence." The matter-of-fact attitude, which developed throughout the reign of Charles II, is a link between the mental outlook of the later seventeenth century and that of the eighteenth century. It was a reaction from the ardours and exaltations of the Civil War period, and showed itself in a contempt for enthusiasm, a sense that it was dangerous, and, when outwardly expressed, almost indecent. Suppression of all outward show of enthusiasm inevitably dulled and blunted the capacity to experience it, and to the post-Restoration age we owe the beginnings of the complicated system that we call "good form". The best exponent of the early stages of the process is a man to whom the obligations of good form were temperamentally acceptable, Lord Halifax. Of his son he writes: "He must be put in mind that there is a necessary subjection to forms which young men are to submit to; and at the same time it may be very reasonable to laugh at them, it is yet more so to practice them......

(1) Barrett Wendell, Seventeenth Century in English Literature, p.345.
All good sense hath something of the clown in it and therefore... it must be soften'd so as to comply with that great beast the world, which is too strong for any man, though never so much in the right, to go to cuffs with."¹ His famous Letter to his daughter is a reasoned and dispassionate recommendation of such a position. His argument seems to be that life is too difficult for those who cling obstinately to high ideals. They may make a stir for a time, but are inevitably worn down in the end, and they lay themselves open to suffering which could easily be avoided by a judicious re-adjustment of values. He gives his daughter the benefit of his wide experience in admirable advice. In all her dealings and in every capacity she is to employ common sense and keep her own counsel. To be reserved, says Halifax, "is a guard to a good woman and a disguise to an ill one. It is of so much use to both that those ought to use it as an artifice who refuse to practise it as a virtue."² She is to moderate her natural inclinations and emotions, and above all things, never make herself remarkable. On the subject of expenditure, he gives characteristic advice: "Do not fetter yourself with such a restraint in it as may make you remarkable; but remember that virtue is the great ornament and good sense the best equipage."³ And elsewhere: "It being hardly possible to hold the balance exactly even, let it rather incline towards the liberal side, as more

¹ Savile Correspondence, p.150.
² Halifax, Advice to a Daughter, p.117.
³ Ibid., p.96.
suitable to your quality and less subject to reproach. Of the two a little money misspent is sooner recovered, than the credit which is lost by having it unhandsomely saved.  

When he advises his daughter "that a Woman's tenderness to her children must be subject to the rules of good breeding", it is not because she may otherwise offend her own sense of good taste, but because of the possible ridicule of her acquaintances. Halifax is entirely single-minded in his desire for his daughter's happiness, but his ideas have a more worldly flavour than the pronouncements of Dorothy Osborne on similar subjects. To her, good taste is the touchstone, and the subtle but unmistakeable difference in the two attitudes marks the distinction between the two divisions of our period. Good taste refers itself constantly back to an innate delicacy and sensitiveness of mind; good form is regulated rather by a constant adjustment to the opinions of others. To Dorothy the display of affection in public was utterly offensive, not because of the possible derision of spectators but because it betokened a lack in the offender of due reserve and reverence for things sacred. Of Elizabeth de Cugnac and her husband, "the buffle-headed Marquis", she writes: "I remember I saw her with him in the park a little while after they were married, and she kissed him the kindliest that could be in the midst of all the

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(1) Halifax, Advice to a Daughter, p.97.
(2) Ibid., p.77.
company. I shall never wish to see a worse sight than 'twas." On another occasion, her condemnation is equally severe: "he could not forbear kissing his wife before company, a foolish trick that young married men, it seems, are apt to; he has left it long since, I suppose. But seriously, 'tis as ill a sight as one would wish to see, and appears very rude, methinks, to the company."  

An excellent example of obedience to the dictates of etiquette is afforded in the "pleasant story" related by Mary Hatton in 1678 in a letter to her brother. "Daincourt, Lady Gray, and his Smith walked still on. In the Park, the first left them, and going home in her chair, the Lord of Monmouth mistakes the Lady Gray and gives her a billet. When she came home, she gives it her husband, who was angry with her, least ye Lord should be displeased at the misfortune of his billet; he carries it presently to him, begs his pardon in the mistake, and the Lord begs his, lest he should take the giving of the letter ill to his wife."  All three parties appear to have behaved with the extreme of decorum, and the situation seems to have delighted the demure writer, who, to add piquancy to the story, was a nun in a French Sisterhood. A recent writer on Restoration comedy has a striking judgment on this point of good form: "The comedies of Etherege are the natural product of an age for which

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(1) Dorothy Osborne’s Letters, p.116.
(2) Ibid, p.125.
(3) Hatton Correspondence, p.168.
life was an accepted pageant, incuriously observed, un-
critically accepted, stuff for a finished epigram......
There was form; and there was bad form. The whole duty
of man was to find the one, and to eschew the other. 1

The two divisions of our period differ somewhat in
the matter of self-consciousness. It is almost universally
ture true that self-analysis is a process unnatural and repugnant
to the English mind, though of recent years an impulse to
analyse seems to have swept over the nation and to have set
men's minds feverishly to work upon self-scrutiny. This
appears to be an abnormal and quite modern development. For
the most part the tendency is to distrust "the self-conscious-
ness of the artist as contrasted with that gentlemanly un-
consciousness of one's own mental processes which we English
so admire in our governing class" 2. "Gentlemanly uncon-
sciousness of one's own mental processes" was in the seven-
teenth century less an ideal than a natural result of the
instincts of the race at that stage of its civilisation.
Self-analysis comes late in the growth of a nation, as in
that of the individual, and its normal development has been
hindered in England by the fact of our instinctive antipathy
to it. In the seventeenth century it was virtually unknown.
From 1640-60 lines of conduct were so sharply drawn that
lines of thought tended to preserve the same definiteness.

(1) Palmer, Comedy of Manners. (Quoted by Lynch, Social Mode
of Restoration Comedy, p.91.
(2) Graham Wallas, The Great Society, p.194.
The high moral standards of the Court of Charles I and the rigidities of the Puritan creed alike fostered a spirit of assuredness and decision. We have seen that the problems of the time proved insoluble to some divided minds, but we have seen too that their attempts at analysis were half-hearted and ineffective. And such analysis was concerned almost wholly with external facts, not with the soul-struggles or mental processes of the individual. A period of stirring events never conduces to self-analysis. Externals loom too large; the importance of the self is dwarfed beside the magnitude of the circumstances which are shaping the lives of all. There is no time for self-analysis; too much inner perception would be intolerable; and, consciously or unconsciously, the mind impels the body to secure relief by action.

The first division of our period, then, is characterised by directness and unconscious simplicity of thought and speech, and this is characteristic both of those directly concerned in the great struggle of the time, and of those whose lives are more detached from it. Lord Herbert of Cherbury's memoirs (written c.1642) are very interesting in this respect. He is a fine and gallant gentleman, with certain almost medievel qualities of mind. He has a serene and complacent acceptance of his deservedly high reputation, and naively quotes the very words of those
whose praise he has won. He records Queen Elizabeth's notice of him in his youth and her appraising comment: "It is pity he was married so young." He gives the testimony of Condor "that I was a man fit for employment, and that he thought Englishmen, though otherwise able persons, knew not how to make a denial handsomely, which yet I had done."

Even when discussing his own character as a child, he merely states facts, and makes no attempt at analysis: "I was corrected sometimes for going to cuff with two schoolfellows, being both elder than myself, but never for telling a lie or any other fault," and this sturdy straightforward attitude is typical of him through life.

Sir John Bramston at the age of twenty accepts a step-mother with entire lack of self-consciousness and with amusing simplicity. He offered to fetch her from Ireland himself, if his father so desired, but in the end they went together. He was disappointed at his first sight of his father's old love: "she was low, fatt, red faced; her dress too was a hat and ruff, which though she never changed to the day of her death. But my father, I believe, seeing me change countenance, told me it was not beautie, but virtue, he courted." (this apparently in the lady's presence) "I believe," continues the dispassionate young man, "she had binn handsome in her youth: she had a delicate fine hand, white and plump, and, indeed, proved a good wife and mother in law too."

(1) *Autobiography of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, p. 53.
Lady Conway displays no sign of self-consciousness on the score of her remarkable mental gifts. She takes her unusual studies as a matter of course, and writes to her husband: "If your ambition in the study of Euclid be only to exceed me, you have reason to be satisfied already, for I have not proceeded one proposition since you went." Lady Conway's mind was of the speculative type; she was always interested in religion, and read widely on various subjects. Yet her conversion to Quakerism seems to have followed the characteristic line of unanalytic practicalness. Her attitude on her sick-bed is one of direct unquestioning certitude; there is no sign of any analytic process going on in her own soul; there are no scruples of any kind. She is indeed concerned for the eternal welfare of her husband and her brother, but her concern takes the entirely practical form of a gift of pious books, to be read by them at her dying request. "I hope neither of you will think that time ill spent, which you shall employ in reading such books, but that you will judge it to be the best entertainment in your seriousness; because they direct to and in more clearnesse discover and chalk out the way, by which all serious seekers after God may attain their desired satisfaction and true rest, than any have ever done before them since the Apostles' times." 

(1) Add. MS 23314, p.16.
(2) Ibid, p.40.
Personal diaries are generally revelations of the self-consciousness of the diarist, and in a time of unusual strain it is not uncommon to find a diary used as the record of the writer's reaction to abnormal conditions. The seventeenth century War Diary of Richard Symonds reveals a man whose chief interests were heraldry and archaeology, but who extended his range to such subjects as receipts for diseases of horses or "to take away Cornes"; who recorded the historic events in which he was taking part as straightforward matters of fact; and who does not suggest that they reacted in any way upon his attitude to life. One day's entry in his Diary will illustrate the naivete of his method:—

"Munday, October 14, 1644. This day his Majestie marched before the foot on foot. Prince Maurice his army marched another way. His Majestie left Brainston, and with his whole army marched that night over the downes to Cranborne, and lay in a faire stone howse of the Earle of Salisburys.

La Sauce Poignante.
A frying pan over a quick fire; putt into it mutton choppes or beefe, or, etc. Compound the liquor of old sharpe beere; and some water, but more beere then water, a quantity of vinegar (wyne), a bunch tyed of parsley, tyne, rosemary, leman, orange, 3 or 4 onionys, nutmeg, cloves, or other spice, store of salt. Or in a pipkin.

Cranborne Church, com. Dorset. Against the south wall is a large monument, the statues of a man and woman, no inscription, this coate: Or, on a fess azure, between three hogs passant, as many annulets of the first [Hooper]. Against the north wall a large monument, divers spaces for inscriptions, but blank; this impaled, besides divers quarterings:
Hooper; impaling, Argent, on a chevron between three 'moores' heads proper two swords, conjoined in point, or [More].

For Edward Hooper's first wife, who was Serjeant More's daughter: he was the serjeant's clerk. No gentleman. 1

Self-consciousness is conspicuously lacking in this extract, and of national consciousness there is little trace. On this latter subject Mr McDougall has some suggestive remarks. "The national mind", he points out, "becomes more completely integrated in proportion as it achieves full self-consciousness, that is, in proportion as the idea of the nation becomes widely diffused among the individual minds, becomes rich in content, and the nucleus of a strong sentiment that supplies motives capable of overriding it and controlling all other motives." 2 Now between 1640-60 there was little or no "self-knowledge" in England. The sense of an acutely divided state was too strong to allow of any consciousness of the nation as a whole, and even the reputation won for England by Cromwell's energetic foreign policy could only be regarded by either side as the triumph of a party. After 1660 the possibility of development of a national-self-consciousness was retarded, first, by the atmosphere of the period immediately after the Restoration, secondly, by the succeeding general weariness of spirit, and thirdly, by the recurrence of incidents recalling the old party bitterness. The executions of

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1 Diary of Richard Symonds. p.128.
2 McDougall, Group Mind. p.150.
Lord Stafford on the one side and Lord Russell on the other were tragedies indicative of a state of feeling inimical to consciousness of nationhood. There was also the strong French bias of the Royal household to be reckoned with, though this ultimately caused a reaction and helped on the development of such national self-consciousness as England by the end of the century possessed. It may be suggested, that there are deeper reasons for English lack of national consciousness than the peculiar circumstances of any special epoch. Mr McDougall states that "National self-consciousness is strongest, where family life is strongest"¹, and draws a contrast between French and English methods. He points out "the greater sociability of the French and the greater independence of the English, a greater self-reliance and capacity for individual initiative"², and goes on to show that in France the family is very closely knit. The child is taught to rely on the family for support and has a legal claim to his own share of the family wealth. In England, on the other hand, the father disposes of the property as he likes, and the children are sent out to be independent. Thus the French develop a love of country which is intimate, personal, and concrete, whereas English patriotism is a more detached, abstract affair, equally deep but decidedly less emotional.

¹ McDougall, Group Mind, p.165
² Ibid. p.223.
It is worth noticing that both divisions of our period are characterised by insularity. Seventeenth century travellers seem to be surprised at any evidence of foreign manners resembling those of England, and are never tired of quoting incidents to the disadvantage of their neighbours. Says Lady Fanshawe: "We do take it for granted in England that there is nothing good to eat in Spain, but I assure you the want is money alone."¹ Sir John Reresby takes occasion from his travels in France to sum up the nation thus:— "In fine, the French are generally soon gained, and soon lost; good company but bad friends; unable to keep a secret, and had rather lay their hands on their swords for you, than on their purse; they have more of airy than solid, and attempt better than they perform, so that it may properly enough be said of them, as Tacitus said of the Britons in his time, 'In deposing periculis eadem audacia; in detractandis ubi adventre eadem formido'."² The sight of the French women had a worse effect upon Edward Browne than the Channel crossing itself: "I was not sick at all in coming over from Dover to Calais, upon the sea, but yet could hardly forbear spuing at the first sight of the French women; they are most of them of such a tawny, sopy, base complexion, and have such ugly faces, which they have here set out with

(2) Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p.35.
Henry Savile's impatience with the unfamiliar furnishings of his rooms in Madrid strikes a familiar note across the centuries:

"That it is warmer at the Oreades than here nobody doubts, but I suppose they have chimneys there to warm them; but we can find none here, nor anything else than is used in any other part of the world; there is neither house to live in, bed to lye in, coach to go in, chair to sit on, nor garden to walk in, that are not contrived in such a manner that without asking it is impossible to know what they are."

Even in the seventeenth century Englishmen refused to speak any language but their own, and considered that all Continental nations should address them in their own tongue. Clarendon in exile "resolved to improve his understanding of the French language, not towards speaking it, the defect of which he found many conveniences in, but for the reading any books." And Sir Thomas Browne wrote to his son abroad urging him to put aside that form of conceit which still proves an insurmountable barrier to an Englishman's practice of a foreign tongue: "be not fearfull but adventure to speek what you can for you are known a stranger and they will bear with you."

(2) Savile Correspondence, p.3. (1663).
(3) Clarendon, Life, (Continuation) p.476.
It is interesting to find ignorant contempt for "foreigners" was extended in the seventeenth century to the Scots. Lady Halkett received a better impression of Scotland, but registered it with a surprise that is in itself significant. She was met in Edinburgh by Lady Anne Campbell, "a sight that I must confess did so much surprise me that I could hardly believe I was in Scotland, for she was very handsome, extremely obliging, and her behavior and dress was equal to any that I had seen in the Court of England." At Aberdour she noted that the garden "was so fragrant and delightful that I thought I was still in England." Apparently, the general opinion of Scotland was that it was a rude, uncultivated, and distressingly barbarous country.

A contrary spirit was shown by that Lady Wright who so distressed Pepys, when he and she dined at Lord Sandwich's, and she "did talk much upon the worth and the desert of gallantry, and that there was none fit to be courtiers, but such as have been abroad and know fashions; which I endeavoured to oppose; and was troubled to hear her talk so, though she be a very wise and discreet lady in other things." Lady Wright was probably under the French influence of the Court, but her attitude was not in accordance with the general current of less

(1) Autobiography of Lady Halkett, p. 57.
(2) Ibid. p. 57.
(3) Pepys Diary, 9th Dec. 1661.
fashionable opinion, which, as we have seen, could compete in insularity with our own times. We have seen that national self-consciousness was no more characteristic of the second half of our period than of the first, and that in the first, there was little evidence of individual self-consciousness. It remains to consider the development of individual self-consciousness after 1660. In a society which based its values largely upon the opinions of other members of the same society, naturalness and simplicity became impossible qualities, and constant reference to the artificial codes then obtaining necessarily produced self-consciousness. A hint of the change is contained in Halifax's dictum that "there is scarce a punishment which can be heavier than that of being laughed at". We remember that the possibility of ridicule does not seem to have occurred to Sir Ralph Verney when he cut himself off from the Parliament. To the post-Restoration age such possibilities were of immense importance. Of immense importance, too, was the being able to make a show before the world. Even the little Admirality clerk is infected with this spirit, and notes proudly in his Diary: "to all the copies of the vote of the council of war I put my name, that if it should come in print my name may be to it." Subtler forms of thought are becoming general in this later age. To a sophisticated age the self is

(1) Halifax, Advice to a Daughter, p. 135.
(2) Pepys Diary, 3rd May, 1660.
acquiring new importance as an interesting subject of specula-
tion. The sprightly Henry Savile informs his correspondents that
he is a "very worthy person", or has become a reformed char-
acter, or is now better at giving advice than ever he was
at taking it, all of which goes to prove that the awkward
situations brought about by his engaging personality had
chiefly served to impress upon his mind the extreme in-
terest of that personality as a subject for contemplation.
But this type of flippant interest in self cannot be
dignified by the name of self-analysis. The whole tendency
of the second half of our period was, as we have seen,
towards superficiality, and at this period only a saintly
mind like that of Margaret Godolphin could give itself to
the severities of self-scrutiny. "She kept a Catalogue of
mercyes, deliverancies, successes, resolutions, and other
assistancies, for the discussion of her conscience with the
most accurate niceness." 1 Self-examination of this sort
is found amongst the devout of both sexes. Evelyn records
his own practice of it. "I went to London to be private,
my birthday being the next day, and now I arriv'd at my
sixtieth year, on which I began a more solemn survey of
my whole life, in order to the making and confirming my

peace with God, by an accurate scrutiny of all my actions past, as far as I was able to call them to mind.  

But it is regarded simply as a religious exercise, and self-analysis from more general and psychological motives was almost unknown.

It appears then, that while both divisions of our period display a typically English dislike of self-analysis, there is a development of self-consciousness, of a superficial type, in the post-Restoration period. This change in self-consciousness is related to a similar slight change in humour. English humour for the most part runs on natural and homely lines. Refinement of wit is conspicuous by its absence, and its place is taken by a childlike amusement with life and its ways. One result of this attitude is a whimsical vein which runs through all English humour, though restrained by the unfavourable tendencies of certain generations. There is, for instance, little evidence of it in the highly-sophisticated mental outlook of the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century, even the Civil War could not wholly root it out, and the last letter of young Lord Sunderland before he fell at the battle of Newbury exhibits it in one of its most delightful forms. He is writing to his wife, the renowned "Saccharissa", and, remembering that her last letter contained a scrawled

(1) Evelyn’s Diary, Oct. 30th, 1680.
enclosure from his little daughter, he sends her a message: "Pray bless Popet for me, and tell her I would have writ to her, but that upon mature deliberation, I found it to be uncivil to return an answer to a lady in another character than her own, which I am not yet learned enough to do."¹ Whimsical humour is shown too by a disposition to laugh at oneself. However angry with her brother Dorothy Osborne may have been, she could always see the funny side of the quarrel. After one of these violent disagreements she wrote to Temple: "I forgot all my disguise, and we talked ourselves weary; he renounced me again, and I defied him, but both in as civil language as it would permit, and parted in great anger with the usual ceremony of a leg and a courtesy, that you would have died with laughing to have seen us."² The same spirit animated Dr Denton's amused account of his own appearance in "Dick's Parliament". He wrote to Sir Ralph Verney: "I can tell you noe newes, but that I graced the Parliament House by makinge a simple speech in it", and to his correspondent's enquiries he replied with mock hauteur: "Soft, sir, soft. It is not for Plebeians to know why we made our learned speech in the House."³

This whimsical attitude persisted after the Restoration, but with a subtle change. The generation of 1660-80

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¹ Ady, Saccharissa, p.35.
² Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.219.
was in no way remarkable for simple qualities, and with artificiality of manners and limitation of outlook such childlike humour tended to disappear. It survives in such families as the Saviles, but even here with a difference. Honest amusement at oneself becomes a more cynical affair. Life can never be taken wholly seriously, and instinctively a mental contrast is drawn between the individual and the work he is called upon to perform. If we had no official record to the contrary, we might doubt Henry Savile's capacity as foreign envoy, so ludicrously does he refer to it in his letters. Solemnly he writes to his brother: "A man that is in haste to go speak with the Most Christian King does you, I think, honour enough if he tells you yours of the 7th is received," and characteristically follows this up by a long letter on his own private business. On another occasion he remarks that M. Colbert, "being resolved to have as little trouble as hee can, has wholly disengaged himself from all manner of correspondence with strangers, I am too modest to say foreign ministers." With such exceptions as Savile, the post-Restoration age on the whole lost the quality of whimsicality, which either degenerated into flippancy or disappeared altogether, and so prepared the way for the more stereotyped humour of the eighteenth century. Good-nature is as a rule the underlying principle of English humour. It may be crude; but cruel hardly ever. Affectionate

(1) Savile Correspondence, p.30.
(2) Ibid, p.27.
teasing is a commonplace of English life, and was accepted as such already in the seventeenth century. Such a letter as that written in 1644 by Grace Bokenham to Sir Simonds Dæwes has the recognised touch: "Dearest Brother I hope by God's assistance we may once more meet again here on earth that you may behold how like I am to our old grandmother Ravenscroft which yourself hath formerly smild at, for with my numberles panes in child bearing, together with many bodily infirmities and stooping age, were I in her habit attired I do surmise you'd in conceit aske me a little blessing."¹

At a later period (1661), Sir Thomas Browne wrote chaffing letters to the son whom he had sent abroad, hoping that "by this time thou art got somewhat beyond 'plais-ïl', and 'ouy Monsieur'"², and including such French phrases as "Je vous recommande a Dieu"³ and "Vostre tres chere pere"² to show what is expected of him. Henry Savile kept up a teasing correspondence with his sister-in-law, tantalising her by veiled hints such as the following: "Pray send a chiding letter to your sister for keeping the worst company of any young lady in town, and do not fill up your letters to her with saying I am an odious creature, for I am a very worthy person. She will write you some great news that I sent her, because I dare not write it myself."⁵

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¹ Herl. MS. 382, p.150.
⁴ Ibid, p.7.
⁵ Savile Correspondence, p.9.
The practical joke, another favourite form of humour in England, is characterised by the spirit of good-humour. This is as true of the seventeenth century as of the twentieth century. Sir Ralph Verney once sent up to the Dentons' family party in London a box containing a "colt pye". Dr Denton kept the secret and gleefully reported that "nobody knows what they have eaten as yet, noe nor Harry, nor dare not tell because Lady Longavile was at the feast."\(^1\) When discovery was made, the somewhat uncouth joke was taken in very good part, and with good-humour equal to the doctor's own, two members of the party arranged a second party, at which their untrustworthy host was served with a "vengeance pasty".

Aubrey gives an account of the trick played on the woman-hating Dr Kettle of Trinity by Lady Isabella Thynne and her friend Anne Fanshawe. The two girls used to attend chapel "halfe-dress-d, like angels", and Lady Isabella would air herself in the College grounds "with a theorbo or lute played before her". Perhaps both the costume and the instrument were in evidence on the occasion when "this lady and fine Mrs Fanshawe..... would have a frolick to make a visitt to the President. The old Dr quickly perceived that they came to abuse him; he addresses his discourse to Mrs Fanshawe, saying 'Madam, your husband and father I bred up here, and I knew your grandfather; I

know you to be a gentlewoman; I will not say you are a - ; but gett you gone for a very woman". Though the Doctor could not rise to the occasion in the proper spirit, it is clear that the "frolick" was undertaken in a spirit of amused and good-humoured mischief.

But here too there is a difference between the first division of our period and the second. Even in the matter of practical jokes there is a less good-humoured spirit in the second period. Pepys thinks it extremely funny to compose a letter to Sir William Pen, "as from the thief that stole his tankard lately"², and explains the jest by an entry four days later: "After dinner we were very merry with Sir W.Pen about the loss of his tankard, though all be but a cheeste, and he do not yet understand it; but the tankard was stole by Sir W.Batten, and the letter, as from the thief, wrote by me, which makes very good sport", a rather spiteful form of joke considering the unfriendliness of the parties. With the end of the troubles and the beginning of a more settled era, neither the old good-humour nor the old simplicity appear to be so prevalent. There is nothing more remarkable in the Civil War period than the humour evinced by both men and women under conditions of extreme physical discomfort. It is part of the equipment of the armies, even sometimes of the essentially unhumourous "godly" soldier on the Puritan side. There is

(2) Pepys Diary August 28th, 1661.
a touch of real soldier's humour in Captain John Hodgson's account of a morning's work in the Parliamentarian army: "They (the enemy) fired two drakes into the midst of our camp, and startled many, but killed few. We drew all out immediately, and left the tents standing; towards noon plucked up all, and prepared for a march to our bread and cheese.... Old Nol was angry they had been so rough with our tents."¹ Lady Brillianna Harley finds it necessary to use a "key" of cut paper in writing important news to her husband, and, after a long passage of this rather wearisome correspondence, she concludes a letter with: "When you have laught at the nonsense, please your self with this, that is reason; I thanke God we are well, though all would not have it so."² She obviously half-hoped that her letter would be intercepted so that her enemies should puzzle their brains over her cipher, and find ultimately her last complacent sentence the only one they could read. The Verneys' "Aunt Isham" is in great straits in 1645. Her husband is in prison and she has suffered grave losses in the burning of Hillesden House; yet with unconquerable gaiety of spirit she writes to Sir Ralph: "For our clothes we must sew fig leves together"; wishes that her gown would last forty years, "as the childrenes of Iserells did"; and dates a letter

¹ Hodgson, Memoirs, p.100.
² Letters of Lady Brillianna Harley, p.197.
"Ye fust of May, but never so dule an one, and so fue chases in hide Parke as I heare."¹

Such courageous gaiety lasted while the pressing need for it lasted. When life was supposed to have settled again into normal conditions, the quality of the nation's humour changed. The crude and rather obvious form of jest still exists in 1662, when young Thomas Browne writes: "Now wee were encountering with the wild more which by the story's wee had been told of it, we might have imagined a wild bore. I am sure it made us all grunt before we could get over it."² But such jokes are soon displaced by the more polished and more subtle forms of wit practised by the courtier. Says Halifax of the affected type of woman: "She cometh into a room as if her limbs were set on with ill-made screws, which maketh the company fear the pretty thing should leave some of its artificial person upon the floor."³ In fact at the Restoration, "the comic spirit had landed upon our coast. The wittiest company of comedians that history records had come to tread the stage for a while, as little appreciated on the whole by the English people as were the great tragedians who had played their piece and were departing, undismayed by the howling and the fury, wrapped in the dignity of self-dependent virtue, Republicans without fear, without repentance, without hope."⁴

³ Letter to a Daughter, p.143-3.
This quotation sums up excellently the essential difference in spirit between the governing classes of the two periods, but the new spirit of the Restoration had two distinct developments. On the one side was the brilliant and cynical wit of the Court, which finds its most distinguished exponent in the King. Marvell tells how Charles II took upon himself to be present at debates in the Lords: "Now the Lord Ross's Bill came in order to another debate, and the King present. Nevertheless the debate lasted an entire day; and it passed by very few voices. The King has ever since continued his session among them, and says it is better than going to a play." This flippant spirit was carried into provinces where its presence would not have been tolerated by the previous generation. Mr. Trevelyan states: "The iron age of politics was the golden age of wit," and goes on to point out that the Habeas Corpus Act only passed because "the tellers in jest had counted a fat lord as ten, and had failed to rectify their figures. It was the best joke ever made in England.... The fat Lord's vote secured that even James II could not imprison his subjects at pleasure." Over against this brilliant and superficial delight in wit is the other new development. There is a new note of bitterness in Clarendon's remark on the Dutch War of 1665: "Most of the volunteers, having

endured the unpleasantness of the sea above a month, began to think that the war was not so necessary as they had thought it to be.\(^1\) The age of disillusionment and cynicism was beginning to prepare the way for the great age of English Satire. It is worth noticing that, as a general rule, the English mind finds more natural expression in irony than in satire. The bitter cruelty of Pope was not a normal development and has had few imitators. The principle of good nature obtains even in the exercise of shrewdness, and malice is not one of our national besetting sins. But the period 1660-80 had both historical and psychological inducements to malicious ways of thought and speech. An inevitable spirit of bitterness was the legacy of the Commonwealth, and an inevitable hardness of heart accompanied the advent of that "wittiest company of comedians". The eighteenth century satirists can trace their origins back to the grim disgust of Marvell's remark that "Barclay is still line-tenant of Ireland, but he was forced to come over to pay ten thousand pounds rent to his landlady Cleveland"\(^2\); or to the condensed bitterness of Clarendon's summary of the results of his reconciliation with the Queen Mother: "And from that time there did never appear any want of kindness in the Queen towards him, whilst he stood in no need of it, nor until it might have done him good."\(^3\)

\(^{1}\) Clarendon, Life (Continuation), p.264.
\(^{3}\) Clarendon, Life (Continuation), p.40.
In humour, then, as in self-consciousness, the pre-Restoration period was simple, straightforward, and, in a sense, immature. The post-Restoration period was marked by the development of more subtle and brilliant wit, with a tendency to satire; this forms a link between the later seventeenth century and the eighteenth.

A study of the mental outlook of the period 1640-80 must necessarily take into account one of its most characteristic features, its all-pervading curiosity. Macaulay imputes the rise of this peculiarity to the troubled condition of the times. "Civil troubles", he states, "had stimulated the faculties of the educated classes, and had called forth a restless activity and an insatiable curiosity, such as had not before been known among us. Yet the effect of those troubles was that schemes of political and religious reform were generally regarded with suspicion and contempt. It was now unpopular and unsafe to mutter a word against the fundamental laws of the monarchy; but daring and ingenious men might indemnify themselves by treating with disdain what had lately been considered as the fundamental laws of nature. The revolutionary spirit, ceasing to operate in politics, began to exert itself with unprecedented vigour and hardihood in every department of physics."

Macaulay seems to imply that this curiosity was the outcome of the Civil Wars, and made its appearance

after the Restoration. There is no doubt that the Wars and their results played an important part in its development, and that, as Macaulay suggests, they determined the definite lines on which that development was to proceed. Curiosity after the Restoration was, in the main, concerned with science and scientific phenomena, but this was due probably as much to the prevailing scepticism and disillusionment on matters religious or political as to the depression by main force of speculation on such subjects. "Daring and ingenious men" were weary of politics and religion, and had been so for years. As Mr Trevelyan puts it: "Men upheld the Puritan rule from 1653 to 1658, for the reason that they upheld the Cavalier rule from 1650 to 1666, because their first desire was peace and settled government."1. It was obvious to all men that religious and political experiments, actuated by the sincerest motives, had produced nothing but chaos, and any established order came to be regarded as desirable. Science thus came into its own.

It is probable, however, that the causes of this curiosity lay deeper than Macaulay suggests. The Letters and Diaries give evidence that it was a widespread and generally recognised feature of the age before the Restoration as well as after. Its manifestations in the earlier period are more varied, cruder, more undirected, but this

(1) Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, p.306.
fact goes to prove our point that the great value in this connection of the Civil Wars and the Restoration lay in their definition and discipline of the force already at work. Evelyn would perhaps have dabbled in science in any age in which he had happened to be born, but others unknown to the scientific world are already showing an interest in the subject long before the Restoration. A letter of Dorothy Osborne in the year 1653 gives a hint of such interest, though to her personally the suggestion has a purely sentimental significance: "My brother and Mr Gibson were talking by the fire; and I sat by, but as no part of the company. Amongst other things (which I did not at all mind) they fell into a discourse of flying; and both agreed that it was very possible to find out a way that people might fly like birds, and despatch their journeys so: I, that had not said a word all night, started up at that, and desired they would say a little more in it, for I had not marked the beginning; but instead of that, they both fell into so violent a laughing, that I should appear so much concerned in such an art; but they little knew of what use it might have been to me." Hear Evelyn as he climbs the tower of Antwerp Cathedral in 1641: "I was much confirmed in my opinion of the moon's being of some such substance as this earthy globe consists of; perceiving all the subjacent country, at so small a horizontal distance, to repercuss such a light as I could hardly look against, save where the

(1) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.164.
river and other large water within our view, appeared of a more dark and uniform colour, resembling those spots in the moone supposed to be seas there, according to our new philosophy and viewed by optical glasses. At this time Evelyn was not yet twenty-one years of age. His curiosity was indeed all-embracing, and he describes with equal vividness and exactitude a kitten born on his bed with 6 ears, 8 legs, 2 bodies and 2 tails, the behaviour of the lions in the wild-beast pit at Florence, or the ceremonies of every possible variety of religious sect. At Amsterdam he changed his lodgings "out of a desire to converse among the sectaries that swarm’d in this citty"; on Christmas Eve in Rome he "went from church to church the whole night", and on the same visit, he went to the Ghetto "being invited by a Jew of my acquaintance to see a circumcision". In the same spirit Edward Browne in 1644 gives his sister a description of some relics and writes "if you will have any beads or little pieces of silver that have touched these things, write mee word, and the next opportunity I meet with, I will send you some, but it may be you are not curious for such things." Even in England this young man lost no opportunity of satisfying

(1) Evelyn's Diary, Oct.4th, 1641.  
(2) Ibid, April 30th, 1644.  
(4) Ibid, August 19th, 1641.  
(5) Ibid, Xmas Eve, 1644.  
(6) Ibid, Jan.15th, 1645.  
his frankly secular curiosity about other forms of religion than his own. On February 28, 1644 "it being Sunday, I went to the Queen Mother's chappell, which is a stately one, well painted and adorned with a large gold crucifixe, a most admirable paynted crucifix, tapers, lamps, and the like. I noted some at confession, in little wooden apartments, and having satisfied my curiositie in observing the manner of their worship, I left this chappell of Sommerset House, and passing through a crowde of Irish beggers, I went to the Savoy Church, where the liturgye of England is read in French."1

Interest in everything is in fact one of the most remarkable features of the whole of our period, manifesting itself in the first half in a habit of noting any fact of unusual occurrence, and developing in the second half into an almost childish passion for new sensation. A single entry in the Journal of Edward Browne as a medical student shows his range of interests:

"Jan.14th.1643-4. A munkey hath fourteen ribs on each side, and hath clavicles. Radzwil in his third epistle relates strange stories of diving in the river Nile. There are one million soelgers to guard the great wall of China, which extends from east to west three hundred leagues: author, Belli Tartarici Martin Martinius."2

In 1638 John Rous records the remarkable feats of an Italian with "shrimped and lame hands". "Some yeares since I saw in Holborne, London, neere the bridge (my

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(2) Ibid, p.48.
certaine sheets of paper together, one upon another lengthwise betwixt the right hand and the left; and then he tooke a needle and prickt it through the one ende, and so then the other, so that the paper lay sure. Then he tooke a shorte texte pen, and dipped it in a standish or inkehorne of lead, and therewith wrote 'Laus Deo semper' in a very fayer text hand (not written with his hand but his mouth); then with another pen he florished daintily about these letters in divers formes."

Richard Symonds, as he marches to and fro in the King's army, takes a deep and intelligent interest in the dialects of the various districts he passes through. "In Devonshire", he notes, "they call the low grounds moors only, and in Cornwall the highest hills are moores so called, because moores are there upon the top of the hills." In the same year (1644) he records that "Tre signifyes towne, and carrol, merry or song in Cornish," and later on gives a list of twenty-two Cornish words and four phrases, with their English equivalents. With less learned curiosity, but with an attempt at phonetic spelling, Thomas Browne junior describes his amusement on meeting the dialect of Nottinghamshire: "One told us our 'wy lig'd by youn nooke of oakes' and another that we 'mun goe strit forth', which manner of

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(1) Rous, Diary, p.34.
(2) Diary of Richard Symonds, p.41.
(3) Ibid, p.47.
(4) Ibid, p.74.
speeches not only directed us, but much pleas'd us with the novelty of its dialect.\textsuperscript{1}

It might almost be claimed that the curiosity of the first half of our period is shown mainly by its interest in travel, either on the Continent or to unknown districts at home, and that this development was heightened by the enforced travel of many cultivated men, due to the chaotic condition of England. One of the most curious documents of the period is Whitelocke's Diary of his Memorable Year, the year 1653, which political circumstances forced him to spend in foreign travel. The general title is significant: "Whitelocke's history of the forty-eight year of his Age. With notes upon severall texts of Holy Scripture, some whereof are applied to particular passages of the story. Dedicated to his children, for their instruction in private and publique dutyes, and in the government of their countrey. With somewhat of other nations and of resemblances to the Politie of the Hebrews."\textsuperscript{2} The book gives a record of events for each day, with Notes consisting mainly of religious observations or parallels to what is recorded above of secular events. The interest in recondite points of religion is typical, and the work is highly significant from the fact that this year of his travels is the only one considered sufficiently "memorable" by Whitelocke to be

\textsuperscript{(1)} Journal of a Tour Sept. 1662, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{(2)} Add. Ms. 31952.
preserved in the record of a Diary. Englishmen of this period had the true spirit of adventure in travel. The modern traveller experiences freshness of sensation without going so far as Buda. But hear that inveterate traveller Edward Browne in the sixteen-seventies: "It is no unpleasant sight to behold a new scene of the world, and unknown face of things, in habits, diets, manners, customs and language. A man seems to take leave of our world, when he hath passed a day’s journey from Bab or Comorre, and, before he comes to Buda, seems to enter upon a new stage of the world, quite different from that of these western countries."¹ The Browne family affords documentary evidence that interest in travel was not confined to the first half of our period, but was common still in the second. Young John Verney is another example of the survival of this spirited search for the new and the beautiful. He rode from Leghorn to visit Pisa and Florence, and returned "tyred having come post this day from Florence (which is 60 miles) notwithstanding the heat of the weather and the bad horses,"² to continue his voyage to Aleppo. And in 1675 Henry Teonge thus expresses his delight at finding himself for the first time on shipboard: "No life at the shoare being comparable to this at sea."³ The curiosity of Pepys has become a byword; in the whole of our period his figure stands out as the most

¹ Edward Browne, Travels in Larissa, etc. p.46.
³ Teonge, Diary, p.17.
conspicuous for this quality. He delights in "tall stories", and accepts them with the naive comment: "this is very strange". One of his most fantastic escapades occurs in connection with a visit to Westminster Abbey:

"Here we did see, by particular favour, the body of Queen Katherine of Valois; and I had the upper part of her body in my hands, and I did kiss her mouth, reflecting upon it that I did kiss a Queen, and that this was my birth-day, thirty-six years old, that I did kiss a Queen."[^1] An entry during the Plague year throws light on the unwholesome forms of curiosity manifested during the epidemic:

"Lord! to consider the madness of people of the town, who will, because they are forbid, come in crowds along with the dead corpses to see them buried."[^2] It is characteristic of this second period that a habit has grown up of noticing the first experience of any new fact or sensation. In 1664 Edward Browne makes a brief but complacent note in his Journal: "This day was the first day in which I saw vineyards, pilgrims, or was sprinkled with holy water."[^3] This habit becomes almost an obsession with Pepys. He not only records so possibly historic a fact as the only time Charles II signed a document on board the ship "Charles", conveying him from Breda, but with equal satisfaction notes down his first pair of buckled shoes, his first silk suit,

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[^1]: Diary, Feb. 23, 1668-9.
[^2]: Ibid, August 30th, 1665.
or the first occasion of his wife's wearing a black patch. Even the dangers of the Plague cannot overcome his passion for new experience. "I went forth," he says, "and walked towards Moorfields to see, God forgive my presumption! whether I could see any dead corpse going to the grave; but as God would have it, did not." 1

We have seen, then, a general manifestation of curiosity throughout the whole of the period 1640-80, showing itself in various ways which we might call "popular" in both divisions of our period, and giving occasional hints in the first half of the great scientific impulse which has made memorable the second. The records of this movement are for the most part to be found in provinces other than those of the Personal Letter and Private Diary, but even in such intimate and unbusinesslike writings there are traces of the new spirit. It becomes evident that there was a growing interest in the new and rare, amongst men whose profession was learning. The Oxford scholar Humphrey Prideaux complains bitterly in 1675 of his chief's partiality for a form of simplified spelling: "I must confesse, since Mr Dean hath taken the liberty of inventing a new way of spelling and useing it therein, which I thinke will confound and alter the analogy of the English tongue, that I do not at all approve thereof;"

(1) Diary, August 30th, 1665.
and I could hartyly wish that he would be a looser by the experiment, that we may have noe more of it."¹ Prideaux takes a great interest in the obscure "Samaritan" question. In 1671 Mr Robert Huntingdon, minister at Aleppo, had visited the Samaritans, and as a result of his knowledge of their language, obtained a letter for their "Samaritan brethren" in England. This is the letter referred to by Prideaux in the following extract:—"I have a letter here lately sent from Samaria by the residue of the Samaritans there, wherein they give a fuller account of their religion, customs, and manner of living, than hath as yet been known in Europe. It was written in Samaritan, from which I have translated it into Latin, and esteem it a great rarity, and if you do so too, I shall take care to have it transcribed for you."² The passion for collecting "rarities" is characteristic of this period, and the general popularity of the habit is suggested by Pepys's account of the visit of the Duchess of Newcastle and other ladies of fashion to the collection at Arundel House: "Several fine experiments were shown her of colours, loadstones, microscopes, and of liquors: among others, of one that did, while she was there, turn a piece of roasted mutton into pure blood, which was very rare.... After they had shown her many experiments, and she cried still she was full of admiration, she departed, being led out and in by several Lords that were there."³

¹ Prideaux, Letters to John Ellis, p.33.
³ Diary, May 30th, 1667.
information upon such collections of curiosities. One of his chief sources of satisfaction abroad seems to have been the number of introductions he secured to foreign collectors and the chance thus afforded him of seeing new sorts of rarities. At Naples he had the good luck to see a nobleman's collection of rarities, amongst which he observed: "a salamander; the male and female 'Manucodita', the male having a hollow in the back, in which 'tis reported the female both lays and hatches her egg; the Mandroras of both sexes; 'Papyrus' made of several reedes, and some of silke; tables of the rinds of trees written with Japanese characters; another of the branches of palm; many Indian fruite; a chrystal that had a quantity of uncongealed water within its cavity; a petrified fisher's net; divers sorts of Tarantulas, being a monstrous spider with lark-like clawes, and somewhat bigger."¹ This list, compiled in all seriousness, is not altogether unlike the "Spectator's" delightful "will of a virtuoso".¹

The fact of the formation of the Royal Society is indicative of the mental outlook of this period. Charles I loved and fostered art; Charles II dabbled in science. These different preoccupations, or recreations, of the two monarchs suggest a real difference in the spirit of their epochs. The last of our kings to understand and encourage true art, Charles I lived at the dawn of a new age, less

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¹ Diary, Feb. 4th, 1645.
aesthetic, more materialistic. He was in fact looking back, not forward. Charles II may have been a dilettante of science, but he was building better than he knew, and was, typically enough, in the van of the forward movement. The foundation of the Royal Society strikes the new note. Mr Trevelyan, speaking of the changed religious spirit of this period, goes on to express very clearly the significance of this movement: "Much of this fashionable scepticism was mere froth, and for the most part foul, left by the spent waves of strange events and terrible emotions now moaning at low tide far out at sea. But the deep had cast up its treasures also. The secular reaction among the libertines of life and politics at the capital would not have outlasted the generation that had suffered under Oliver, if it had not become joined to the more solid and respectable influence of a scientific movement springing up in the same time and place. The Royal Society was Royal in more than name...... The idea of the rule of law in the universe slowly penetrated downwards from class to class, remoulding by unopposed and unsuspected influence the unconscious forms of thought, and even of religion itself."1

It is interesting to notice that this curiosity of the seventeenth century does not seem to affect in any way the credulity which is widely represented in the Letters and Diaries of the whole period. It might have been

(1) Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, p.347.
expected to produce a prying and unhealthy interest in the supernatural, the kind of morbid fascination that is distinctly traceable, for instance, in the twentieth century. But we find nothing of this. In the seventeenth century manifestations of the supernatural seem to have been taken as matters of course, to be noted, accepted, and summed up, but not to be brooded over or experimented upon. It is noticeable that there are few signs of "nervousness" in the seventeenth century. It seems probable that this is a later development of heightened sensibility due to increased civilisation. When Lady Fanshawe saw a ghost in Ireland she was indeed terrified - "I was so much affrighted that my hair stood on end and my night-clothes fell off." But when she had succeeded in waking her husband, they spent the rest of the night placidly: "he entertained me with telling how much more those apparitions were usual in that country than in England". Their hostess appears to have taken the matter even more calmly. "About eight o'clock the lady of the house came to see us, saying she had not been a-bed all night, because a cousin O'Brien of hers, whose ancestors had owned that house, had desired her to stay with him in his chamber, who died at two o'clock. 'And', said she, 'I wish you to have had no disturbance, for it is the custom of this place that when any die of this family, there is the shape of a woman appears in this window every night till they be dead. This woman was many ages ago got with child by the owner..."
of this place, and he in his garden murdered her and
flung her into the river under your window. But truly
I thought not of it when I lodged you here, it being
the best room I had." We made little reply to her speech,
but disposed ourselves to be gone suddenly."¹ There is
a general belief in such phenomena, simple-minded and
healthy, and sometimes so primitively confident as to
determine very important actions. John Rous reports a
desertion from the Army for such a reason. "Another thing
was told by Mr. Chaplen, at Downham, November 30, that
one of the King's side, a Yorkshire man, was in the fight,
and heard many cursing and blasphemying with imprecations
against the Roundheads, whom he saw perish in the midst of
their oaths, etc. He observed these things that went
near him. The King's side wanted powder, and going to
one wagon for powder that was blown up, and so at second,
with the losse of many men; and one piece of ordnance, a
great one, a murderer, etc. at the first shotte, burst in
many pieces, and hurt many of their owne, etc. These
made him resolve a departure from that side, which he made
by helpe of a frend, who brought the Parliament colours,
by which he returned home safe."² Nearly forty years later
Edmund Verney writes with unshaken gravity: "If there is
a shower of blood at Orleans, it is a sign of much effusion
of blood in France, those prodigies sent from Heaven never

(1) Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe
(2) Diary of John Rous, p. 130. (1643).
never come in vain."¹ He and his father in perfect good faith exchange sensational ghost stories. Edmund's story of the diabolic dog is perhaps the best of these. Referring to his father's latest, he writes: "We have as strange a story of a black-smith of Stratton Audley coming well in health over Brackley Green on horseback; a dogg with a paper in his mouth mett him, and leapt up to him so often, that at length he tooke the paper and flung it away, whereupon the dogg leapt up at him againe, and pinched him by ye shoulder, after which he came home, and fell madd, and so died, and the paper with bloody characters which nobody could read was found in his chamber."² Lady Fanshawe has three detailed apparition stories to her credit, one at first hand, and also attests her belief in a form of diabolic possession which came under her notice in Spain.

Prophecies of all kinds were very prevalent throughout our period, and were very generally accepted. In 1640 Rous gravely suggests that the prophecy of "an anker in King Egelfred's time" has at last come true, and gives the quotation: "Henricus lib. 6, Englishmen, forasmuch as they use them to dronk alewnes, to treason, and to rychlesnes of God's hows, first by Danes and then by Normans, and at thirde time by Scottes, that they hold most wretched and lest worth of all other, they shall be overcome. Then the world shall be so unstable, and so diverse and variable, _

that the unstableness of thoughts shall be bitokened by many manner diversities of clothing."

Howell expresses superior disdain of the sensational prophecies current in 1648. "They sing of a red Parliament and white King, of a race of people which should be called Pengrums, of the fall of the church and divers other things which glance upon these times. But I am none of those that afford much faith to rambling prophecies." And a very interesting passage in one of Prideaux' letters illustrates both the slightly affected contempt of a learned man for the credulity of his fellow-townsmen and the acceptance even by civic authorities of the prophecy's possible truth. "We have been for these 8 or 9 days in strange consternation here by reason of a prophecy said to be by Lilly, which fortold that on the 10th of March on part of the town should be burned and the other swallowed up with an earthquake; but the best is, the day is past and we are secure. However, our people did so strangely believe it here that most of our greezy townsmen that had any love for their carcasses or money took care to remove both from this place; and by a decree of the Mayor and his brethren, after a long consultation, watches were set in every street to prevent the mischiefe fortold...... The country people are likewise so terrifyed with this that few are so hardy as to dare yet to come to market. I scarce thinke a prophecy from God

(1) Diary of John Rous, p.104.
(2) Quoted by Knight, Half Hours with the Best Letter-Writers, p.18.
Almighty would have been able to have don quarter as much, or that the town of Ninive did halfe as much fear the destruction fortold by Jonas as our coxcombs this by Lilly. 1

There was an almost universal readiness to believe in any rumour whatever, and this especially in the second half of our period. During the Civil War, credence was given to the rumours generally common in time of war, of outrages committed on one side or the other, such as the murder by the Cavaliers of a woman's three-days-old child before her face. 2 But after 1660, credence is given to tales of the most varied and marvellous kind. The medical profession affords some striking examples. Edward Browne "went to see a serpent that a woman living in St Gregories church yard in Norwich vomited up, but shee had burnt it before I came." 3 This latter fact does not seem to have disconcerted his simple faith one whit. Christopher Hatton recommends a Welshman "who pretends to cure any wound whatsoever in ye bowells or any part, except ye heart, in a few hours...... Several pigges, kids, and chickens have, in ye King's presence, been run into ye bowells and through ye head with knives and hot irons, and cured in a short time by this man's medicines. Shou'd he goe into Ye King of France's army, he wou'd render all ye designs of ye Spanyards and Dutch ineffectual." 4

(1) Pridieaux. Letters to Ellis, p.36.
(2) Rous Diary, p.128.
(3) Browne Journal, p.49.
(4) Hatton Correspondence, p.157.
Edmund Verney is in advance of his time when, discussing the latest remedy suggested for his wife's brain-affection, he wonders sceptically "what sympathetically virtue there may be in a melancholy Hare's brain to draw away all Melancholy out of that of hayre-brained people?" Advance in scientific knowledge seems hardly to have touched the credulity established in men's minds by long custom and tradition. Evelyn, as a man of science himself, records two appearances at times of crisis of a meteor "like the blade of a sword" and adds what may be taken as the normal comment of the most highly-educated and least credulous men of the time: "I pray God avert his judgments. We have had of late severall comets, which though I believe appear very natural causes and of themselves operate not, yet I cannot despise them. They may be warnings from God, as they commonly are forerunners of His animadversions."2

The credulity of this age in matters of politics is well known. The periodical outbreaks of fury which are so curious a feature of the reign of Charles II, are due very largely to this maggot in the national brain, shared by all except the King and the most distinguished men of the time. At the time of the Great Fire, it was so generally believed that the conflagration was collectively caused by French, Dutch and Roman Catholics that harmless foreigners were mobbed in the streets of London, and were afterwards

committed to prison by the magistrates for their own safety. One such incident, recorded by Clarendon, is worthy of quotation, as illustrating the unreasoning credulity of the panic-stricken populace. Two lords saw a disorderly crowd in the street, mobbing a servant of the Portuguese ambassador. "And a substantial citizen was ready to take his oath, 'that he saw that man put his hand in his pocket, and throw into a shop a fireball; upon which he saw the house immediately on fire: whereupon, being on the other side of the way, and seeing this, he cried out to the people to stop that gentleman, and made all the haste he could himself; but the people had first seized upon him, and taken away his sword, which he was ready to draw, and he not speaking nor understanding English, they had used him in the manner set down before." When Lord Hollis explained the charge to the accused, 'he answered that he did not think that he had put his hand into his pocket; but he remembered very well, that as he walked in the street he saw a piece of bread upon the ground, which he took up and laid upon a shelf in the next house, which is a custom or superstition so natural to the Portuguese, that if the King of Portugal were walking, and saw a piece of bread upon the ground, he would take it up with his own hand, and keep it till he saw a fit place to lay it down." Pepys tells the same story: "when I rose, I heard that there had been a great alarme of French and

Dutch being risen, which proved nothing.¹ The people gave passive as well as active proof of their readiness in this crisis to believe the wildest and most improbable rumours. The disease of credulity once caught seems to have infected almost the whole population. "The people were so sottish that they believed that all the French in the town (which no doubt were a very great number) were drawn into a body, to prosecute those by the sword who were preserved from the fire: And the inhabitants of a whole street have ran in a great tumult one way, upon the rumour that the French were marching at the other end of it; so terrified men were with their own apprehensions."² This general readiness to believe without evidence had certain justifications in fact. For Gunpowder Plot was not many years distant; the Dutch were to burn English shipping in the Medway the very next year, and the nation instinctively realised that France was a sinister influence behind the English court. The indulgence at this time, however, in wild panic and credulity had serious effects on the morale of the nation. In 1677 Henry Savile writes to contradict the report that Lord Rochester had stabbed a French cook of the name of Du Puis: "He desired me therefore to write to you to stop that report from going northward, for he says if it once get as far as York the truth will not be believed these 2 or 3 years."³ Perhaps a still more

¹ Diary, Sept. 5th, 1665.
³ Savile Correspondence, p.58.
significant hint of the state of the nation's nerves is afforded by Prideaux, who, writing in 1675, remarks: "We have a multitude of other reports... and that which I least believe is that the French King hath sent over to know by what method Harry the 8th proceeded in the suppressing of monestrys, and that severall people have been employed to search the records in the Tower for above these 6 weeks to give him satisfaction therein."¹ We have the record of a day in Parliament in 1675, when a debate was in progress concerning the recall of soldiers from France: "Men came running confusedly up to the table, grievously affronted one by another; every man's hand on his hilt; quieted though at last by the present prudence of the Speaker; and every man in his place was obliged to stand up and engage his honour, not to resent anything of that day's proceeding."² It is no wonder when we come to the time of the Popish Plot to find Edmund Calamy, an educated divine, giving full credence to the so-called revelations of notoriously untrustworthy witnesses, and adducing in support of his belief such evidence as the "black Sunday" after Godfrey's murder "when it grew so dark on a sudden about 11 in the morning, that ministers could not read their notes in their pulpits, without the help of candles."³

¹ Prideaux, Letters to Ellis, p.30.
Tracing the growth of this political credulity, which was fraught with such tragic consequences, we cannot but see the force of the judgment that in the national hysteria of 1666 "we have the symptoms and ideas revived ten years later at the Popish Plot. It was largely the Plague and Fire that unsettled men's reason, made their imaginations foul, and charged the political air with thunder." The nerves of the nation had been tried more severely than it realised by the civil disturbances of 1640-60, and the added strain of the years 1665-6, joined to the already existing tendency to less harmful forms of credulity, brought about the state of mind which accepted preposterous evidence without reasoning and on the flimsiest bases, and gloried in the judicial murders which stained the close of our period.

We have now studied in its most characteristic aspects the intellectual outlook of the period 1640-80, as it appears in representative Letters and Diaries of the time. It remains to sum up our conclusions and briefly to draw our suggested comparison with the twentieth century. If for the purposes of this chapter we divide the twentieth century epoch into the War and Post-War periods, we get a space of four years (1914-18) to be compared with a period five times that length (1640-60), and a following division of ten years, again to be compared with twenty. But, as we have already remarked, the resemblance of the two epochs

consists not in the length of time involved but in the
spirit manifested, and the causes operating to produce
that spirit. And the altered conditions of modern times,
the extent of the modern crisis and the universal character
of its influence and appeal, more than balance the inequal-
ity of duration. Indeed, the compression of so much mental
strain into so brief a space serves to bring out more strik-
ingly than would otherwise be the case its characteristic
features. So in our comparison we shall find certain vague
impressions in the seventeenth century reappearing in a more
definite and crystallised form in the twentieth century.

We have seen how a repugnance to the exercise of
logical and detached reasoning led many in the period 1640-
60 to find conscious relief in action, and how the faculty
of seeing many sides to every question tormented the minds
of others with the burden of indecision. In the Great War
of the twentieth century, the same national characteristics
showed themselves. There was not indeed a problem of the
complexity that faced the Verneys and the Twysdens; the
great majority of the nation was united in opinion as to
the only honourable course to pursue, but even the "divided
mind" which we noted as a feature of the seventeenth century,
has its counterpart in the twentieth. The pacifist Wake in
John Buchan's "Mr Standfast", who condemns all war, yet
finds himself impelled to the front line by a patriotism
that he cannot control, who will not carry arms, yet dies a soldier's death, may or may not have been drawn from life, but may certainly be taken as a type of at least a proportion of the nation at the time. And in the boisterous enthusiasm of the crowds which hailed the war, their heroic if slightly sentimental patriotism, and their resolute determination to believe what they were told, we can trace the seventeenth century spirit in modern guise. Plain facts were all we wanted to go upon; most of us never desired to get beyond the fact of the invasion of Belgium, and unconsciously there was a sense almost of national relief that that fact was amply sufficient ground for the action in which we find our most congenial outlet. Even at the present time there is a widespread reluctance amongst those who are not experts to examine in all their bearings the deep-lying causes of the War. The war-weariness from which we suffer in these enlightened days differs only in degree and in extent from that despondent weariness which Clarendon condemned as due to his nation's "disease of murmuring". The people which hailed his return with Charles II is the same people which elected Mr Lloyd George and his party to power by an overwhelming majority in the first General Election after the war; and as in the course of the decade 1660-70, trust in national leaders died and gave way to disbelief in any leader or any party, so in the
decade that has passed since 1918 political confidence has decayed in England, until even the exercise of the vote has in many cases come to be regarded as futile. At the Restoration our ancestors indulged in delirious joy, followed by swift reaction. In the twentieth century, the first and second Armistice Nights were celebrated with overwrought hilarity, until pessimism and disillusionment convinced us of the incongruity of such displays. In 1928 things have come to such a pass that the younger generation, who, as we have said, seem to suffer the demoralising effects of a crisis to a greater degree than those who took a part in it, are said, either from a sense of futility or a shrinking of responsibility, to be losing interest in politics altogether. An interesting article in this connection appeared recently in a University magazine. The question arose in connection with a political debate, and the writer gave as his opinion: "It is becoming more and more apparent that there is a very general distaste for anything with a political flavour. If debating is dead, then political debates are not only dead, but damned. The other day, at a general meeting in one of the colleges, announcements were made of various functions to be held in the near future. The news that there was to be a meeting of a political society was received with marked signs of disapproval". Mr Ramsey Muir, addressing members of the Union, confessed that he was
frightened by the apathy of the present generation towards political questions. Such an apathy is certainly a sign that something is wrong." Then, after bringing forward the interesting point that "the men in the Colleges are increasingly inclined to leave the jobs that are really worth doing to the women" (are we to have a generation of Lady Anne Sunderlands in politics?) the writer goes on: "The boredom with politics among intelligent people is an interesting phenomenon. It is useless to deliver harangues on Public Spirit, or point out, in a pained manner, that political matters are widespread in their effects."¹ This apathy, partially accounted for by the writer by the students' "keener appreciation of the value of knowledge and training", is probably only a special manifestation of a much more universal spirit of disillusionment. A recent writer has quoted a passage from the preface of Mencken's "In Defense of Women" as "extraordinarily characteristic of the present day": "The only thing I respect is intellectual honesty, of which, of course, intellectual courage is a necessary part. A Socialist who goes to prison for his opinions seems to me a much finer man than the judge who sends him there, though I disagree with all the ideas of the Socialist and agree with some of those

of the judge. But though he is fine, the Socialist is nevertheless foolish, for he suffers for what is untrue. If I knew what was true, I'd probably be willing to sweat and strive for it, and may be even to die for it to the tune of bugle blasts. But so far I have not found it."  

Indifference to politics is felt to be justified by a conviction of their futility, demonstrated by the events under the shadow of which the present younger generation grew up, and so, as in the seventeenth century, politics become a profession, to be adopted as a means to personal success by the unscrupulous or the possessors of that particular talent, but of no vital or ultimate concern to the nation at large. We have adopted and developed the ideal of common sense so widely prevalent in the period 1660-80. This, one of our most persistent national characteristics, was obscured during the Great War as during the Civil War, by the nervous tension of an unprecedented situation. In the later period the element of religious exaltation was absent, but the national mind was inevitably in an abnormal state, though the strain of typical common sense is evidenced by the men who accepted the hardships of war as "all in the day's work", and the height of whose humorous ambition was a "Blighty" wound. Since the War we seem to have aimed more and more at "facing facts", at recognising limitations and letting ourselves

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be bound by them. As in the period 1660-80, it has become ridiculous to nourish enthusiasms, and there seems to be a general desire to make the best of things as they are, denying any meaning behind them. The conclusion of a modern novel gives expression to this resigned and placid acceptance of the height of disillusionment. "In the vast warp of life,..... with the background to his fancies that there was no meaning and that nothing was important, a man might get a personal satisfaction in selecting the various strands that worked out the pattern. There was one pattern, the most obvious, perfect, and beautiful, in which a man was born, grew to manhood, married, produced children, toiled for his bread, and died; but there were others, intricate and wonderful, in which happiness did not enter and in which success was not attempted; and in them might be discovered a more troubling grace..... Philip thought that in throwing over the desire for happiness he was casting aside the last of his illusions..... Happiness mattered as little as pain. They came in, both of them, as all the other details of his life came in, to the elaboration of the design..... Whatever happened to him now would be one more motive to add to the complexity of the pattern, and when the end approached he would rejoice in its completion."

The development of a code of "good form", which we noticed in the period 1660-80 as an accompaniment or result of the suppression of enthusiasm, hardened in the eighteenth century, developed less blatantly, but with quiet persistence through the nineteenth century, and reaches its fullest expression in the twentieth, when our schools deliberately turn out "types", and any character not sufficiently plastic to shape itself to the mould prepared for it finds itself more or less of an outcast. Underlying the system is a genuine ideal, and one of value for the character of the individual as well as of the nation, a sense of corporate obligations and of mutual respect. Such a system finds its justification in the high quality of the "type" aimed at and generally attained, but it has grave limitations and these inevitably, and indeed consciously, affect thought as well as speech and act. A modern psychologist has remarked that "it may prove to be the case that one cannot think effectively if one's main purpose in life is to be a gentleman."¹ In both the seventeenth and the twentieth century a time of strain seems to have brought about the substitution of rules of good form for those of good taste. The society of the reign of Charles II was distinguished by the observance of the former, and the same claim might be made for the pre-war and war periods of the twentieth century. One

¹ Graham Wallas, The Great Society, p.194.
has only to contrast the plays licensed before the War with those now commonly acted, to see the difference in the two attitudes. "Mrs Warren's Profession" was banned before the War; the present theatre-going public, tolerating such plays as "Potiphar's Wife", finds it impossible to understand that action of the Lord Chamberlain. The height of post-War good form is to allow one's taste to be shocked at nothing, and so used are we to the dominance of form that we can generally force our taste to fall into line with it. Much the same phenomenon is characteristic of the post-Restoration period, when the suppression of all emotion and disregard of all canons of good taste were carried so far that the King expected, and Clarendon counselled, the newly-married Queen to welcome her husband's mistress as a Lady of the Bedchamber.

We have noticed that the seventeenth century was in the stage of infancy in the matter of national self-consciousness. By the early twentieth century a great change has taken place. Civil War has become so much a thing of the past that the instinctive seventeenth century tendency to identify the party with the nation has ceased to have a place in the national life. Professor McDougall emphasizes the effect on Parliamentary usage of "a traditional and tacit assumption - namely, the assumption that both parties are working for the good of the nation as they conceive and understand it, that both parties have
this common end and differ only in their judgment as to
the means by which it can best be achieved. They (Par-
liamentary traditions) rest also on the traditional and
tacit admission that one's own judgment, and that of one's
party, may be mistaken, and that in the long run the
legislation which any party can effect is an expression
of the organised national mind and is therefore to be
respected.\(^1\) The stage of development of the nation at
the period 1640-60 precluded the possibility of such a
conception, and the peculiar conditions of the time re-
tarded its possible emergence in the period 1660-80, when,
as we have seen, the nation passed through a period of
apathy, varied by outbursts of the old party-feeling in
all its bitterness. The consciousness of failure on both
sides and the compromise of 1688 were the first steps to
the "traditional and tacit assumption" which now under-
lies the whole of political life and enables England to be,
in feeling as in outward appearance, a nation. This
change owes much to the normal developments of civilisa-
tion, by which the inhabitants of our country have been
brought into closer touch both with one another and also
with the other peoples of the world. National self-con-
sciousness cannot be developed by a state which holds
itself apart and isolated from its neighbours. \(^1\)\(^1\) The

\(^{1}\) McDougall, The Group Mind, pp.190-1.
individual's conception of himself is perpetually extended by his increasing knowledge of other selves; and his knowledge of those other selves grows in the light of his knowledge of himself. There is perpetual reciprocal action. The same is true of peoples."¹ So by development of means of travel, widely-increased diffusion of literature, broader views of education, and other normal processes of civilisation, we have attained to a measure of national self-consciousness, which though still incomplete is immeasurably beyond any such conception in the seventeenth century.

In this respect the analogy between the seventeenth century and the twentieth fails. It fails too in the matter of individual self-consciousness. We can compare the War Diary of Richard Symonds with that well-known product of the Great War, "A Student in Arms". Symonds records the facts of his marches with placid unconcern, and with no exercise of his imaginative or emotional faculties; he has plenty of time and plenty of attention to spare for his own private interests; and though he, with the mind of an aristocrat, is fighting in the best of all possible causes and has no doubts on the subject, he takes the whole situation as a matter of course.

Donald Hankey, on the other hand, sees himself as a

(1) McDougall, The Group Mind, p.156.
minute part of an infinitely greater whole; and is constantly endeavouring a mental adjustment between himself, the other component parts, and the great whole itself. Now that the War has caught him up into its organism, it is the only thing in his life, it is for the time being life itself, and fills him with a spirit of ceaseless questioning. In "A Passing in June, 1915" he shows the boy soldier's outraged consciousness of the wastefulness of War; his gradual apprehension of some meaning in his experience, and finally his dying conviction: "I don't think I was mad after all." In "An Englishman Philosophises" the problem is more explicitly stated: "Outwardly he remained calm; but below the surface strange things were happening - nothing less than a complete re-adjustment of his mental perspective..... A man couldn't sit in a trench hour after hour and day after day with shells whizzing through the air over his head, or bursting thunderously ten yards from him, without trying to get some grip of his mental attitude towards them. He could not see his comrades killed and maimed and mutilated without in some way defining his views on life and death and duty and fate. He could not shoot and bayonet his fellow-men without trying to formulate some justification for such an unprecedented course of action. His mind was

(1) A Student in Arms, Second Series, p.219.
compelled to react to the new and extraordinary situations
with which it was confronted. 1

The same spirit, in one form or another, animates
the soldier poets. The consciousness of the individual
man as only a part of some overshadowing scheme in which
all things have a share, has nowhere been better expressed
than in Julian Grenfell's "Into Battle":

"The fighting man shall from the sun
Take warmth, and life from the glowing earth;
Speed with the light-foot winds to run,
And with the trees to newer birth;
And find, when fighting shall be done,
Great rest, and fullness after death."

Such evidence bears out the suggestion made in dis-
cussing the earlier period (p. 42) that in a time of great
physical and mental strain, self-analysis generally has a
very small place. The tendency which we have been describ-
ing has a much wider and more abstract significance and
purpose than self-analysis; it is a movement outward rather
than inward, an intense consciousness of a whole so immense
and so exacting that it leaves neither desire nor scope for
an intimate scrutiny of so intrinsically important and yet
relatively insignificant a part of the scheme as the in-
dividual self.

After the War self-consciousness took a different
direction. The exultation of being part of a scheme of
things working to a definite end faded; the scheme came to
be regarded as a disordered and chaotic series of accidents

(1) A Student in Arms, First Series, p. 137.
and interest became concentrated on the importance of the self. We have seen a somewhat similar development in the flippant self-consciousness of the post-Restoration period. But the modern movement is much more far-reaching and much more complex. It seems in fact to proceed in two precisely opposite directions. There is, on the one hand, outward conformity to the code which prescribes all thought or discussion of personality as "not done", that spirit of which Professor Graham Wallas is thinking when he says that "the priggishness of Rochford College, Illinois, in the 1870s may be a better stimulus (to thought) than the silent suppression of all serious interest which one guesses at in the atmosphere of an English twentieth-century hockey-playing girls' school." On the other hand, there is the form of self-analysis which gives its tremendous vogue to the modern psychological novel; the spirit of puzzled and restless scrutiny left by the War as a legacy to those who can judge it only by its results; the sense that this particular age is different from all other ages, which is the belief of every generation in the world's history, but which circumstances seem to have intensified in this.

"The condition of the world is on the nerves of the young", says someone in 'The White Monkey', and it needs no criticism to point out the irritated perception of the falsity and futility of accepted standards, and the exasperated refusal

to continue to accept them, which have infected almost the entire young intelligentsia."

The post-War mind is feverishly interested in analysis, and is distinctly unlike the seventeenth century in its possession of this interest, both in its healthy and in its morbid aspects.

The main characteristics of English humour have changed little through the centuries. Homeliness, good-nature, whimsicality and spontaneity are still its main features. A striking point of resemblance between the seventeenth century and the twentieth century is the capacity to retain and even develop a sense of humour under conditions of physical hardship. We have noted examples of this faculty evinced by both men and women during the Civil War, and that characteristic modern Englishman "Old Bill" is in a direct line of descent from the debonair Cavalier lady who, on awaking at one stage of a journey in the King's service in a bedroom flooded by the sea, found ready amusement in her host's asseveration that "it never did so but at spring tide."

Certain minor and probably transitory changes in our sense of humour can be traced in the post-war period. Greater artificiality and less humanity is the keynote, for instance, of modern plays. Wit rather than humour is demanded by a restless and somewhat cynical generation.

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(2) Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, p.71.
just as it was demanded by post-Restoration society. "Charley's Aunt" can still fill a theatre at Christmas-time, but that is because this play partakes of the nature of a national institution. For the most part, we insist upon brilliance of witty dialogue. The feeblest plot has been saved from extinction by a dialogue that tickled the palate of an audience which seeks in the theatre the distraction of verbal scintillation rather than strength of action or depth of emotion. The one provides superficial amusement for a jaded mind; the other demands thought and understanding, and it is the latter for which we seek in these post-war days. So Pepys disliked the overwhelming emotional force of "Vittoria Corombona" and was bored by "Philaster," but went joyfully to see Davenant's "The Wits" twice in three days. A play such as "Our Betters" has all the wit and brilliance of Restoration comedy, with a suggestiveness which is the modern variation for seventeenth century candour, and was received with laughter, the gaiety of which no Restoration audience could have surpassed. The perceptible difference in this play lay in the obvious moral purpose of the author, but seriousness was confined to him alone. The tendency to indulge in slightly more cruel forms of humour, which we noticed in the generation of 1660-80 also appears in the generation of 1916-28. The decline in observance of the rules of good taste corresponds to a decline in regard for the feelings of others. The practical jokes which occasionally appear in the newspapers are indications
of this change. Certain individuals regard it as amusing to issue bogus invitations to a wedding, and so cause not only great inconvenience to their acquaintances, but make an occasion always rather difficult emotionally, more difficult still. Again, this tendency can most profitably be studied in our modern plays. The author of "The Fanatics" scores a subtle point when the unmarried woman who has had three lovers describes her feelings on her return to the respectable boarding-house after her first excursion into "life." As she sat in the drawing-room after dinner, watching the placid knitting spinsters around her, her mental comment was "Oh, you poor old things." There is a hardness and an unconscious cruelty in this attitude, which is typical of many more conventional minds. Our good-humour is not quite so innocent nor so imperturbable as it used to be. Yet the tendency is rather confined to certain types and classes than representative of the nation at large. It
remains true of us still that our humour is on the whole a thing of great good-nature. The underlying spirit of the nation is perhaps best represented by the voluntary buses, the driver protected by wire-netting, and the sides adorned with such notices as "Don't feed the bird inside the cage with stone fruit," which were a commonplace of London during the General Strike.

The general curiosity which we have traced in the seventeenth century was a particular feature of that period of the nation's development, and cannot therefore be paralleled exactly in our own time. But the particular forms taken by it after the Restoration bear a close resemblance to certain phenomena in our day. We are much less naïf than the pre-Restoration Englishman, but in our rather blasé yet incurably restless curiosity, we resemble somewhat our post-Restoration ancestors. The scientific impulse which was the great safeguard of their day has its counterpart in modern times, both in theoretical and in
practical directions, but it is less of a novelty in our more advanced stage of civilisation, and modern post-War curiosity tends to run on less healthy lines. The interest in Psycho-Analysis, so widespread a few years ago, has died down as the glamour of novelty has worn off. But the instinct of curiosity remains and, satiated as it is, in this mechanical age, with the normal food which should satisfy its desires, it turns in unhealthy directions. The vogue of the "sex novel" is at bottom actuated by the same spirit as the Restoration comedy, though in the twentieth century the spirit shows itself in subtler and more abnormal ways. A certain editor wrote recently a violent Open Letter to the Modern Sex Novelists, in the course of which he declared: "Not long ago I retched over a novel by a female procuress which explored abysmal horrors that hitherto have been the monopoly of psycho-analysis. Sweet girl graduates read it and discussed its esoteric abominations and fetid mysteries." Most of us, preferring the rapier to the bludgeon, would hesitate to express our opinions with quite the vigour displayed by Mr Douglas, but he succeeds here in laying his finger on a characteristic of the age, an overwhelming interest and unflinching curiosity in probing the facts of this particular subject. The same kind of spirit is manifested in reference to our modern forms of credulity. Again, we are more subtle than our forbears of the seventeenth

(1) James Douglas in the Daily Express, Nov. 29th, 1927.
century; we believe less easily in the ordinary "ghost-
and the power of philosophy, till she confesses herself
story", though we could vie with Sir Ralph Verney and his
and all that hear her." Truly, there is nothing new
son in the delectable business of exchanging "thrillers".
But the occult has for us a morbid fascination, and the
century is marked by its attachment to certain superstitions,
by its response to the allurements of spiritualism, even
by the revival of more aristocratic forms of fortune-tell-
ing. Few nowadays will let a wandering gipsy cross their
palm, but the salons of fashionable crystal-gazers or
palmists are seldom empty. Curiosity and credulity appear
to be mental attributes of the universal type, and only
to change their form or direction with the changed cir-
cumstances of different epochs. Even the "modern" cult
of Auto-Suggestion was practised in the seventeenth century
by that Lady Talmash who, according to Dorothy Osborne,
"says she can do whatsoever she will. . . . . . 'Tis not unpleas-
ant, methinks, to hear her talk, how at such a time she was
sick and the physicians told her she would have the small-
pox, and showed her where they were coming out upon her, but
she bethought herself that it was not at all convenient for
her to have them at that time; some business she had that
required her going abroad: and so she resolved she would not
be sick, nor was not. Twenty such stories as these she tells;
and then falls into discourses of the strength of reason and
and the power of philosophy, till she confounds herself and all that hear her."¹ Truly, there is nothing new under the sun.

¹ Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p. 249.
THE MENTAL ATTITUDE OF THE PERIOD IN ITS MORAL ASPECTS.

"All relations in religion, which are founded by the several sects in religion, which are founded on all forms of reverence and respect, as religious and marks of superstition. Children were well content that they should take any course to maintain themselves, that they might be free from that expense. The young women conversed without any circumspection or modesty, and frequently sat at taverns and common eating-houses, and they who were stricter and more severe in their comportment became the sire of the seditious preachers or of officers of the army. The daughters of noble and illustrious families bestowed themselves upon the divines of the time, or other low and unequal matches. Parents had no manner of authority over their children, nor children any obedience or submission to their parents; but every one did that which was good in his own eyes: This unnatural antipathy had its first rise from the beginning of the Rebellion, when the fathers and sons engage themselves..."
“All relations were confounded by the several sects in religion, which discountenanced all forms of reverence and respect, as relics and marks of superstition. Children asked not blessing of their parents, nor did they concern themselves in the education of their children, but were well content that they should take any course to maintain themselves, that they might be free from that expense. The young women conversed without any circumspection or modesty, and frequently met at taverns and common eating-houses, and they who were stricter and more severe in their comportment, became the wives of the seditious preachers or officers of the army. The daughters of noble and illustrious families bestowed themselves upon the divines of the time, or other low and unequal matches. Parents had no manner of authority over their children, nor children any obedience or submission to their parents; but every one did that which was good in his own eyes: This unnatural antipathy had its first rise from the beginning of the Rebellion, when the fathers and son engaged themselves
in the contrary parties, the one choosing to serve the King, and the other the Parliament: which division and contradiction of affections was afterwards improved to mutual animosities and direct malice, by the help of the preachers and the several factions in religion, or by the absence of all religion: so that there were never such examples of impiety between such relations in any age of the world, Christian or heathen, as that wicked time from the beginning of the rebellion to the King's return.

The relation between masters and servants had been long since dissolved by the Parliament, that their army might be increased by the prentices against their masters' consent, and that they might have intelligence of the secret meetings and transactions in those houses and families which were not devoted to them, from whence issued the foulest treacheries and perfidiousness that were ever practised: And the blood of the master was frequently the price of the servant's villany.

In a word, the Nation was corrupted from that integrity, good nature, and generosity that had been peculiar to it, and for which it had been signal and celebrated throughout the world; in the room whereof the vilest craft and dissembling had succeeded.

The very mention of good nature was laughed at and looked upon as the mark and character of a fool; and a roughness of manners, or hard heartedness and cruelty was (1) Clarenden, Life (Continuation), pp. 21-25.
affected. In the place of generosity, a vile and sordid love of money was entertained as the truest wisdom, and anything lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total decay, or rather a final expiration, of all friendship; and to dissuade a man from any thing he affected, or to reprove him for anything he had done amiss, or to advise him to do anything he had no mind to do, was thought an impertinence unworthy a wise man, and received with reproach and contempt.¹

Clarendon's judgment of the moral attitude of the post-Restoration period is interesting contemporary evidence. He was, however, actually writing as an exile, and his judgment, shrewd and penetrating so far as it goes, needs to be amplified and extended by our wider and more detached knowledge of the subject. Clarendon imputes the general laxity of the time, a laxity which is indubitable and to which even his uncompromising words do no less than justice, to the Rebellion, its demoralising tendencies at the time, and its inevitable after-effects on the outlook of the nation. After so sudden and violent a break in the ordered scheme of things, it was impossible to settle down to a tranquil acceptance of the rules of thought and conduct which were general before the war. Clarendon's judgment is that of the man on the spot, the man who has first-hand knowledge of the facts, but who is personally too

¹ Clarendon, Life (Continuation), pp.21-23.
closely concerned with those facts to be able to draw
general conclusions and to see the trend of his generation
or its significance as part of the wider development of
the nation. The period 1640-60 was a period of transition.
The moral outlook of the nation before the Civil War was,
broadly speaking, mediaeval; that of the post-Restoration
generation was essentially modern. "The England of the
elder days - the England before the Commonwealth - seems
an old, strange England; and that which came after the
Commonwealth seems, in little more than an old-fashioned
way, the England which is England still." In other
words, the outlook of the earlier generation was compara-
tively simple and clear-cut, while that of the later genera-
tion was complicated, uncertain and confused, leading up
to a new affirmation of the dominant elements in the nation-
al character, an affirmation at once definite and complex.
The process is one of assimilation. The basis of the
nation's personality remains the same, but it has to be
adapted to allow room for new ideas, new claims, new prin-
ciples. In a normal development the change would take
place by almost imperceptible degrees, but in this case
circumstances forced a sudden step forward, too sudden to
allow of a natural and steady adaptation. A contrast once
drawn between the French national character and the English
is interesting in this connection. "The chief national

(1) Barrett Wendell, The Seventeenth Century in English
Literature, p.327.
virtues of the French people result from an intense power of sympathy.... No other nation has so habitual and vivid a sympathy with great struggles for freedom beyond its border..... The Anglo-Saxon nations, on the other hand, though sometimes roused to strong but transient enthusiasm, are habitually singularly narrow, unappreciative, and unsympathetic. The great source of their national virtue is the sense of duty, the power of pursuing a course which they believe to be right, independently of all considerations of sympathy or favour, of enthusiasm or success."

(italics mine). Now the sense of duty, the most persistent trait in the English character, may legitimately be claimed as our "rudimentary virtue", but it undergoes such variations as are to be expected at different epochs and in differing circumstances. Before 1640 its claims could have been summed up in the sentence "Fear God; honour the King", and until the Civil War the latter part at least of the formula admitted of little variety of interpretation. During the Civil War it became apparent that there were not only diametrically opposed methods of fearing God but even of honouring the King. It must be remembered that the Puritans at first insisted upon their loyalty to the monarch, maintaining that they proved it by resisting his evil counsellors. As the struggle increased in bitterness, and especially as the militant saints took the lead, the moral

(2) Ibid, p.154.
situation must have become more and more confusing. The
national conscience was uncertain, and the Restoration
came about, not as a moral but as a political necessity.
To the generation that followed, and that witnessed the
decadence and disillusionment of the period 1660-80, the
national rudimentary virtue must have been obscured in­
deed. To distrust of human nature was added confusion of
ethical views, and perhaps no age has ever been more fruit­
ful of political paradoxes. The ex-Roundhead members of
the Commission which tried the regicides seem never to have
questioned the justice or even the decency of their position.
Clarendon complacently eulogised Sir Richard Browne, Lord
Mayor of London at the time of the Restoration, than whom
no man in England "did raze out the memory of what he had
formerly done amiss, with a more signal acknowledgment, or
a more frank and generous engagement against all manner of
factions, which opposed or obstructed his Majesty's service;
which made him terrible and odious to all, and to none more
than to the Presbyterians, who had formerly seduced him."

The development of the Puritan theory and the attitude main­
tained by the party, at least nominally, until the death of
Cromwell, was a confusion of individual idealism with social
and political ethics, and as such was doomed to failure from
the outset. Cromwell, the finest product of his party, is
the clearest representative of its weakness, for government

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was impossible under a man who saw that his treaty was a failure, and concluded that it had been a sin.\(^1\) Such limited and rigid logic was the ruin of the Puritan party, for they could never find it in their conscience to suppose that their function was other than to use the utmost resources of the secular power to enforce their own peculiar spiritual views. This curious confusion of mind affected foreign as well as home policy. As Mr Trevelyan puts it: "Cromwell held with his secretary that God had revealed Himself, 'as His manner is, first to His Englishmen'. The Protector's mind could never logically separate this idealised patriotism from his Protestant and Free Church sympathies."\(^2\) Confusion of values appears constantly in Cromwell's letters. He writes to Bradshaw after Drogheda: "I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives. Those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes.... This hath been a marvellous great mercy.... I do not believe.... that any officer escaped with his life, save only one lieutenant."\(^3\) And to Lenthall: "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God."\(^4\) It was the manifestation of this spirit in Fairfax's massacre at Colchester that called forth the indignant protest of Edmund Verney the younger, a professional soldier with

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\(^1\) Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, p.295.
\(^2\) Ibid, p.322.
the traditions of that honourable calling behind him:
"There is a civill and honourable custome, and see auth-
enticke that it may not impropperly be called a lawe, amongst
souldyers to give noble and honourable conditions to their
enemy though in the greatest straight and necessity."¹ These
are pitiful words from one who was to end his life by the
treachorous butchery of prisoners of war which he himself
condemns. Edmund's protest suggests the inherited code of
honour which lay behind and coloured the proceedings of the
Cavalier party as a whole. Their outlook was not far re­
moved from that of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who, writing
in 1642 as one of the older generation, had notions dis­
tinctly mediaeval on such matters. He indulged in a fan­
tastic contest of honour with Balaguy before the town of
Juliers. Balaguy suddenly challenged Herbert with the words
'Monsieur, on dit que vous êtes un des plus braves de votre
nation, et je suis Balaguy, allons voir qui fera le mieux',
"whereupon leaping suddenly out of the trenches with his
sword drawn, I did in the like manner as suddenly follow
him, both of us in the mean while striving who should be
foremost, which being perceived by those of the bulwark and
cortine opposite to us, three or four hundred shot at least,
great and small were made against us. Our running on for­
wards in emulation of each other, was the cause that all the
shots fell betwixt us and the trench from which we sallied.

When Monsieur Balagny, finding such a storm of bullets, said, 'Pardieu, il fait bien chaud, 'It is very hot here'; I answered briefly thus, 'Vous en irez premier, autrement je n'irai jamais'; 'You shall go first or else I will never go'; hereupon he ran with all speed, and somewhat crouching towards the trenches, I followed after leisurely and upright. He preferred to fight a duel with "Sir James Areskin" rather than give an explanation which might compromise a young lieutenant. His record of duels in fact reads like a page from the accounts of King Arthur's Knights. One of the most characteristic of his exploits was occasioned by the significance he attached to the oath of knighthood. He was staying at Merlon in France, and a young Frenchman took it upon himself to seize and wear in his hat a knot of ribbon belonging to the ten-year-old granddaughter of Herbert's host. The Englishman made a solemn business of the restoration of the trophy, which the Frenchman steadfastly refused to yield. Herbert pressed for a duel, and would have forced one had not the child's grandfather intervened, and dismissed the bold chevalier from his house. "And this", says Herbert, triumphantly, "is all I ever heard of the gentleman, with whom I proceeded in that manner, because I thought myself obliged thereunto by the oath taken when I was made Knight of the Bath." When the Civil War broke out, such fantastic notions of honour received

(2) Memoirs of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Ibid., p.79-80
(3) Ibid, p.53-61.
a sharp shock. We read of few duels between 1640 and 1660. Under the pressure of general danger and common loyalty, men regarded their own lives as too sacred and precious to be frivolously thrown away. Honour was all for the King, and in his cause only might a man's life be freely spent. Clarendon tells the poignant story of his receiving after Falkland's death at Edgehill a letter written not long before the fatal battle. Falkland replied to the remonstrances of his friend, who had accused him of always seeking the post of greatest danger: "his case was different from other men's; that he was so much taken notice of for an impatient desire of peace, that it was necessary that he should make it appear that it was not of fear of the utmost hazard of war." The same spirit animates a letter of Lord Sunderland to his wife, from which it is plain that the gaieties indulged in by his party almost as a matter of principle displeased the serious mind of this young Cavalier. He complains that "by the bawdy discourse I thought I had bin in the drawing-room", and adds "Neither is there wanting daily handsom occasion to retire, were it not for gaining honour. For let occasion be never so handsom, unless a man were resolved to fight on the Parliament side, which for my part I had rather be hanged, it will be said without doubt that a man is afraid to fight. If there could be an expedient found, to salve the punctilio of honour, I would

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(1) Clarendon, Life, p.84.
This attitude, in which the spirit, not the bare letter, of honour was the motive force, was neither shared nor comprehended by the Puritan party. It must be emphasised that on the whole the Puritans were recruited from the middle class, that they had little knowledge of and no sympathy with aristocratic traditions, and that this fact aggravated the bitterness of the struggle in which the country was engaged. It must also have rendered extremely difficult the lot of such of the nobility as joined the popular party. There could obviously be no sympathy between men of the stamp of Sir Peter Osborne or Sir Richard Fanshawe and the unchivalrous besiegers of Sheffield Castle, who refused to let a midwife pass through their lines to succour Lady Savile, the heroic defender of the castle. It is worthy of note that there is a certain sense of "noblesse oblige" throughout the period 1640-80. Thus in 1646 Sir Ralph Verney writes from France to his wife in England, advising her not to accept the invitations of friends to feasts and banquets, since she is "not able to return the like". And Pepys shews a surprising sensitiveness when he criticises Lady Sandwich's treatment of her servants: "My Lady was in a bad mood, which we were troubled at, and had she been noble, she would not have been so with her

(1) Ady, Saccharissa, p.88.
(2) Savile Correspondence, Introd. p.vii.
servants, when we come thither, and this Sir W. Pen took notice of, as well as I. "

Our period of the seventeenth century favours the generalisation of Lecky: "War is, no doubt, a fearful evil, but it is the seed-plot of magnanimous virtues, which in a pacific age must wither and decay." The Civil War furnishes magnificent examples of self-forgetfulness in the cause of duty. The debonair devotion of the Cavaliers has passed down to posterity as among the most inspiring records of our history. "Much as they differed one from another in politics and in character, the Royalists of England took arms, not as clients but as freemen, not to recover at the expense of the nation odious and forfeited privileges of their own, but to risk their all for a King. Therefore they have become for all ages the type of pure loyalty; therefore, even in the horrid hour of fratricide, their worthiest champions were respected by their foes." The problems of the time were easiest for those in whom the sentiment of loyalty was sufficiently strong to outweigh all other claims and override any possible scruples. Clarendon records a conversation in which Sir Edmund Verney, "the Standard Bearer", made the difficulty of his position very plain. "You", he said, "have satisfaction in your conscience that you

(1) Diary, April 18th, 1661.
(2) Lecky, History of European Morals, p.147.
are in the right; that the King ought not to grant what is required of him; and so you do your duty and your business together: But for my part, I do not like the quarrel, and my conscience is only concerned in honour, and in gratitude to follow my master. I have eaten his bread, and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing, as to forsake him, and choose rather to lose my life (which I am sure I shall do) to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend."

Moved to admiration by this confidence, Clarendon comments: "if those who had the same and greater obligations had observed the same rules of gratitude and generosity, whatever their other affections had been, that battle [Edgehill] had never been fought, nor any of that mischief been brought to pass that succeeded it." 

In the matter of courage this generation yields to none. There is the example of Sidney Godolphin, who "was of so nice and tender a composition that a little rain or wind would disorder him, and divert him from any short journey, he had most willingly proposed to himself; insomuch, as when he rid abroad with those in whose company he most delighted; if the wind chanced to be in his face, he would (after a little pleasant murmuring) suddenly turn his horse, and go home: Yet the Civil War no sooner began ....... than he put himself into the first troops which were raised in the west for the king; and bore the uneasiness

(1) Clarendon, Life, p.69.
and fatigue of winter marches, with an exemplar courage and alacrity; until by too brave a pursuit of the enemy into an obscure village in Devonshire, he was shot with a musket; with which (without saying any word more, than, 'Oh God, I am hurt') he fell dead from his horse; to the excessive grief of his friends, who were all that knew him. Symonds gives some vivid impressions of conditions in the Royalist forces. The example set by the King may be gathered from the following passage: "This night the King lay under the hedge with his servants in one field. The troopes of life guards lay in the next, it being very wyndy,...... and rayned much and great stormes." On another occasion we are told "This night we lay in the wet field, without any provision. We made this march, from four of the clock in the morning to one the next night, without any bayte or rendezvous." Yet without further comment, this gallant soldier and ardent student of heraldry goes off into a description of coats of arms in "Mr Dutton's house". His dramatic account of a fight in Cornwall is worth quoting in full. "Captain Brett led up the Queenses troop, and most gallantly in view of the King charged their foot and beate them from their hedge, killing many of them, notwithstanding their musquets made abundance of shott at his men: he receiv'd a shott in the left arme in the first field, and one of his men, La Plumme,

(2) R. Symonds Diary, p.65.
(3) Ibid, p.28.
a Frenchman killed, yet most gallantly went on and brought
his men off; his cornett's horse shot, with two other
horses, and two more wounded: he retreated to be dress'd,
and the King called him and took his sword which was
drawne in his hand, and knighted Sir Edward Brett on his
horse's back."¹ On the opposite side is the plain and
forcible record of Captain John Hodgson, "godly" Puritan
and daring soldier: "My captain sees me mounted, and
orders me to ride up to my colonel, that was deeply en-
gaged both in front and flank: And I did so, and there
was nothing but fire and smoke; and I met Major-General
Lambert coming off on foot, who had been with his brother
Bright; and coming to him, I told him where his danger
lay, on his left wing chiefly. He ordered me to fetch up
the Lancashire regiment; and God brought me off, both
horse and myself."²

But a high response to the call for courage was not
the prerogative of the fighting services alone. No age
can boast a more gallant company of heroic women. Of
varying ages, in varying circumstances, in perils and in
hardships, they show a steadfast devotion, and a calm dis-
regard of danger, and an activity which yet never derogates
from their essential femininity. Baxter tells of the
Countess of Balcarres who through love of her husband, or
service with the King, "marched with him and lay out-of-

¹ H. Symonds' Diary, p.63.
² Memoirs of Captain John Hodgson, p.117-118.
doors with him on the mountains."¹ Lady Barrymore writes from Ireland during the revolt of 1642: "I dare not stir because the safety of so many depends upon my stay here, and we have daily the objects of the Papists' cruelty, which doth somewhat terrify me."² The last sentence is characteristic of these women; they never pretend to a courage unnatural to them, and they generally realise the dangers that threaten them. It may be that women at a time of crisis are carried away by their intenser strain of idealism to ignore or realise incompletely the perils of their circumstances. Upon men, with their deeper strength of imagination and their weaker passion of exaltation, sinister possibilities strike with fuller force. This might account for the recklessness frequently evinced by women at such times, and in some cases for the heights of physical fearlessness attained by them. But in this generation, most of the women seem to have quietly realised all that they were risking and deliberately to have made their choice. That being so, they affected no courage which they did not feel, but such fears as they admitted to were never allowed to move them from the path which they had chosen. They seem to have adopted the masculine attitude, with the added attraction that they have no hesitation in confessing to a feeling of fear since it never sways their actions, while in all ages a man is forced by

¹ (1) Baxter, Autobiography, p.100.
convention to pretend he knows not what fear is. There can have been little fear of any kind in the composition of that Countess of Derby, who, Ailesbury tells us, "raised a regiment, and the officers were all men of interest and courage, and she herself ascribed at all councils of war, and when in want of ball she made use of all the lead of the castle, and, in a word, what by cannon and firearms or sallies at two several sieges there about 4000 of the rebels killed and they forced to raise the siege; and she held out the castle until his Majesty Charles the first sent her an order to deliver it up, soon after the battle of Naseby and his Majesty sold by the Scotch unto the Parliament." Lady Fanshawe, who spoke of herself in youth as a "hoyting girl", kept in her matronhood a buoyant, almost "devil-may-care" spirit. A devoted wife, she accompanied her husband on his travels; suffered storm and shipwreck; and, more disturbing to her feminine soul than even sea-sickness, was robbed by the sailors. She catalogued wistfully her lost store of finery: "a quantity of gold lace, with our best clothes and linen, with all my combs, gloves, and ribbons." Her high spirit seems to have found a definite pleasure in facing danger, provided it was at her husband's side. She had no use for the theory that women are best out of the way in an emergency. On one of her voyages to Spain, a Turkish man-of-war was

(1) Ailesbury, Memoirs, p.5.
(2) Memoirs, p.70.
sighted, the women were ordered below, and the ship was prepared for action. Sir Richard Fanshawe went on deck prepared to fight, but his wife found herself kept below by main force. "This beast, the Captain, had locked me up in the cabin; I knocked and called long to no purpose, until, at length, the cabin-boy came and opened the door; I, all in tears, desired him to be so good as to give me his blue thrum cap he wore, and his barred coat, which he did, and I gave him half a crown, and putting them on and flinging away my night clothes, I crept up softly and stood upon the deck by my husband's side, as free from sickness and fear as, I confess, from discretion, but it was the effect of that passion, which I could never master. By this time the two vessels were engaged in parley, and so well satisfied with speech and sight of each other's forces, that the Turk's man-of-war tacked about, and we continued our course. But when your father saw it convenient to retreat, looking upon me, he blessed himself, and snatched me up in his arms, saying, 'Good God, that love can make this change!' and though he seemingly chid me, he would laugh at it as often as he remembered that voyage." ¹

On the opposite side, another faithful wife, Lucy Hutchinson, endured the horrors of Civil War with her husband and ultimately accompanied him into captivity. The quality of her courage is shewn in her prompt acceptance of the challenge thrown down by Captain Welch, who

(1) Memoirs, p. 92.
"said it was a pity she should have a husband so unworthy of her as to enter into any faction which should make him not dare to be seen with her; whereas she being piqued, and thinking they were all marched away, told him he was mistaken, she had not a husband that would at any time hide himself from him, or that durst not show his face where any honest man durst appear; and to confirm you, said she, he shall now come to you. With that she called down her brother, who, upon a private hint, owned the name of husband, which she gave him."1 Unfortunately, Captain Welch was too well deceived, and Mr George Hutchinson suffered arrest in place of his brother. Fierce partisan as she was, she showed a humanity not always displayed by her faction in ministering to the wounded captives as they came in, a task which must have been physically revolting even to so strong-minded a woman. "After our wounded men were dressed, as she stood at her chamber door, seeing three of the prisoners sorely cut, and carried down bleeding into the Lion's Den, she desired the marshal to bring them in to her, and bound up and dressed their wounds also: which while she was doing, Captain Palmer came in and told her his soul abhorred to see these favours done to the enemies of God: she replied, she had done nothing but what she thought was her duty, in humanity to them, as fellow-creatures, not as enemies."2 Another, and a more loveable,

(2) Ibid., p.145.
Puritan gentlewoman writes thus to her son on active service: "You may be confident my very soule goes along with you; and becaus I cannot be with you myselfe, I have sent you on to be of your troope, and have furnisched him with a hors."¹ This charming lady gives full proof of the fact that her courage was not merely moral, but active and physical. In one letter she mentions casually: "I heare there are 600 soulers apointed to come against me."² In another, with the utmost simplicity she makes the touching statement: "My deare Ned, I thanke God I am not afeard." And a quaintly-spelt postscript to the same letter gives evidence of her prudence and her practical common sense: "I have made the plumer write to Woster for 50 weight of shot. I sent to Woster becaus I would not have it knowne. If your father thinke that is not enouff, I will send for more."³ Even the suspicion of a traitor in her household, though she suggests that his removal would be desirable, carries no dismay to her stout heart.

"My deare Ned", she writes, "I can not thinke I am safe at Brompton, and by no means I would have you come downe.... I could wisch that mywyn Adams weare out of the house, for I am persuaded he will give the other side what assistance he can. If you thinke good, tell your father so."⁴

Mention has already been made of the heroic Lady Savile, who obstinately refused to surrender Sheffield.

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(1) Harley Correspondence, p.199.
(2) Ibid, p.195.
Castle, and endured the siege while expecting at any moment the birth of a child. She continued to hold it until her own soldiers, unable to bear her plight, forced her to accept honourable terms from the enemy. Perhaps the most striking figure in this company of splendid women is Lady Halkett. Courage was the dominant element in her personality, and events forced her to exercise it in circumstances peculiarly interesting. Already in early youth, her quality had been tested in an unhappy love-affair. She appears to have had a strong and instinctive dread of her mother's displeasure, yet she determined to risk its full force and see her lover if the report of his injury were true. When the unworthy Mr H. forsook her and married another, the true strength of her character appears in the record: "flinging myself down upon her (i.e., her sister's) bed, I said, 'Is this the man for whom I have suffered so much? Since he hath made himselfe unworthy my love, hee is unworthy my anger or concerne', and rising immediately I went out into the next room to my supper as unconcernedly as if I had never had an interest in him, nor had ever lost it." It is not surprising to find this girl, now become a woman, taking a principal and dangerous part in the escape of the Duke of York from England. "C.B." was managing the escape, and Anne "waited in a private house hard by that C.B. had prepared for dressing his Highness,

(1) Savile Correspondence, Intro. p.vii.
(2) Autobiography of Lady Halkett, p.15.
where all things were in a readiness. But I had many feares, for C.B. had desired mee, if they came nott there precisely by ten a'cloccke, to shift for my selfe, for then I might conclude they were discovered, and so my stay there could doe noe good, but prejudice my selfe. Yett this did not make mee leave the house, though ten a'cloccke did strike, and hee that was intrusted offten went to the landing place and saw noe boate comming was much discouraged, and asked mee what I would doe. I told him I came there with a resolution to serve his Highness, and I was fully determined nott to leave that place till I was out of hopes of doing what I came there for, and would take my hazard. Hee left mee to goe againe to ye watter side, and while I was fortifying myselfe against what might arrive to mee, I heard a great noise of many as I thought comming up staires, with I expected to be soldiers to take mee, but it was a pleasing disappointmatt, for ye first that came in was ye Duke, who with much joy I took in my armes, and gave God thankes for his safe arivall.\(^1\) Her courage and capability seem to have been recognised by her friends, who chose her for employments requiring presence of mind and steadiness of nerve. When a plot was afoot against the family of Balcarras, Anne Halkett was the messenger chosen to warn them, and after their flight "I made Locke up the gates, and with ye helpe of Logan, who served my Lord, and one of

\(^1\) Autobiography, p.21-2.
ye women, both beeing very trusty, I tooke downe all ye bookes, and, putting them in trunks and chests, sentt them all outt of the howse in the night to the places apointed by my Lord, taking a short way of inventory to know what sort of bookes were sentt to every person......

But I forgott to tell that the things had nott beene two houres outt of the howse when the troope of horse came and asked for my Lord. There officer came up to mee, and I told him my Lord had beene long sicke, (wch was true enough) and finding itt inconvenientt to bee so farre from the phisitians, was gone to Ed b for his health. They searched all the howse, and seeing nothing in itt butt bare walls and weemen and children, they wentt away. 1 Again in Lady Dunfermline's house at Fyvie, Anne was the one to go down end brave the Presbyterian soldiery, although she knew that her English nationality would rouse their antagonism. Like Lucy Hutchinson, she showed her courage also in more typically feminine ways. Her account of the treatment of the wounded after Dunbar suggests that the English nursing tradition had not to wait for a heroine till the days of Florence Nightingale. Not only fortitude and efficiency, but instinctive wisdom are evident behind her simply-worded record. One man had a terrible head-wound, "which when Ar.R. saw hee cried outt, 'Lord have mercy upon thee! for thou art butt a dead man'. I seeing the men who had

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1 Autobiography, p.37.
2 Ibid, p.68.
courage enough before begin to bee much disheartened, I
told him hee need nott bee discouraged with whatt hee
that had noe skill said, for if itt pleased God to blesse
what I should give him hee might doe well enough; and this
I said more to harten him up then otherways, for I saw itt
a very dangerous wound; and yett itt pleased God hee re-
covered, as I heard afterwards, and wentt frankly from
dressing, having given him something to refresh his spiritts.

... of all these poore soldiers there was few of
then had ever beene drest from the time they receaved there
wounds till they came to Kinrose, and then itt may bee
imagined they were very noisome; butt one particularly was
in that degree who was shott through the arm that none
was able to stay in ye roome, butt all left mee. Acciden-
tally a gentleman came in, who seeing mee (nott without
reluctancy) cutting off the man's sleeve of his doublet,
wh was hardly fitt to be touthed, hee was so charitabill
as to take a knife and cutt itt off and fling [it] in ye
fire. Her high moral courage made itself felt in
the encounter with the Puritan Colonel Overton, to whom
she very openly spoke her mind. "Sr (said I,) if you had
nott begun this discourse, I had said nothing to you; butt
since you have desired my opinion (wch hee did) of the
times, I shall very freely give itt, upon the condition
that what ever I say you may nott make use of itt to the

(1) Autobiography, p.65.
prejudice of the noble family I live in, for I can hold
my tongue, but I cannot speak any thing contrary to what
I think.

Anne Halkett's Autobiography bears witness to yet
another "magnanimous virtue" fostered by the Civil War.
The troubled times called forth a heroic generosity. Those
who had sacrificed all for the King seem to have shared and
shared alike. When Anne was in difficulties in Edinburgh,
Lord and Lady Tweeddale lent her rooms in their unoccupied
house. Lady Balcarrases supplied furniture; Lord Newbeth
and his father advised and helped in a lawsuit, and refused
to take a penny in payment; while the old Countess of
Dunfermline "invited mee to goe with her to Finockey the
Saturday before I was to goe for London, and being very
inquisitive how I was provided for my journey, by my
ingenuity (- candour) her La\(^2\) found I was not very cer-
taine of what was convenientt, and upon the Monday when
I was comming away my Lady brought mee ten pound, and
said if shee had beene better provided shee would have
lent mee more, butt shee had borrowed itt of her Lord."

Perhaps the crowning example of such generosity is that
of Anne herself, when a mysterious "tall proper man" ap-
pealed to her charity. "Hee told mee hee was one who had
nott beene used to seeke, butt now was reduced to that
necessity that hee was forced to aske my charity to keep

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(1) Autobiography, p.70.
(2) Ibid, p.96.
him from starving. His looks were so suitable to his words, that I could not but compassionately his condition, and regret my own; for all I had was but one poor shilling, nor knew I where to borrow two pence. I thought to give him all I had might appear vanity if any one should know it, and to give him less could not supply his want, and therefore I resolved to give it him all, and referred my self to His hands for whom I did it (concluding that perhaps some would lend mee yt would not give him); and I doubted nott butt God would provide for mee. So I gave him the shilling, which raised so great a joy in him that I could not but be highly pleased to be the instrument of that which brought such praises to the God of Mercy; who left mee not without a recompenence, for the next morning, before I was ready, the Earl of Roxborough came to my chamber, who was newly come from London, and brought mee a very kind letter from my sister, and twenty pound sterling for a testimony of her affection, which I received as a reward for my last night's charity.\(^1\)

After 1660, there were naturally few occasions for the display of courage such as we have been describing. Examples of rare fortitude still occur, but the incredulous surprise which greeted the appearance of Lady Russell as her husband's secretary at his trial showed that the decay of the "magnanimous virtues" had been proceeding

\(^{1}\) Autobiography, p. 33.4.
British womanhood has always been distinguished by its power of passive endurance, and Teonge in 1675, describing the parting between his shipmates bound for Tripoli and their womenfolk, draws a picture for all time: The captain's little son would go "from gun to gun, and put his finger to the breech of the gun, and cry 'Booe'; whilst the mother, like a woman of great discretion, seems no whit troubled, that her husband might be the lesse so. But our lieutenant's wife was like weeping Rachel, or mournful Niobe; as also was the boatswaine's wife: indeed all of them like the turtle-doves, or young pigeons, true emblems of mourning. Only our master's wife, of a masculine spirit, or rather a virago, lays no such griev to her heart; only, like one that hath eaten mustard, her eyes are a little redd."  

But the spirit of the nation had degenerated even by the year 1665, when men in responsible positions fled shamelessly before the Plague, and set the example to the nation of "every man for himself, and the devil take the hindermost." It is greatly to the credit of Charles II, that, though forced to leave London himself, he returned to his capital at the earliest possible moment, and before that sport it was to sit and peep through his window, he left took what steps he could to discourage a general exodus. A handful of devoted officials stuck to their posts, and the King "prevailed with some Justices of the

(1) Teonge's Diary, p.13.
Peace in the Strand and in Westminster to promise to reside there (which they were the more easily persuaded to do by the General's declaring that he would stay in his lodgings at Whitehall, which he did during the whole time of the pestilence; and the Lord Craven out of friendship to him stayed likewise in his house in Drury-Lane: And it cannot be denied that the presence of those two great persons prevented many mischiefs which would have fallen out by the disorder of the people, and was of great convenience and benefit to that end of the town)\(^1\)

The high line taken by Craven and Monk serves to throw into relief the baser conduct of the majority. The generation as a whole lacked the heroic quality, and decadence had begun. Henry Savile seems to have feared neither God nor man, but his spirit is one of gay bravado. Charles Hatton has a typical story of him: "Not long since, being in ye King's company, when they were very merry and H.S. high flown in drinke, of a sudden he seemed very melancholy, and ye King enquiring ye reason, he told him yt we shou'd very shortly bee all in confusion and up in arms, and yt he wase thinking what to doe with himself, and that he had resolved to get up behind ye old king at Charing Crosse, and wase thinking what sport it wou'd be to him to peeps through his armes and see ye King, Will Chiffings, and ye Sert Trumpeter (for, wth an oath he averred he wou'd have nobody els

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with him) mounted on their great horses and charging ye
3 nations. 1

Ethical views in the second half of our period had
become exceedingly mundane. Self-interest was now the
recognised standard of conduct. Han Savile is taught to
consider the views of the world at every turn, and, though
it is to be remembered that pride is a sin, yet "to be well
thought of and to be kindly used by the world is like a
glory about a woman's head." 2 Lady Anne Sunderland il-
lustrates the point of view of a highly-placed woman of the
world. She is an inveterate schemer. She has no concep-
tion of the needs of the country and their claim on her
allegiance. To her the Prince of Orange is "an ass" 3 if
he will not take the country when it is his. She is an
adept at the art of being all things to all men. In cor-
respondence with John Evelyn she disguises her passion for
politics as an unselfish desire to furnish him with news,
and humbly pleads her ignorance and unfitness to discourse
on such subjects. To Henry Sidney she is the reliable
political confidant, the capable and unscrupulous schemer,
though always under an assumed veil of innocence which must
have amused him as much as it did herself. When writing to
more exalted personages, such as William of Orange, she
sustains to perfection the character of shrewd observer,
and combines openness of speech with all due respect.

(1) Hatton Correspondence, p.139.
(2) Halifax, Advice to a Daughter, p.132-3.
Characteristically, she never laments over the unhappy condition of the country until it affects her personally. When her husband loses his position or she her lodgings, she piously prays for the settlement of so disturbed a realm; otherwise she seems to enjoy the chaos of the time, as providing an outlet for her peculiar genius.

This general self-interest is hinted at by Clarendon. He states that at the Restoration those who wanted office under the Master of Horse (Monk) might have had their desire "if the vile good huswifery of his wife had not engrossed that province, and preferred him who offered most money before all other considerations or motives." On another occasion the Chancellor's moral indignation was intense, on personal grounds. Fouquet, the French Ambassador, had offered him "a present", and he informed the King and Duke "that Fouquet could not be an honest man, and that he had no mind to hold that correspondence with him". They both burst out laughing, "saying 'the French did all their business that way'". But the English appear to have done it that way too, and Clarendon himself on one occasion received from the King "a present" of £30,000, which he is careful to state was the result of his previous refusal of a barony.

To this somewhat depressing review of the morale of the nation, the spirit of Halifax affords a welcome

(1) Clarendon, Life (Continuation), p.25.
(2) Ibid, p.93.
(3) Ibid, p.32.
contrast. The best commentaries on his attitude are his own half-apologetic statements to his more time-serving brother. After his defence of Lord Stafford he writes: "That an honest man is a very scurvy calling, I agree with you, but having used it so long, I do not know how to change." And again: "I am not such a volunteer in philosophy as to provoke such a storm as hath fallen upon me, from a mistaken principle of bravery, to do a thing only because it is dangerous. But when upon enquiry I think myself in the right, I confess I have an obstinate kind of morality which I hope may make amends for my want of devotion. . . . . . Though I agree with you, this is not an age for a man to follow the strict morality of better times, yet sure mankind is not yet so debased, but that there will ever be found some few men who will scorn to join in concert with the public voice, when it is not well grounded.

Relief is also afforded by an account of the Scottish Earl of Crawford, who served the King while opposing Episcopacy with all his might. "It may be it was some argument to him (the king) of his sincerity, that when others, who to his Majesty's own knowledge were as rigid Presbyterians as he, were now very frank in renouncing and disclaiming all obligations from it, he of all the nobility was the only man who still adhered to it, when it was

evident to him that he should upon the matter (i.e., in fact) be undone by it. Sincerity could still be appreciated, if only in contrast with the general lack of it. This brings us to a consideration of the views of the whole period 1640-80 on the matter of truth. The issue seems to have been quite clear and the point of view hardly to have changed throughout the period. Strict verbal truth was necessary and lying a sin, but any form of quibbling was regarded as permissible if not wholly desirable. Herbert of Cherbury even as a child was never in trouble for lying, and subterfuge would have been unnatural to his direct and straightforward mind. Lady Anne Sunderland was of different metal. She seems to have taken a moral as well as an intellectual pride in the device by which she was able to assure King James II that her correspondence with his daughter was wholly of a non-political nature. She heard that she had been accused of treasonable correspondence with the Princess of Orange, "which made me defer sending till the King had spoke to me of it, which he has done; and as I could very truly, so I did assure his Majesty I never had the honour to have any commerce with the Princess, but about treacle-water, or work, or some such slight thing; so I did likewise assure his Majesty that if there ever had been any commerce I should never be ashamed, but, on the contrary, proud to own it, seeing he must be sure that the Princess [a reasonable letter]

(1) Clarendon: Life (Continuation): p. 211.
which in matters of controversy desires that all opinions, arguments and facts should be fully and fairly stated. The baby could never be capable of anything with anybody to his disservice."¹ More innocently, but in the same quibbling spirit, Lady Halkett, who had been forbidden to see Mr H., blindfolded herself before the stolen interview². Many years later, when rumour had coupled her name with that of Sir James Halkett, her second admirer Colonel Bamfield came to see her and asked point blank if she were married to Sir James, intending if she were still single to press his own suit. "I said nothing a little while, for I hated lying, and I saw there might be some inconvenience to tell the truth, and (Lord pardon the equivocation!) I said 'I am' (out loud, and secreted 'nott')"³.

Her equivocation had the desired effect, for C.B. immediately quitted her presence for ever. Lady Halkett has a story which illustrates the lengths to which disregard of truth could be carried in a good cause. A friend of her future husband confessed to Halkett that he "thought it impossible you could be honest (being friendly with Argyll) and therefore I have lain in my bed in a morning inventing some ill story of you and reported it when I went abroad, and it was joy to me to have it believed."⁴

Three classes of truth have been distinguished by Lecky.

(2) Autobiography, p.12.
which in matters of controversy desires that all opinions, arguments and facts should be fully and fairly stated. This habit of what is commonly termed 'fair play' is especially the characteristic of free communities, and it is pre-eminently fostered by political life. But beyond all this there is a still higher form of intellectual virtue. By enlarged intellectual culture, especially by philosophic studies, men come at last to pursue truth for its own sake, to esteem it a duty to emancipate themselves from party spirit, prejudices & passions, and through love of truth to cultivate a judicial spirit in controversy. Of these three forms of a truthful spirit the two last may be said to belong exclusively to a highly civilized society."

From the foregoing examples we may take it that this noblest form of truth was not highly developed in the seventeenth century. But the question of the second type of veracity raises an interesting point. It seems that in the seventeenth century the principle of fairplay, characteristic of the modern Britisher, is present in germ, but is developed only in certain individual cases. It cannot be claimed for either half of our period that in matters of controversy it desired "that all opinions, arguments & facts should be fully and fairly stated". From a historical point of view any such claim would be absurd, in view of the treatment...

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of the Five Members by Charles I, the proceedings of the Long Parliament itself, or the tragic strife of factions in the reign of Charles II. The execution of a man of Lord Russell's proved integrity on the evidence of one equally notorious as base and untrustworthy is a blot not only on party but on national history. The ungoverned fury of the House of Commons over Danby's share in the French Treaties blinded it to the inconsistency of accepting in good faith Montagu's selection of two letters incriminating the Treasurer, while Danby's proofs of Montagu's own complicity were disregarded. Lady Anne Sunderland throws further light on the national standard of fairplay at this time by her casual statement of the Commons' intention to make Danby's two sons "incapable of bearing any office in the Kingdom." Yet political standards have never been held to be necessarily or at all points consistent with private ones, and such a remark as that of Henry Savile, "Pitt is undoubtedly to be sacrificed; all that are greater lay the fault upon him, in hopes that he is to bear all the blame" might be repeated in our own day. It would moreover be unfair to assume that even in the public life of the seventeenth century, no traces of impartiality can be found. Mr Trevelyan points out that at the height of popular feeling on the Popish Plot, Judge Scroggs acquitted Wakeman and three Benedictines, in the teeth of the fury of

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(1) Add. MS. 15889, p.34.
(2) Savile Correspondence, p.16.
the mob. The words of Coleman after his trial are
significant. He denied his guilt, but "confessed that
the court had allowed him all the fairplay imaginable".¹
The King himself showed to advantage when Clarendon ad-
vised him, on account of the seditious talk in the coffee-
houses, either to suppress them or to send spies to mix
in the company and bring offenders to justice. "The King
liked both the expedients, and thought that the last could
not justly be made use of till the former should give fair
warning."²

In private life, too, we find both a generally un-
awakened sense of fairplay, and an instinctive individual
recognition of its claims. The modern schoolboy is taught
that no cowardice can be baser than that of allowing another
to suffer in his stead, but the courtier of the seventeenth
century had no such scruples. A typical example may be
chosen out of several in the Hatton Correspondence. The
exact part played by the unfortunate Mr Downs, who died as
the result of the affray, is not quite clear, but there
seems to be no doubt that Rochester, Etherege and Bridges
left their companion to his fate. In a crazy frolic, these
three, accompanied apparently by Mr Downs, had wounded a
constable, who eventually "made his escape, called his
watch, and Etheridge made a submissive oration to them and
soe far appeased them that ye constable dismissed his

¹Trevelyan, p. 397.
²Clarendon, Life, (Continuation), p. 357.
watch. But presently after, ye 1d Rochester drew upon ye constable. Mr Downs, to prevent his pass, seized on him, ye constable cryed out murther, and, the watch returning, one came behind Mr Downs and with a spittle staff cleft his scull. Ye 1d Rochester and ye rest run away, and Downs, having no sword, snatched up a sticke and striking at them, they run him into ye side wth a half pike, and soo bruised his arme yt he was never able to stir it after."1 Cowardly attacks were common. "At Chichester, very lately, a cornet in my 1d of Oxford's regiment, quarelling wth a country gentleman, he challenged ye country gentleman unto ye feild, who fought and disarmed ye cornet; after which they were in appearance good friends and went together to ye tavern, wher ye cornet left him and went into ye town, called his corporal and one of his soldiers, whom he met in ye street to him, and commanded them to follow him; and he went to ye place wher he left ye gentleman, and, finding him ther, commanded ye corporal to dis arme him; but ye corporal, distrusting his command, he threatened him, and ye gentleman himselfe took his sword in ye scabbard, telling ye cornet yt to prevent his fury against ye corporal, he wou'd disarme himselfe, and yt he looked upon him as a gentleman who wou'd not doe a base act, and therefore he rendred him his sword, wth ye cornet snatched ouf of his hand and immediately run him through wth it, soo yt he dyed on ye place, and ye cornet wase seized on and sent to ye country

(1) Hatton Correspondence, p.133-4.
This is perhaps the most surprising of the various stories of the kind recounted in the Letters, and it is evident that the writer himself held such cowardly conduct in scorn, and also that the gentleman concerned was fully alive to the obligations laid on him by his superior rank. He felt it to be his duty to protect the corporal from the unjust fury of the cornet, and he expected his enemy to act fairly towards himself. Both tendencies then are illustrated here. We have other examples of the working of the spirit of fairplay. Sir John Bramston aroused a feud which culminated in a political plot against him, simply by his championship of Doctor Michelson, who "was very poore now and old, and see much the more lyable to contempt, and the fitter object for my care and concernement for him." The two points that emerge here are that Michelson's age and poverty were not regarded as reasons for consideration towards him, and that Bramston himself had unusually high notions of the fairplay due to age and poverty. The attitude to the afflicted is, as a rule, remarkably primitive, and even the womanliness of Dorothy Osborne is not wholly free from the taint: "Just now I was interrupted, too, and called away to entertain two dumb gentlemen: - you may imagine whether I was pleased to leave my writing to you for their company; - they have made such a tedious visit, too; and

(1) Hatton Correspondence, p.131.
(2) Autobiography, p.135.
I am so tired with making signs and tokens for everything I had to say. Good God! how do those that live always with them.1 A somewhat similar insensitiveness, though not to physical infirmity, is shown by Prideaux. He diverts his correspondent with what he terms a "pleasant" story of the "library keeper" whose domineering wife has accused him of making love to her maid. "The poor man to appease his wife took a formal oath on the Bible he designed no such thing with the maid as he was accused of, but, this not being sufficient to satisfy the wife, she beat him so basely that he hath kept his chamber these two months, and is now in danger of losing his hand, which he made use of only to defend the blows and beg mercy."2

Callousness is a prevalent feature of our period. Imaginative apprehension of the meaning of cruelty seems to have been very inadequately developed. The Civil War was on the whole conducted with remarkably little physical cruelty. But, as Mr. Trevelyan points out, this was largely due to the peculiar circumstances of the case, and not to a changed or enlightened general attitude. "Two minorities were fighting under critical inspection for the favour of all England, and when rivals duel they take care not to wound their mistress. Classes, professions, neighbourhoods and families were so divided in this war of ideas, that there was usually found, among the spoilers or conquerors

(1) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.164.
(2) Letters of Prideaux to Ellis, p.46-7.
of the hour, some one who was bound by affection or interest to save the persons of the conquered and the properties of the spoiled.\(^1\) Rumours such as the horrible story of the murder of a three-days old baby before its mother's eyes or the desolation which attended the ravages of the victorious Cavaliers ("a gentleman..... rode from London to Brainford to see the town; and returning, told him that of all the plundered townes he had seen in Germany, he had seen not one so ruinde and defaced as Brainford") cannot be regarded as unbiased records of fact. Such cases, if authentic, appear to have been the exception, and not the rule. There is a distinct cleavage of opinion, however, between the aristocratic Royalists and their more plebeian opponents, and the latter seem not only to have been swayed by that fierce fanaticism which counted it honour for the Lord's servants to be allowed to extirpate His enemies, but also to have suffered under the disadvantage of a lower standard of general civilisation.

Mr Buck relates an incident suggestive of the cleavage of classes which marked the September Massacres of 1792 in France. He tells how the Royalist Lieut. Colonel Boyle, after the fall of Drogheda, was dining with Lady More, and one of Cromwell's soldiers "whispered him in the ear to tell him he must presently be put to death, who risinge from the table, the lady asked him whither he was goinge, he answered, Madam to dye, who noe sooner steped

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(1) Trevalyan, England under the Stuarts, p.250.
(2) Rous, Diary, p.123-9.
out of the roome but hee was shott to deth. These are cruelties of those traitors, who doe doubt will finde the like mercie when they stand in neede of it." ¹

Members of all classes seem to regard a very marked degree of civil cruelty as tolerable and even entertaining. Of the indignation aroused by the punishment of Prynne, Burton and Bastwick Mr. Trevelyan remarks that "the rudest were moved to honest English anger at cruelty inflicted on the brave." ² But he himself admits that "the cruel mangling and branding, which idle crowds watched with cheerful interest when inflicted on cheating tradesmen or sturdy beggars, were on this occasion resented as an indecent outrage on the three liberal professions³ to which the victims belonged." ⁴ The indignation then was political and social rather than moral. And this judgment is borne out by casual remarks in personal letters. Lady Sussex writes humorously of Strafford in 1641: "yon great lord i hope will come to the honor of behedings." ⁵ A little later Lady Brilliana Harley says simply: "I am glad justice is excicuted on my Lord Straford." ⁶ It may be that in a more sentimental age we exaggerate the barbarity of such expressions of feeling, but no such plea can be made for the Whigs of a later date who "were disposed to

³ Law, Church, Medicine.
⁴ Trevelyan, p.160-1.
⁶ Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, p.131.
murmur because Stafford was suffered to die without seeing his bowels burned before his face."¹ As late as 1685, when the death of an old dissenting minister from hardship endured in Newgate, aroused some concern in the Court, Lestrange could exultantly proclaim "that the blasphemous old imposter had met with a most righteous punishment."² The period 1660-80, which in many ways showed a sudden advance to comparative modernity, is in this matter of cruelty at much the same level as that of the previous generation. Clarendon has a suggestive comment on the conduct of the bishops and clergy: "They had been very barbarously used themselves; and that had too much quenched all tenderness towards others."³ Yet this explanation hardly accounts for the callousness shown, for instance, on occasions of torture. Buckle, whose hatred of James II causes him to lose both accuracy and restraint, speaks of him in these terms: "Whenever torture was inflicted, he was sure to be present, feasting his eyes, and revelling with a fiendish joy."⁴ Allowing both for the historian's prejudice and for the possible explanation of such an attitude suggested by Clarendon, there remains here a truth which is valuable as an illustration of the public state of mind and which is borne out elsewhere. The philosopher John Evelyn, amongst other sight-seeing in Paris, went to the Châtelet to see a prisoner put to the

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² Ibid, p.507.
torture. After describing the process in every detail, Evelyn goes on: "There was another maleractor to succeed, but the spectacle was so uncomfortable, that I was not able to stay the sight of another." He seems to think some apology is required for his pusillanimity, but to the reader it brings a welcome sense of relief.

With regard to animals, we can find instances of similar callousness. The Puritans tried to put down bearbaiting, but not, as Macaulay remarks, "because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectator. Indeed, he (the Puritan) generally contrived to enjoy the double pleasure of tormenting both spectators and bear." Evelyn had markedly humane views on the question of baiting. In 1667 he records:

"There was no horse to be baited to death with doggs; but he fought them all, so as the fiercest of them could not fasten on him, till they run him through with their swords. This wicked and barbarous sport deserv'd to have ben punished in the cruel countrives to get mony, under pretence that the horse had kill'd a man, which was false. I would not be persuaded to be a spectator." In 1670, he goes to see "cock-fighting, dog-fighting, beare and bull baiting, it being a famous day for all these butcherly sports, or rather barbarous cruelties." He notes

(1) Evelyn's Memoirs, March 11th, 1651.
(3) Evelyn, Diary, August 17th, 1667.
that one bull "toss'd a dog full into a lady's lap", and
he went away "heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime." In such an attitude Evelyn seems to have been well in ad-
vance of his time, for in the year of grace 1677, the
populace of London was delighted with a procession thus
described by Charles Hatton: "Last Saterday the coron-
ation of Q. Elisabeth wase solemnised in ye city wth mighty
bonefires and ye burning of a most costly pope, caryed by
four persons in divers habits, and ye effigies of 2
divells whispering in his ears, his belly filled full
of live catts who squawled most hideously as soone as they
felt the fire; the common saying all ye while, it wase
ye language of ye Pope and ye Divel in a dialogue be-
twixt them." As late as 1699 there is a record of the
delight taken by London society in a tiger-baiting enter-
tainment: The letter is from Sir Hans Sloane to John
Ray: "Sir - This day a large tiger was baited by three
beer dogs, one after another. The first dog he killed;
the second was a match for him, and sometimes he had the
better, sometimes the dog; but the battle was at last
drawn, and neither cared for engaging any farther. The
third dog had likewise sometimes the better and sometimes
the worse of it, and it came also to a drawn battle. But
the wisest dog of all was a fourth, that neither by fair
means nor foul could be brought to go within reach of the
The tiger, who was chained in the middle of a large cockpit. The owner got about £300 for this show, the best seats being a guinea, and the worst five shillings. The tiger used his paws very much to cuff his adversaries with, and sometimes would exert his claws, but not often, using his jaws most, and aiming at under or upper sides of the neck, where wounds are dangerous. He had a fowl given him alive, which, by means of his feet and mouth, he very artfully first plucked and then eat; the feathers, such as got into his mouth, being troublesome.

The two divisions of our period show a wide divergence in their views of a standard of morality. In no department of life is the influence of the Court more apparent. It has been said that "the ideal which a nation follows is the most significant symptom of its health or disease", and the writer goes on to remark: "The Press speaks as if social prestige were a mere bauble and sentiment, compared with political power. Nothing can be more delusive. The mental and moral characteristics of the class that is at the top of society determine the mental and moral characteristics of all the other classes; and its code of morality becomes the national conscience." The Court of Charles I was noted for a high standard of morality, which was considered binding on all who had any claim to rank and breeding.

Dorothy Osborne bears testimony to the influence of high

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(1) Seccombe, *Four Centuries of Letter-Writing*, p.150-1.
society in this matter, and definitely attributes the change which came about under the rule of the "godly" to the absence of Court example. "Tis strange to see the folly that possesses the young people of this age, and the liberties they take to themselves. I have the charity to believe they appear very much worse than they are, and that the want of a Court to govern themselves by is in great part the cause of their ruin, though that was no perfect school of virtue, yet Vice there wore her mask, and appeared so unlike herself that she gave no scandal. Such as were really as discreet as they seemed to be gave good example, and the eminency of their condition made others strive to imitate them, or at least they durst not own a contrary course. All who had good principles and inclinations were encouraged in them, and such as had neither were forced to put on a handsome disguise that they might not be out of countenance at themselves."¹ Dorothy's evidence is supported by the testimony of a very different type of women and an ardent Parliamentarian. Lucy Hutchinson writes: "King Charles was temperate, chaste, and serious; so that the fools and bawds, mimics and catamites, of the former court grew out of fashion; and the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debaucheries, yet so reverenced the King as to retire into corners to practise them."²

¹ (1) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.207.
² (2) Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p.67.
Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that in this period there were not plenty of irregularities. Sir Ralph Verney's sister Mary, tossed "from pillar to post" in the poverty-stricken and unsettled condition of the family, staying as an unwelcome guest with one married sister after another, and handicapped by lack of education and breeding, in 1654 allowed herself to be seduced by Robert Lloyd. The affair was one of great gravity, for Mary had brought herself under pain of the severe and public penalties ordained by a recent Act. Dr Denton, with whom she was staying, had a hard task between making arrangements for the girl and endeavouring to restrain the tongue of his kind-hearted but tactless wife. He wrote to Sir Ralph: "The ugly affaire multiplies new occasions of sorrow and mischiefe, wherein I have none of the least share, it soe unhappily fallinge out that those who have had relation to me should be both the occasion and trumpeters of it."¹ A year later Mary insisted upon trying to earn her own living, but found it harder than she had expected, and wrote a pitiful letter to her brother: "Brother, as I have deserved hard yourseg (usage) so I have receved.... I hade not a shue to ware till I did earne a pare.... I know some that doe dailey eatte at y^ tabell have as Ill deserved y^ relefe as I have, and in theare carieg have binne as onworthy, but they have founde more frindeship then I can; Bro: you hade delt more charatabel with

me and two layed the extremity of the law against me att the first than to a releaved me for the present and to suffer me to starve now." Seven months after this, she and Robert Lloyd were married. A different case, but one that, occurring in 1659, is indicative of the coming increase of laxity, is that of the lady to whom Charles Lyttelton was engaged. He left her one evening in his normal fashion, and knew nothing of what was in her mind till the next morning, when he called upon her, and found he married to another. Lady Halkett gives us the still more trivial, but significant case of the chaplain Mr N, who while teaching a young girl whom he was educating, would "pull her to him, and with much kindness lay her head in his bosom." It is to be noticed that all moral lapses were at this time recognised and condemned as such, and that the general tone was healthy and sound. Lady Halkett finds a consolation in the duel between her brother and C.B. in the certainty that the former would never have fought "if hee had beleived me vicious." Even separation is condemned. When two of Mary Verney's relatives agreed to separate, her comment was: "They say the reason is because they cannot agree in disputes of Conscience; and thatt she doth nott think him holy enough; butt in my opinion there is very little Conscience in parting from their husbands." Even if it be true of the Court at

(1) Hatton Correspondence, p.16.
(3) Ibid, p.55.
Oxford that "to be as different as possible from the ascetics and hypocrites, with whom they had at last come to death-grips, seemed more than ever the duty of a Court which had been, from the days of Queen Elizabeth, the centre of corruption and good taste," yet the corruption was relative and ideals were kept high, though individuals may have fallen short of them. The famous beauty Venetia Stanley found to her cost that even an unproven stain upon a woman's reputation meant social ostracism. The details of the story are uncertain. Aubrey makes no doubt of her guilt, and thus disposes of her fame: "She was a most beautifull desireable creature..... The young eagles had espied her, and she was sanguine and tractable, and of much suavity (which to abuse was greate pittie)..... The earle of Dorset, foreseeyd, was her greatest gallant, who was extremely enamour ed of her, and had one if not more children by her. He settled on her an annuity of 500l per annum. Among other young sparkes of the time, Sir Kenelme Digby grew acquainted with her, and fell so much in love with her that he married her, much against the good will of his mother; but he would say that 'a wise man, and lusty, could make an honest woman out of a brothell-house'....... I have heard some say - e.g. my cosen Elizabeth Falkner - that after her mariage she redeemed her honour by her strick't living. Once a yeare the earle of Dorset invited her and

(1) Trevelyan, p.240.
(2) Buckle, History of Civilization, p.85.31
Sir Kenelm to dinner, where the earle would behold her with much passion, and only kisse her hand."¹ Whatever may have been the truth of the matter, even after her marriage the lady was never received at Court.

The moral tone of the second half of our period is very different from that of the first. We need not go so far in our estimation of Charles II as Buckle, who, with characteristic exaggeration, describes him as "a mean and spiritless voluptuary, without the morals of a Christian and almost without the feelings of a man."² Charles had excellent qualities, an excellent brain, and plenty of spirit when he felt the occasion demanded it. But from the moral point of view, his vices are indefensible. He was imbued with the notion, adopted from his long residence in France, that a prince was bound by no such moral laws as fettered his subjects. When Clarendon remonstrated with him, the King objected "especially to that part where he had levelled the mistresses of kings and princes with other lewd women, at which he expressed some indignation, being an argument often debated before him by those, who would have them looked upon above any other men's wives." Yet he cannot have been entirely honest in this belief, for he tried to defend his championship of the lady in question (Lady Castlemaine) at the expense of his wife, by saying that he owed her all possible reparation, for "he had undone this lady, and ruined her reputation, which had been

fair and untainted till her friendship for him. For the effect of his example on his subjects' thought and practice, he probably felt no responsibility. Yet that effect was significant and far-reaching. Macaulay emphasizes the importance of the contention of Hobbes that the will of the prince was the standard of right and wrong, and continues: "Thousands who were incompetent to appreciate what was really valuable in his speculations, eagerly welcomed a theory which, while it exalted the kingly office, relaxed the obligations of morality, and degraded religion into a mere affair of state. Hobbes became an almost essential part of the character of a fine gentleman." It is no wonder that Marvell writes in 1670 to Ramsden "The Court is at the highest pitch of want and luxury, and the people full of discontent."  

Clarendon shows clearly the condition of the Court at the time of the marriage of Charles II with an unfortunate Portuguese princess, inexperienced and convent-bred. "And from this restraint she was called out to be a great Queen, and to a free conversation in a Court that was to be upon the matter new formed, and reduced from the manners of a licentious age to the old rules and limits which had been observed in better times; and to which regular and decent conformity the present disposition of men and women was not enough inclined to submit, nor the King enough...

disposed to exact."¹ The incidents which followed were scandalous enough to shock even the experienced Chancellor, though he counselled the Queen for her own sake to submit to the outrageous demands of her consort. Catherine was determined not to receive Lady Castlemaine, saying that so "her mother had enjoined her". The King himself presented the lady, and after a few minutes the Queen fainted. Then the King not only determined to make "the lady's" husband an earl ("who knew too well the consideration that he paid for it, and abhorred the brand of such a nobility, and did not in a long time assume the title") but also "resolved, for the vindication of her honour and innocence, that she should be admitted of the bedchamber of the Queen."² The Queen refused to hear of such a thing, and adhered to her resolution, in spite of such a quarrel "as reached too many ears to be a secret next day"³. It must have been a very undignified state of affairs, when before the whole Court their Majesties "spake not, hardly looked on one another."⁴ In the end she suddenly gave way, thereby forfeiting much of the respect and sympathy which the King's action and her firm stand had won for her.

Further light is thrown on moral standards by Clarendon's attitude to the scandal attending the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of York. It is difficult from his own account to judge whether Clarendon was aware of the state

³ Ibid, p.176.
⁴ Ibid, p.176.
of the case and was playing for safety, or whether his dread of being accused of connivance at such an advance-
ment of his family swamped all other considerations. In any case, he shows no concern whatsoever for his daughter, and appears to be agitated solely by the question of how this match will affect his public popularity. When he first heard of the liaison, he resolved to turn his daughter out of the house, and then delivered himself of this extraordinary speech: "He had much rather his daughter should be the Duke's — than his wife. In the former case nobody could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he was not obliged to keep a — for the greatest prince alive; and the indignity to himself he would submit to the good pleasure of God. But if there were any reason to suspect the other, he was ready to give a positive judgment, in which he hoped their Lordships would concur with him; that the King should immediately cause the woman to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard, that no person living should be admitted to come to her; and then that an act of Parliament should be im-
mediately passed for the cutting off her head, to which he would not only give his consent, but would willingly be the first man to propose it."

1 He was very well aware that his proposal would not be taken seriously, though he himself records without apparent surprise the action of the Marquis of Dorchester, who, when his married daughter's

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adultery was proved, actually appeared himself in Parliament to support the Bill against her illegitimate child.\(^1\)

But the affairs of the unfortunate Duchess of York were to take a still more scandalous turn. Sir Charles Berkley intervened in the case, and proceeded to inform the Duke that "he was bound in conscience to preserve him from taking to wife a woman so wholly unworthy of him; that he himself had lain with her; and that for his sake he would be content to marry her, though he knew well the familiarity the Duke had with her." The Duke appears to have believed the story, and on the strength of it grew "melancholick and dispirited", on seeing which, Berkley calmly informed him that the accusation was entirely false, and had been made "out of pure devotion to him" on the ground of the "inconvenience and mischief, if not absolute ruin, such a marriage would be to His Royal Highness." To round off this glimpse into the moral standards of the Court, we are told that the Duke embraced Berkley, and assured him of his enduring affection.\(^2\) Soon after this, the marriage was publicly announced, and the Duchess, whose reputation no one seems to have considered during these vicissitudes, was enabled to take her rightful place in society.

The impression of a degenerate age can be gathered from personages on a less exalted plane than Royalty. That

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\(^1\) Clarendon, _Life_ (Continuation), pp.336-9.
\(^2\) Ibid, pp.35-6.
\(^3\) Ibid, p.140.
both sexes were united in a common lack of circumspection and an active attempt to flout the normal moral conventions is apparent from such a passage as the following:— "The extravagancies of the Age have made caution more necessary and by the same reason that the too great licence of ill men hath by consequence in many things restrained the liberty of those who did not abuse it, the unjustifiable freedoms of some of your sex have involved the rest in the penalty of being reduced."¹ A more sinister note sounds in the warning: "She who will allow herself to go to the utmost limit of everything that is lawful, is so very near going farther, that those who lie at watch will begin to count upon her."² Immorality was the fashion, and those who wished to be in the mode, if they were in fact virtuous, had recourse to the pretence of being otherwise. Of the "affected woman" Halifax says: "she thinketh that Paint and Sin are concealed by railing at them. Upon the latter she is less hard, and, being divided between the two opposite prides of her Beauty and her Vertue, she is often tempted to give broad hints that somebody is dying for her; and of the two she is less unwilling to let the world think she may sometimes be profaned than that she is never worshipped."³

In the effervescence of his spirits and his desire to be up to date, Henry Savile once went too far even for his generation. He was staying at Althorpe, and "one night,

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(1) Advice to a Daughter, p.97.
(2) Ibid, p.98.
(3) Ibid, p.146.
when all were a bed, he comes up to Lady Northum. chamber, and finding her door a open, goes on and up to her bed side; and when he is there, calls "Madam! Madam!" till he wakens her, and says that he came to acquaint her with a passion he had long had, in the dark, with he durst not own to her in the light. She, being mightily amazed to hear his voice, rung a bell by her bed side; upon which presently her woman in the next room bet to stir. He beg her not to discover him, and so went away." To this age virtue was dull and immorality enter-taining. Henry Savile conducted his own "affairs" and discussed those of other people with significant flippancy. Allusions such as the following constantly recur: "My Id. Malgraze yet keeps his chamber of his wounds, and Mrs Kirke persists to protest that she does not know whether he be man or woman. She was turned out of St James's, and has taken a very private sanctuary the next wall to me in Whitehall." The same levity is apparent in the Williamson correspondence. Sir Nicholas Armourer sup-pplies his friends with "all the little intrigues I know", one of which is the interesting rumour that "the Duke was married to the Pope's eldest daughter." One of the most sinister episodes of seventeenth century Society is the liaison which was suspected between Lady Anne Sunderland and her husband's uncle, Henry Sidney.

(1) Hatton, p.63.
(2) Savile Correspondence, p.39.
She wrote to him by "every post"\(^1\) and in very affectionate terms. "I wish you here every minute\(^2\); "I cannot but lament at the signs I see of your being kept longer from this poor closet, where I wish you very often in a day, and hope I am not mistaken in thinking my mind and yours agree in that particular."\(^5\) That contemporary scandal was busy with their names is proved by Barillon’s allusions. "On leur prit il y a quelque temps des lettres qu'elle écrivait à Mr Sidney qui est présentement auprès du Prince d'Orange, et fort bien avec lui. Le Roi d'Angleterre a eu connaissance de ces lettres que Madame de Sunderland a désavouées et mon Lord S. s'est tiré d'affaire en disant que quand même ces lettres de sa femme ne seraient point supposées, il serait impossible qu'il y eut aucun part, qu'on ne savait que trop que sa femme eût soupçonnée, d'avoir un commerce de galanterie avec Sidney, et qu'il n'eût pas vrai semblable qu'il mit toute sa fortune et sa vie entre les mains d'un homme qu'il doit haïr."\(^4\) There is here a distinct suggestion that Sunderland may have encouraged both the correspondence and the scandal in order to secure his own position in any event.

As in all ages, this generation upheld a different standard of morals for men from that laid down for women. Herbert of Cherbury candidly owns to his lapses when abroad.

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\(^{4}\) Barillon’s Correspondence (July 1673); quoted Blencowe: Diary of Henry Sidney, Vol. I, p.l ix.
and lays the fault at his wife's door because she would not accompany him. Pepys, whose flirtations are common knowledge, is excessively jealous of his wife. A certain "Mr Somersett", who gives the charming Mrs Pepys a bracelet of rings and makes an appointment with her "to go to some place to-morrow morning" thoroughly disturbs the fussy little husband. "I know there is no hurt in it, but only for fear of further acquaintance", he notes, by way of quieting his anxieties. The appointment "do trouble my mind how to know whither it was." Yet he has little sympathy for his wife's similar anxieties on his account.

One night, while he is dancing attendance on Mrs Knipp, "comes notice that my wife is come unexpectedly to me to town: so I to her. It is only to see what I do, and why I come not home; and she is in the right that I would have a little more of Mrs Knipp's company before I go away." 2

Halifax, with his usual open-mindedness, candidly admits the injustice of a different law for the different sexes. "You live in a time which hath rendered some kind of Frailties so habitual, that they lay claim to large Grains of Allowance. The World in this is somewhat unequal and our sex seemeth to play the Tyrant in distinguishing partially for our selves, by making that in the utmost degree Criminal in the Woman, which in a Man passeth under a much gentler Censure." 3 The reason, however, he considers

(1) Sept. 5th, 1661.
(2) Jan. 6th, 1665-6.
(3) Advice to a Daughter, p. 33-4.
to be honourable to the woman. She has to preserve the
honour of families. She must from the outset accept the
fact that her husband will be unfaithful to her, and must
show her discretion by acquiescence. "Next to the danger
of committing the fault yourself, the greatest is that of
seeing it in your husband. Do not seem to look or hear
that way. If he is a man of sense he will reclaim him-
self... if he is not so, he will be provoked but not
reformed.... An affected ignorance, which is seldom a
virtue, is a great one here." On this subject, Halifax's
views are surprisingly modern. "It is true", he says,
"that the laws of marriage run in a harsher stile towards
your sex. 'Obey' is an ungenteel word and less easy to
be digested by making such an unkind distinction in the
words of the contract, and so very unsuitable to the ex-
cess of good manners which generally goes before it. Be-
sides, the universality of the rule seemeth to be a griev-
ance and it appeareth reasonable that there might be an
exemption for extraordinary women from ordinary rules." He
goes on to give his views on the question of separation,
which may be compared with those of Mary Verney in the
earlier period (p.153). Women may well argue that there
should be a Court where wives might plead in special cases:
"the causes of separation are now so very course (coarse)
that few are confident enough to buy their liberty at the

(1) Advice to a Daughter, p.37.
price of having their modesty so exposed. This last clause is a sign that a certain regard for decent reticence still survived.

We have not so far actually accounted for this change in moral standards after 1660. The explanation is to be found in the lengths to which the previous generation went in the opposite direction. Morality by law is not naturally accepted by the English people, and even in the time of Charles I the attempt to enforce it was resented. The point is thus summarised by a modern historian: "Both religious parties in this epoch made a fearless effort to put down immorality by force, and both paid dearly for the error. But whereas the rule of the saints was an inquisition of laymen over laymen through the agency of Puritan magistrates and major-generals, Laud's method was the jurisdiction of the priest." Yet Laud's method stopped far short of the system of the Puritans, and to the Puritans, paradoxically enough, we may trace the licentious excesses of post-Restoration times. As the Cavaliers at Oxford strove in their daily lives to oppose the cause of "immoderate religion", so the Restoration gallants reacted against the legal repression of the Puritan domination.

"The nation, nauseated with cant, suspicious of all pretensions to sanctity, and still smarting from the recent tyranny of rulers austere in life and powerful in prayer,

(1) Advice to a Daughter, p.30.
(2) Trevelyan, p.175.

looked for a time with complacency on the softer and gayer vices. So different a historian as Buckle supports this view. "The Puritans were more fanatical than superstitious. They were so ignorant of the real principles of government, as to direct penal laws against private vices; and to suppose that immorality could be stemmed by legislation." The Restoration courtiers were determined that at least they should be guilty of no hypocrisy. In this sense even Restoration comedy may be regarded as a protest against cant. Social and economic causes also played a part in introducing this new spirit. The penalties imposed by the victorious party on the old Cavalier families left the latter impoverished, unable to live on their estates, and forced to seek a home abroad. The younger generation grew up in exile, under unsettled conditions of life and in an atmosphere of general discomfort and disturbance. They mixed perforce with foreigners of lower moral standards than their own, and in many cases had to become hangers-on at vicious foreign Courts. Those who remained in poverty at home were brought up in unsuitable society and without the education suited to their rank. "It is not then surprising that when at the Restoration 'debauchery was loyalty, gravity rebellion', there were many loyal courtiers, and few grave. Outside the Court it is probable, though there is less evidence on the subject, that a temporary decline took place throughout the upper classes."3

(3) Trevelyon, p.350.
A certain amount of evidence has in the foregoing pages been brought forward to show that this estimate of the upper class is substantially correct. Yet even here there shines the bright example of Margaret Dodolphin. Pepys too occasionally disapproves the manners of his day. At a certain party "we found Mrs Garrick very fine, and one Mr Lucy, who called one another husband and wife, and after dinner a great deal of mad stir. There was pulling off Mrs bride's and mr bridegroom's ribbons and a great deal of fooling among them that I and my wife did not like." Of the feeling of the lower classes we have no record. It may be assumed that in this matter they kept the conservatism by which they are generally distinguished, and that the phase through which high society was passing was only partially reflected amongst the low.

Clarendon's warning to his sovereign bears testimony to the sound spirit of the English people: "No enemy he had could advise him a more sure way to lose the hearts and affections of the people...... than the indulging to himself that liberty, now it had pleased God to give him a wife worthy of him." It remains to make some enquiry into the religious views commonly held at this epoch. At first sight it might seem that both divisions of our period are distinguished by a spirit of intolerance. The years 1640-60

(1) Jan. 24th, 1659-60.
would appear to owe their characteristic features to the absence of any desire to "live and let live," while the Clarendon Code and the agitations over the Popish Plot and the Test Act stand out as indications of the same attitude in the reign of Charles II. Yet, paradoxically enough, these forty years initiated a new spirit of toleration, which has gradually and steadily developed in England throughout the succeeding centuries. Hints of its beginnings can be traced early in the period. It is interesting to find in the earlier letters of Milton courteous and broadminded references to religious differences between himself and his correspondent. He apologises for not having sent Dati his Latin poems, on the score of fearing to give offence by "some harsh things said of the Pope," and continues: "Now I beg you to obtain from my other friends (I am sure you will accord it) the same license to speak in my own way of your religious rites.... such as you used very kindly to allow me in our conversations."¹ His tolerance extends even to a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, and he begs the Vatican librarian to present "my profound respects to the most Eminent Cardinal, whose great virtues and conscientious uprightness - qualifications admirably calculated to promote the liberal arts - are always in my remembrance."² This makes very different reading from the violent partisanship

(2) Ibid., p.45.
of the poet's later years, and beside these personal references may stand a short and noble sentence from the pen of a Puritan divine: "Christianity is our religion; protesting against Popery is our negation." In many letters of ordinary folk, not immediately concerned with religious policy, we can find the spirit of goodwill. In 1642 Lady Sussex writes to Sir Ralph Verney on the bitter subject of his adoption of the Parliamentary cause. This old friend of the family is using all her influence to bridge the gulf that has opened between a formerly devoted father and son, and she closes her arguments with the pathetic, and for our purpose significant, statement: "in goinge the way your consince telles you to be right, i hope he hath more goodnes and religione than to continue in displeasure with you for it." Lady Sydenham in the same year states clearly her own disapproval of the choice he has made, but adds "i am confident he dus believe 'tis the best, and for that he chos it." These sad and perplexing family differences, supported in such a spirit, probably did much to pave the way for a more comprehensive toleration. Sir Ralph himself in 1647 shows a characteristic desire to move with the times and to distinguish between matters of principle and of expediency. When his child is to be baptised, he is willing to conform to the

present practice of the State, always provided that water and the proper formula be used. He says frankly that he prefers the old service "yet we must not be so wedded to any thing of that nature, as to break the union by a needless separation in such indifferent things of the Church." Much later in our period we have evidence of an even more striking broad-mindedness. Edmund Calamy, born in 1671, records that his father "could not see how parents could pretend to oblige their children to act any otherwise in religious matters than according to the best light they could get; and he always used to tell me, that when I was grown up, he would freely leave me to judge for myself."

It is impossible to ignore, on the other hand, the frequent manifestations of a different attitude. In the first half of our period, circumstances made it very difficult to maintain a tolerant spirit. As early as 1640, Edmund Verney writes from the army to his brother Ralph that he goes to church three times a day rather to prove himself no papist than because he is forced into attendance by his men (a significant remark), "but once that day I a little nodded at church, and had it been a minute longer truely I do think I had been pulled by the nose, for the solidiers pointed extremly at me." The slightest inattention to or negligence of the service as by law established was

(2) Life of Calamy, p.73.
taken by the soldiery as a proof of disloyalty, and dealt with accordingly. In the same letter Verney states that the men forced a captain suspected of Popish leanings to receive the Holy Sacrament, and refused to receive with him. Papists were automatically excluded from whatever tendencies towards toleration may have been working in men's minds. Even the charitable Sir Ralph regards them as almost infidel. He writes to Lady Barrymore during the Irish rebellion of 1641-2: "I have never been much in love with Papists, yet I believed them to be Christians, but if they offer violence to you or yours, I shall change my opinion." And he implores her to come to live in England, "now you see it utterly impossible to infuse any humanity into these pagan Irish."\(^1\) (italics mine). His son, another Edmund Verney, shows an amusing intolerance of the opposite party in religion. Of the Puritan parson, Mr. Butterfield, who has just conducted an unsuccessful negotiation with Edmund's hard-hearted cousin, the disappointed lover writes "he has an extraordinary sneaking countenance and way with him, which most of his profession have (me thinkes) who are of the pretended reformed religion."\(^2\)

If the family divisions of the first half of our period helped towards the development of broad-mindedness, the scepticism of the second half played an even more important part in the development of toleration, not merely

\(^{2}\) Ibid, Vol.II. p.73. (1925).
as a private opinion but as a state policy. The very outbursts of popular fury which marred the reign of Charles II and which had at bottom religious motives, proved the impracticability of an out-of-date system. With the reign of James II the old ideas expired, and the Revolution settlement was the statement of a new policy of toleration. This change of attitude rested upon motives not wholly admirable. It was due in part to the nation’s weariness of faction strife, religious plots and semi-religious murders. But, in so far as it was based upon "that spirit of scepticism, in the absence of which toleration has always been unknown", it was the product rather of indifference to religion than of conviction of the moral necessity of toleration. Fanaticism necessarily brought about a reaction towards indifference. It is worth while to recall Macaulay’s judgment of Cromwell’s troops, who “moved to victory with the precision of machines, while burning with the wildest fanaticism of crusaders.” Such a statement is borne out by Captain John Hodgson’s account of the proceedings in the Puritan army on the night before Dunbar: His particular regiment “was marching in the head of the horse, a cornet was at prayer in the night, and I appointed one of my officers to take my place. I rid to hear him, and he was exceedingly carried on in the duty. I met with so much of God in it, as I was satisfied

The opposing Scots were equally sure that the Lord was on their side, as soon as they had purged the camp of the King and the Cavaliers, and, strong in this belief, they threw away victory by leaving their position and descending to fight on the level, thereby drawing from Cromwell the characteristic comment: "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands." Such a mentality is too intense to be lasting, and, be it added, too lacking in humour to be possible to the generality of Englishmen, and the reaction against it, added to the prevailing disillusionment of the period 1660-80, naturally ended in scepticism and indifference.

We have plenty of contemporary evidence of the flippancy which grew up in the household of Charles II and was a feature of other than Court circles. It seems that the boon companions of the king had the habit of "turning all discourse and mention of religion into ridicule, as if it were only an invention of Divines to impose upon men of parts, and to restrain them from the liberty and use of their faculties which God and Nature had given them, that they might be subject to their reproofs and determinations." Clarendon adds, for the credit of his sovereign, that Charles disliked such talk, but it appears that his sense of humour was too strong for his scruples, and after the opposition of the Bishops to his attempted

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Act of Indulgence (1663), he joined in the general irreverence. "What was preached in the pulpit was commented upon and derided in the Chamber; and Preachers acted and sermons vilified as laboured discourses, which the preachers made only to shew their own parts and wit, without any other design than to be commanded and preferred. These grew to be the subjects of the mirth and wit of the Court; and so much license was manifested in it, that gave infinite scandal to those who observed it, and to those who received the reports of it. And all serious and prudent men took it as an ill presage, that whilst all warlike preparations were made in abundance suitable to the occasion, there should so little preparation of spirit be for a war against an enemy, who might possibly be without some of our virtues, but assuredly was without any of our vices."

The following entry of Pepys shows how the spirit of indifference prevailed in less exalted circles: "Did entertain myself with my perspective glass up and down the Church, by which I had the great pleasure of seeing and gazing at a great many very fine women; and what with that, and sleeping, I passed away the time till sermon was done."  

Clarendon’s "serious and prudent men" must have been in a small minority, when the high-minded Lord Halifax shared in the general flippancy of tone. In 1660 Henry Savile is in Paris, and he and his brother keep up a perpetual

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(1) Clarendon, Life (Continuation), p.249.
(2) Diary, May 25th, 1667.
joke about his zeal in attending the Protestant services at Charenton. Halifax remarks complacently that his brother's notorious zeal "throweth a lustre upon all your poor relations. It is enough to be akin to a man that goeth twice a day to Charenton. Heaven reward you for giving such countenance to the Gospel! Sure when you come home and find my Lady Scroope return'd from hearing four masses in a morning at Notre Dame you are both very merry; for I take it to be an equal laughing match between you about your respective devotions." Halifax writes in the same vein: "it being the holy week all mankind is in such devotion that you would take all Paris but for one monastery; and the zeal of our English martyrs who are fled for religion is so outdone by thousands here that my Lady Scroope is not at all distinguished from the common crowd." Hypocrisy of this kind was common at the time, and was not always qualified by humorous recognition of it by the hypocrites themselves. Halifax draws an amusing picture of the ladies "who finding by the too visible decay of their good looks that they can shine no more by that light, put on the varnish of an affected devotion, to keep up some kind of figure in the world." The same writer's censure of those who indulge in "agueish devotion" would apply very well to Lady Anne Sunderland.

(1) Savile Correspondence, p.143.
(2) Ibid, p.27.
(3) Advice to a Daughter, p.18.
Her "hot fits" seem to have been genuine while they lasted. She had doctored her conscience until it responded automatically to her whims, but a conscience of sorts she certainly had. Her friendships intensify the puzzle of her character. What is one to make of a woman whose conduct gave colour to the suspicion of an intrigue with her husband's uncle, who played a leading part in the distinctly questionable political machinations of the time, and who yet exchanged devotional works with Margaret Godolphin and was a favoured friend of John Evelyn? To him she turns for instruction and advice, begs for prayers suitable for special occasions, and closes nearly every letter on a note of humble and devout piety: "Pray write to me what you'd have me do in any thing, for nobody needs good advice more than myself, and nobody in my opinion directs so well as you and I am sure there's nobody in the world so ready as I to learn any thing you'll be so skillfully still, a casual reference to his plans "walking charitable" to teach mee." Did she feel the influence of Evelyn's sterling character, and were her relations with him a forlorn attempt to make the best of both worlds? She must have had great powers of fascination and of deceiving others as well as herself. Princess Anne was nauseated by my Lady Sunderland's "clatter with her devotions", but Evelyn appears to have taken her at her own valuation, and Margaret Godolphin was not one to condone hypocrisy.

(1) Advice to a Daughter, p.19.
(2) Add. MS. 15889, p.85.
This hypocritical strain, fairly common in the second half of our period, is represented in the first by the attitude of the extreme Independents. Their forcible application of their particular tenets to all departments of life and their skill in turning such an application to their own material advantage suggests that most sinister form of hypocrisy which obscures its mercenary motives, even from itself, by artificially-stimulated exaltation.

But apart from this relatively small section of the community, there is little evidence of this quality as a general characteristic of the period 1640-60, except in the case of an individual "black sheep" such as Tom Verney. This perpetual thorn in the side of his brother Ralph is the cleverest letter-writer of the family. In a letter from the Barbadoes, he contrives to introduce a careful allusion to Scripture ("the 8th of the Romans"), and, more skillfully still, a casual reference to his pious "walking to church". When his mother died Tom complained bitterly of the omission of his name in her will, and also of the fact that Ralph had told him "that my mother was extremely incensed against me to her dyeing hours...... it was a most unchristianable saying, for how could she make a happy end, and bear malice to her death. It is noe part of my belief." Such affectations of piety are, by the very nature of the case, comparatively harmless. Tom wrote

with his tongue in his cheek; his extremely clever phrasing shows that his moral and religious allusions were deliberate, and when he gravely thanks God that "I have this acte and calculated, and he can have deceived his correspondents as little as he deceived himself.

A quaint self-consciousness in matters of religion makes occasional appearance in the first half of our period. For more characteristic of the period 1640-80 than either hypocrisy or self-consciousness is a direct simplicity in religion which seems to have disappeared in the complications and subtleties of the later years. This naturalness makes the form of a readiness to mention religion which contrasts with the unashamed sacriences of more austere times. Call, the belligerent spirit on both sides are professing religious ordinances in an attempt to use them as party tests. Aubrey-Vaile, in the Brief Lives, Vol.II. p.155.

(3) Epistolae Ho-Elianae, Vol.II. p.422.

Literary structure and balance, and an attempted metaphysical strain here take the place of spiritual force or imagination. Howell puts on record various ejaculations for use when
he puts on a clean shirt, washes his hands, or lights a candle, and when he gravely thanks God that "I have this fruit of my foreign travels that I can pray unto Him every day of the week in a several language, and upon Sunday in seven," we must be pardoned for the suspicion that his delight in his ingenuity was greater than his devotion.

Far more characteristic of the period 1640-60 than either hypocrisy or self-consciousness is a direct simplicity in religion which seems to have disappeared in the complications and subtleties of the later years. This naturalness takes the form of a readiness to mention religion which contrasts with the embarrassed secretiveness of more modern times. While the bellicose spirits on both sides are profaning religious ordinances in an attempt to use them as party tests, Dorothy Osborne, in the crisis of her love-affair, has no hesitation in pleading to be left in peace at the Christmas season and in unconcernedly giving her deepest reasons for the plea: "if you will deny me the only hope that's left me, I must beg you will defer it till Christmas Day be past; for, to deal freely with you, I have some devotions to perform then, which must not be disturbed with anything, and nothing is like to do it as so sensible an affliction." Edmund Verney, while on military service at Utrecht, asks his brother Ralph to send him a pocket prayer-book, for here

(2) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.185.
are none to be got." The young soldier feels no false shame in writing also for "Mr Bolton's works...... his Walking with God, his Instructions for the comforting of a right afflicted conscience, and his Four Last Things."¹

There is a delightful naturalness in a postscript of a letter from Sir Thomas Browne to his son abroad: "Be careful you eat very few grapes and fruits, for they cause diseases in strangers, be careful to fashion yourself well in your gate and behaviour. Serve God."² The date of the last quotation is 1661, but as we have said, this direct simplicity is not common in the complex artificiality, which developed during the years 1660-80. That delightfully natural and school-boy-like parson Henry Teonge furnishes us, however, with an example of the same kind of naturalness as late as 1675. He was on board ship, but with very little equipment, having indeed had dealings with a pawnshop before he could embark at all. Prowling about the ship, he was lucky enough to make "a find", which he simply and devoutly ascribes to the goodness of God. "Here I might tell you what Providence putt into my hands... I met with a rugged towel on the quarter-deck; which I soon secured. And soone after, Providence brought me a piece of an old sayle,.... all very helpful to him that had nothing."³

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² Works, p.13.
³ Teonge's Diary, p.7.
Throughout the whole period 1640-80 runs a current of 
deep spirituality and devotion. Mr Trevelyan speaks of 
this period as a time "when the lower classes of society 
had high imagination and opportunity for the noblest spirit­
ual life"; and cites Bunyan and Fox in proof of his state­
ment. The opening sentence of Hodgson's Memoirs is dict­
ated by a spirit of this type: "When I put my hand to the 
Lord's work, in 1642, I did it not rashly, but had many 
an hour and night to seek God, to know my way." High 
imagination is less general among the upper classes in 
the years 1640-80, except in certain souls who, like 
Margaret Godolphin, were attuned to the mystical side of 
religion. We are told that before a festival she "would 
lengthen out her evening retirements with proper medita­
tions on the Mystery, or commemoration, for which she had 
of her own collection, apposite entertainments." She 
"retired some competent time before supper for recollec­
tion, Reading, and private devotion; and would sometimes 
wash abroad to contemplate the workes of God, for which 
she was furnish with proper meditations, which she could 
extend out of her owne stock, as I can witness, to my 
singular edification and no small admiration; there was 
really nothing she cast her Eye upon, butt instead of 
impertinent wandring she would derive some holy use from." 

(1) Trevelyan, p.175. 
(3) Evelyn, Life of Mrs Godolphin, p.172-3. 
(4) Ibid., p.190.
Margaret's sanctity is rendered all the more attractive by her wide humanity, and the absence of all "moroseness", as Evelyn testifies, from her carefully-regulated life. When he remonstrated on her ascetic habits, "She would tell me smilingly, that she was as strong as a lion", and added the humorous boast "I can be fat in three days when I will." A letter written to two of her companions after her retirement from the Court, is evidence of her breadth of vision and sensible adjustment to the very difficult conditions of life of a devout Maid of Honour in the Court of Charles II. "As to your dressing, I can't believe the Doctor meant there should be any neglect of that beauty God has given you, so it be done with this Caution, first, that you design to captivate none for any satisfaction you take in the number of Lovers or in the Noise of a larger train of admirers than other young women have, but purely for an honest design of disengaging your selves as soon as you can from the place you are in, in an honourable way...... 'Tis true, we should not preach in the withdrawing Rooms, but we must, by our looks, shew that we fear God...... Wee may divert people, and be innocently merry; but then wee must not design praise to our selves, nor please our selves (if wee have it) in the thoughts of it...... As to one particular in the dress, I think I have not spoken concerning the expensive part. But that only

(1) Evelyn, Life of Mrs Godolphin, p.176.
concerns — , and Mrs — , whose purses are small, that they take care, upon noe account whatsoever, they exceed what their pension is: for noe duty to the Queens, in making a shew behind her, can excuse one from Justice to our Neighbour."

The life of practical devotion which was part of a child's education is described by Lady Halkett in an account of her childhood: "we were instructed never to neglect to begin and end the day with prayer, and orderly every morning to read the Bible, and ever to keep the church as often as there was occasion to meet there, either for prayers or preaching, so that for many years together I was seldom or never absent from Divine service, at five a'clocke in the morning in the summer, and sixe a'clocke in the winter." The result of this early instruction in piety is seen in Anne's later references to the practices of her religion. She will not communicate without first formally forgiving Mr N. for the slander cast by him on her reputation. And when C.B. offered to take the Sacrament on his oath that he was innocent of voluntarily deceiving her as to his wife's existence, she says: "I altogether disallowed of making use of that sacred institution for the end he proposed." The same spirit of...

(1) Evelyn, Life of Mrs Godolphin, pp. 232-7.
(3) Ibid, p. 61.
(4) Ibid, p. 66.
(6) Rubs, p. 115-16.
reverent devotion is implicit in the touching care shown by Sir Ralph Verney for his wife's spiritual preparation for childbirth. She is in England, he far away in France, and he writes her loving counsel: "If you cannot have convenient rooms at Church, find out some convenient opportunity either at Drs (Doctor Denton's, the Verneys' old friend) or elsewhere to receive it (Holy Communion) in some House; and doe it quickly, for you know not how soon you may lye in. My Budd, this is a greate worke, therefore chuse a time when you have least businesse, that you may consider it more seariously."1 Lady Fanshawe, when noting any special occasion of her life, follows it up immediately with a prayer of her own composition. Thus, immediately after the record of her husband's death in Spain, she inserts a long prayer, in which she begs for submission and resignation, and commends to God her worldly condition, "with five children, a distressed family, the temptation of the change of my religion, the want of all my friends, without counsel, out of my country, without any means to return with my sad family to our own country."2

In the matter of pious religious observance, an amusing detail is given by Herbert, who, when summoned to State business on Sunday, refused to attend, but when challenged on the day of rest to a duel, replied that though he "did ordinarily bestow this day in devotion",

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he would meet his adversary\(^1\). Evelyn tells of a Mr Shish, a master shipwright, who had adopted a curious custom:

> ...and my lifting up of my scales to vanity, and my which showed both vivid religious imagination and a true devotion in all I did, and my great disobedience in doing in the night and to pray kneeling in his own coffin, as such recount as this, in which she recounts the same which he had lying by him many years."\(^2\) Evelyn himself continued to have private celebrations of the Holy Communion when such celebrations were forbidden by law, and sensitive soul, leading a life of great piety is secret on one occasion suffered arrest while attending the service at the house of a friend. The MS Diary of Lady Warwick is a striking record of personal piety. Covering the years 1666-77, it is a lengthy and detailed account of her spiritual life, dealt with in a spirit of candour and penitence which cannot fail to win respect, even while the curious phraseology, the extraordinary spelling and the frequent self-accusation raise a sympathetic smile. Every morning she blesses God immediately on waking, and then "retired into the wilderness to meditate". She mentions at length the sins which chiefly trouble her: on one occasion "those which mostly I did weep for was my original defilement; and the very great vanity of my youth, in which I spent so much of my precious time and in dressing my vile body with the neglect of my precious and immortal soul, and in seeing plays and reading them, and romances; and my great

\(^1\) Herbert, Autobiography, p. 131.

\(^2\) Diary, April 30th, 1669.
pride in setting out my vile body with rich and costly close, and my lifting up of my soule to vanity, and my being vain in all I did, and my great disobedience in my youth to my own kind father." 1 Her volumes are full of such records as this, in which she laments the same faults of her earlier life time after time, and the record bears the unmistakable impress of a devout and sensitive soul, leading a life of great piety in secret. To this earnest record the good intentions of Pepys are an amusing contrast. Yet the very fact of his frequent vows and the obvious sincerity with which he made them, suggest that it was his devout purpose to be an obedient Son of the Church, though the frailties of the flesh proved too strong for him. His Lenten experiences of 1661 are worthy of record. Feb. 27th: "I called for a dish of fish, which we had for dinner, this being the first day of Lent; and I do intend to try whether I can keep it or no." On the very next day: "Notwithstanding my resolution, yet, for want of other victualls, I did eat flesh this Lent, but am resolved to eat as little as I can." On March 10th he writes disgustedly of "a poor Lenten dinner of coleworts and bacon." But on March 26th he is jubilant "because Mrs Turner and her company eat no flesh this Lent, and I had a great deal of good flesh, which made their mouths water."

(1) Add. Ms. 27,355, p.33.
As many of the above passages suggest, piety at this period was extremely practical. To the truly devout, religion was a matter of everyday life, and had a place in all its concerns. To it they looked in simple faith for aid in difficult times. Lady Sussex in her widowhood and intended to have Mr. Jermyn to sing the Psalms. All this I repeat heard in earlist and most evidently want his best up till seven in the morning to prepare his manner, and to sit on the window before he should have done, bad I had respect to my own health and spirits. I tak the cabin, there I found the singing forth with the Psalms, then I did so myself in a manner as short as possible, and to tell him that I sat in the cabin before I should have done, had no place in the cabin. Before I should have done, bad I had respect to my own health and spirits. I tak the cabin, there I found the singing forth with the Psalms, then I did so myself in a manner as short as possible, and to tell him that I sat in the cabin before I should have done, had no place in the cabin. Before I should have done, had no place in the cabin, but by my earliest's order to make the better fitted to order all my affairs I hope.1 When Sir John Bramston was summoned to the deathbed of his nephew Francis, "I told him there were two things he must not deny me, one, as he was a good Christian, the other as a wise man, which were to take the Communion, and to make his will."2 Evelyn records the example of two ladies of high rank in showing their piety by practical and unassuming charity: "There was sent me £70, from whom I knew not, to be by me distributed among poor people; I afterwards found it was from that dear friend3 who had frequently given me large sums to bestow on charities."4 "I went to Lady Mordaunt, who put £100 into my hands to dispose of for pious uses, relief of prisoners, poor, etc. Many a sum had she sent me on similar occasions; a blessed creature she was, and one that loved and feared God exemplarily."5 A typical example of practical piety was given on board ship by Toonge, when a noble but insolent layman

(2) Autobiography, p. 38.
(3) Margaret Godelphine.
(4) 25th July, 1678.
(5) 16th August, 1678.
threatened to usurp his office. "The Lord Mordant, taking occasion by my not being very well, would have preacht, and askt the Captains leave last night, and to that intent sate up till four in the morning to compose his speech, and intended to have Mr. Norwood to sing the Psalm. All this I myselfe heard in agitation; and resolving to prevent him, I got up in the morning before I should have done, had I had respect to my owne health, and cam into the great cabin, where I found the zealous Lord with our Captaine, whom I did so handle in a smart and short discourse, that he went out of the cabin in greate wrath. In the afternoone he set on of the carpenter's crewe to woorke about his cabin; and I, being acquainted with it, did by my Captaine's order discharge the woorke men, and he left wooking; at which the Reverent Lord was so vexed, that he borrowed a hammer, and busied himselfe all that day in nayling up his hangings, but being done on the sabbath day, and also when there was no necessity, I hope the woork will not be longe lived. From that day he loved neyther mee nor the Captaine.

No prayere, for discontent."1

As religious disturbances lessened, and seventeenth century life became more settled, the tendency to a practica\-\-ical, balanced theory of religion grew stronger. Religious enthusiasm became unpopular, and its mystical side was almost wholly neglected. The level ground of steady practice

(1) Diary, Nov.3rd, 1678.
of ethical virtues came to be the form of piety most generally adopted by devout Churchpeople. They had a great leader in Tillotson, of whom it has been said: "After the orgies of the saints and the orgies of the sinners, he made sanity acceptable to a whole generation."

It is probably this instinctive practicalness of the English mind that has tended, ever since the Restoration, to produce a religion in which greater attention is paid to general conduct of life than to doctrine and dogma. The summary of Halifax may be taken as representative not only of his generation but of many succeeding ones: "Get understanding and practice virtue. And if you are so blessed as to have those for your share, it is not surer that there is a God, than it is, that by Him all necessary Truths will be revealed to you."

In comparing our review of the general moral outlook of the seventeenth century with that of the twentieth century, it is obvious that no such extreme change has taken place in the latter as in the former period. It was said that the attitude of England before 1660 was mediaeval, after 1660 modern. No such distinction can be drawn in the England of the twentieth century, and therefore there cannot be the same sharpness of transition and the same difficulty in adjustment of views. Certain resemblances in the two periods are, however, clearly traceable.

(1) Dowden, Puritan and Anglican, p.336.
(2) Advice to a Daughter, p.23.
We still tend to confuse ethical issues. We have, for instance, a comfortable belief that we rule a large proportion of the globe by the direct dispensation of Providence, and are surprised and hurt when our neighbours insist on regarding the matter from the standpoint of material aggression. In a recent newspaper article a modern novelist attempts to expound this question: "Whereas as the French appear to say, as the last word in any argument, 'la France', the English say 'Fair-play'. This is exasperating to the French, who think that by 'fair-play', we mean 'l'Angleterre'. If I were French, I should think that. As I am English, I see that the English owe their greatness to their disinterestedness. It is a pity, from the viewpoint of other nations, that through their disinterestedness the English prosper materially. That is one reason why the English are supposed to be hypocritical......

Mark Twain insisted that the English were mentioned in the Bible - 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth' - and Mark Twain knew that those who would best enjoy his joke were precisely the English at whom it was aimed."\(^1\) In spite of this defence of the English attitude, there is something to be said for the confused irritation of the foreigner when confronted by this complacent "meekness", which even in the twentieth century has a certain affinity with the hypocritical tendencies of the extreme seventeenth century Puritans.

\(^{(1)}\) Frank Swinnerton, Daily Express, Feb. 1st, 1927.
In the matter of the "magnanimous virtues" our own age strikingly resembles the seventeenth century. If the Cavaliers stand for all ages as the type of pure loyalty, the fighting services of 1914-18 stand as the type of pure devotion to duty. Personal devotion to the king is necessarily a less practicable quality under the hampering conditions of modern sovereignty, but the crowds who besieged Buckingham Palace on the first Armistice Night, and insisted on sharing their jubilation with the Royal Family showed that the spirit of loyalty was by no means dormant.

The sacrifices of those who quietly gave up all they possessed to wage war underground, on and under the ocean, and in the air, is of the same tradition as the spirit of the Cavaliers who gave their all under more romantic and less terrible conditions. A survey of the modern War period brings out the force of Lecky's argument that such conditions breed the magnanimous virtues. The qualities of self-sacrifice, of courage, moral and physical, of cheerful and humorous endurance of hardship, even of brotherly love undoubtedly flourished in the War years as they have not flourished since. Donald Hankey in the trenches wrote more truly than he knew: "Some day some of them will look back on these days and will tell themselves that after all it was 'Romance', the adventure, which made their lives worth while. And they will long to feel once again the stirring of the old comradeship and love and loyalty, to
dip their clasp-knives into the same pot of jam, and lie in the same dug-out, and work on the same bit of wire with the same machine gun striking secret terror into their hearts, and look into each other's eyes for the same courageous smile."¹ And elsewhere: "When a soldier can write that the brotherhood of the trenches will be 'a wistful radiant memory' now, what shall we be writing twenty years hence?"²

As the spirit of courage and devotion faded and died in the post-Restoration period, so it has faded and died in England since 1918. It has for some years been a commonplace to hear men who fought in the War give it as their opinion that few of their comrades would join up if we should be faced with another similar struggle. The spirit of heroism seems with us, too, to have given place to a spirit of notoriety-seeking and dare-devilry. "Stunts" are all the rage, and both the performer and the sensation-loving public appear to take such artificial stimuli as genuine. Modern theories of a "balked disposition" may assist our comprehension here. In a state of war, especially of modern war, the instinct of fear has a free and natural outlet, and no further stimulus is required. But in the conditions of the normal time of peace, some such psychological process as that described by Professor Graham Wallas may be conceived.

¹ A Student in Arms (Second Series) p.43. ("Romance").
² Ibid., (Second Series) p.202. ("Idylls of the War").
of as going on: "The mere absence of the original stimuli leaves it existing but unstimulated, and so creates a condition of "balked disposition" in which a limited but not inconsiderable degree of Fear may be desired for its own sake..... Perhaps, indeed, it is this desire for Fear rather than the impulse of Curiosity which has been the most important single cause of those dangerous journeys of discovery, by which the whole earth has been mapped out during the last four hundred years." The application of this theory to the present age of long-distance flights, of Channel swims and of motor speed records need not be pressed, but is interesting, and the sensational descriptions by certain newspapers of the mental effects of a total eclipse might fall under the same heading.

The ethical views of the modern post-War age have become mundane in much the same way as did those of the post-Restoration age. The balance of financial power has shifted, and as the country was full in the years after 1660 of needy Cavaliers, so since 1918 the old English families have gradually been selling off lands and houses, retiring more and more from the public eye and endeavouring to make both ends meet in decent seclusion. The "new rich" and the "new poor" present to society in an accentuated form the problem presented to the perplexed king in 1660. Clarendon's condemnation of his generation's "vile and

(1) Graham Wallas, The Great Society, p.89.
sordid love of money" (p.103) might be applied equally well to the post-war age. The reaction from War deprivation and hardship in both ages has taken the form of an urgent desire for material comfort and for display of the possession of wealth. Lady Anne Sunderland, worrying Evelyn over the details of "my building, my famous building" and begging his aid lest "my vast fabricke in ye court..... stand at ye height of 3 bricks." has many a counterpart in modern England, where ostentatious buildings go up at fabulous prices, while the old family castles are shut up or sold. Halifax's sardonic phrase for the upstarts, "those of a new edition", has been echoed by many a cartoon in Punch since the war. A modern French novelist describes a situation as true for England as for France: "Une centaine de mois avaient valu plus d'un siècle. Ce n'était pas seulement l'argent qui changeait de mains, mais on aurait dit que le cours du sang dans les coeurs changeait aussi. On voyait, sur les chemins, des gens qui avaient d'autres regards."  

We noticed that in the seventeenth century stress was laid upon the letter of the truth, but that complete deviation from its spirit was condoned, if not justified. Increased education in moral principles and wider mental training have brought about a decided advance in our views.

(1) Add. Ms. 15,889, p.17.
(2) Add. Ms. 15,889. p.15.
(3) Charles Silvestre, Prodice du Coeur, p.15.
on this subject. Most of the offenders in the seventeenth century appear to have been women, and it is probable that the increasing feminine independence has resulted in a more masculine frankness and fearlessness of judgment. Education of girls on the same lines as boys is a further factor in this advance, the whole trend of modern school-education being to enforce the moral necessity of truth and the shamefulness of lack of candour. To the public schools, too, we owe our modern recognition of the principle of fairplay, which we noticed in an immature stage of development in the seventeenth century. Modern views on this point compare very favourably with those of the earlier century. Impartial discussion of vexed questions in Parliament is definitely aimed at, and the procedure of the judiciary is based upon an intention to secure the greatest possible amount of fairplay and the most unbiased judgment for the accused. A hint of the modern attitude is given in Professor Graham Wallas's criticism of the Tariff Reform League of 1910. After quoting the statement that its officials "move through the constituencies, live in the villages, engage individuals in casual conversation", he comments: "The boundaries of what would be considered mere common honesty in ordinary life are here, most men would say, definitely overstepped."

Fairplay for the afflicted is now a generally-accepted principle; only the lowest classes of society indulge in the primitive pleasure of baiting an idiot, while the friendly consideration shown to blind pedestrians in the streets of London is a daily object-lesson to the cynic. Humanity has, generally speaking, won the victory over callousness, so far as physical cruelty is concerned. Lecky thus distinguishes callous from vindictive cruelty: "The first belongs chiefly to hard, dull and somewhat lethargic characters, it appears most frequently in strong and conquering nations and in temperate climates, and it is due in a very great degree to defective realisation. The second is rather a feminine attribute; it is usually displayed in oppressed and suffering communities, in passionate natures, and in hot climates."¹ The cruelty which we observed in the seventeenth century was obviously of the callous kind. We shall see (in Chapter III) that vindictiveness was a feature of the Restoration period, but this was a temporary development due to unusual conditions, and is not a normal feature of the English character. Callousness in the seventeenth century was due, as Lecky would suggest, to defective imagination. Advancing civilisation has increased our refinement of perception on this point. In the nineteenth century we had the honour to be the first nation to agitate for the abolition of the Slave Trade. In the present century there

¹ Lecky, History of European Morals, p.154.
is an almost sentimental movement for the softening of the rigours of prison life. Wireless concerts and popular lectures are arranged to mitigate the monotony and enlarge the mental outlook of prisoners. Yet our imaginations are still only partially awakened to the cruelties of mental and moral suffering, which may account for some of the inconsistencies of, for instance, the modern workhouse system.

In the conduct of a London casual ward, every care is taken to eliminate physical discomfort, but the official mind is seemingly unconscious of the mental suffering inflicted by certain of the regulations. A courageous lady who tested the conditions in her own person supplies first-hand evidence. She was surprised at the humanity of her reception in the casual ward and testifies to the physical comfort of a hot bath and a decent bed. But when the exhausted frame sought sleep in the apartment officially and unpleasantly designated her "cell", a small but most significant circumstance tormented the spirit almost to the point of hysteria. "I knew that if I tried the handle of the door, it would not open. No handle was there. I could not escape from my funnel-shaped coffin, I might beat my hands upon the wall, but I could not get free."

The twentieth century shows a close affinity to the seventeenth century in moral standards. The difference between pre- and post-War morality is almost precisely the

(Stanley Paul).
are income or in which the aiming for austerity is the same as that between the years 1640-60 and 1660-80. In
the earlier division of each period, there are cases of
flagrant vice, but in both, such cases are recognised as
contrary to the generally-accepted laws of morality, and
officially and widely condemned. In the later division of
those of the war generation at least there seems to be a
more desire to satisfy moral desires by throwing over
the so-called "conventions" which to these minds appear to
be the root of the trouble. The desire for sex which gives
in the past and uncertainty of the future, so the post-
the post-Restoration age adopted a pose of light-hearted vie-
worships passion as an idol. "Listen to the heroine of a
modern novel (of a very bad novel, it is true, but a char-
acteristic one): 'I want everything in life: every pleasure
upon earth: good joys, bad joys, cold joys, warm joys, yes,
upon earth: good joys, bad joys, cold joys, warm joys, yes,
and especially the warm joys. I want to experience every kind
of emotion, and to know that I, walking the earth, have
felt all there is to feel.'"

But the modern movement is decidedly deeper and more
complex than the seventeenth century cynical laxity. Ad-
advance in civilisation, more complicated modes of thought
and wider education have had a marked effect on the at-
titude to this subject. There is, now as in the years
1660-80, a flippant section of society, to whom all laws

are irksome or in whom the craving for notoriety is the strongest force. But side by side with the uncontrolled passion for experience or the restless craving for "modernity" runs another and quite different current of thought, not represented at all in the seventeenth century. Among those of the War generation at least there seems to be a sincere desire to rectify moral abuses by throwing over the so-called "conventions" which to these minds appear to be the root of the trouble. The desire to know, which gives rise to verbal and printed discussions banned by the older-fashioned, is in these cases less a prurient seeking for undesirable knowledge than a realisation of the necessity for facing facts and a desire for the protection which knowledge brings. The spread of scientific learning, and its accessibility to both sexes on equal terms is another factor in this demand for the treatment of "sex" as a subject for open discussion and enquiry. It has been remarked that "the 'roguish French books' which Pepys secretly sniggered over had, no doubt, as many counterparts in the Victorian Age as in any other epoch. The change, however, is in the new frankness with which the cultivated novelist speaks and the new acceptance of such frankness by the cultivated reading public, a frankness which can be illustrated by a recent public meeting, when two young unmarried women novelists gave a public debate on the subject of the sex novel."[1]

The fact that there are two distinct currents of thought in this twentieth century relaxation of moral rules is indicative of a greater mental complexity and a deeper range of thought than was possible in the seventeenth century.

It may be claimed that the religious tendencies of the seventeenth century have remained the dominant elements in English religion up to the present day. The point has been admirably summed up by Mr Trevelyan: "To the devout Englishman...... the core of religion was the life of family prayer and Bible study, which the Puritans had for a hundred years struggled not in vain to make the custom of the land. The self-restrained and melancholy strength of individual purpose which armed the English to surpass all nations in economic and industrial enterprise, the struggle towards purity, the deep and continuous affections which freed and ennobled family life, these habits of body and mind were not wholly cast aside by the people, whatever might be the case with their governors at Whitehall." The merely superficial and ephemeral tendencies disappeared, and there remained a stable element of practical piety, willing toleration, and moderate devotion. The modern normal Englishman's religion is very much akin to that described by Halifax in the seventeenth century, a genial cheerful affair, productive of a good deal of calm satisfaction, and not allowed to affect interests which are considered to lie outside its

(1) Trevelyan, p.345.

(1) MacDougall, Group Mind, p.236.
sphere. But the similarity of the two centuries goes deeper than this. In both, the moral upheaval caused by a war of peculiar strain aroused a spirit of enquiry which in the seventeenth century resulted most generally in disbelief and indifference. In the twentieth century, the same result is apparent in certain circles, but parallel to it is another tendency, an eager desire for the attainment of religious truth. The seventeenth century spirit of enquiry produced toleration. As a modern thinker puts it: "The coming of religious toleration was due to the application of the spirit of enquiry to religious systems; these enquiries produced irreconcilable sects, whose strife prepared the way for compromise and toleration." Sensation, self-consciousness, and materialism in religion are as popular now as in the seventeenth century in some sections of the community, but there are also signs of a genuine interest, a curiosity based on thought and a realisation of the necessity for wider moral sanctions than the uncertain law of man. The amount of space given by leading newspapers to articles bearing on religion, and the series which appear from time to time on "My Religion", "Living Churches", and similar subjects show that a general quickening of interest has taken the place of well-bred indifference. There are indications that the twentieth century spirit of enquiry may produce a religious revival.

(1) McDougall, Group Mind, p.296.
CHAPTER III.

THE MENTAL ATTITUDE OF THE PERIOD IN ITS EMOTIONAL ASPECTS.

A great upheaval is most marked in its effects upon the emotional nature. The circumstances of the emergency generally demand unusual self-control, and this control repression leads to results more universal and more violent than in the sphere of either intellect or morals, though the change is hardly noticed at the time. With the resumption of conditions supposedly normal, the difficulty of adjustment makes itself felt. The reaction affects all the fundamental emotions. These in their turn both influence and are influenced by external conditions. The stimuli supplied by altered circumstances act upon the emotional nature, while the transformed emotions demand appropriate stimuli. The emotional quality of an age may be fairly gauged by a consideration of the methods adopted for the satisfaction of its needs.

In the period 1640-60, the reaction to emotion was comparatively simple. The great political struggle of the
time absorbed the emotional faculties, and, though in many cases producing situations of grave difficulty, necessarily forced excessive self-repression. The Civil War and its results, in terms of human and property or gain of religious and political power, provided a sufficient outlet for the sentiments of sorrow and joy. At such a time it was not possible to allow full play to the ordinary

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In the period 1640-60, the reaction to emotion was comparatively simple. The great political struggle of the
time absorbed the emotional faculties, and, though in many cases producing situations of grave difficulty, necessarily forced emotions to set in one direction. The Civil War and its results, in loss of friends and property or gain of religious and political power, provided a sufficient outlet for the sentiments of sorrow and joy. At such a time it was not possible to allow full play to the ordinary impulses of emotion. A merciful deadening of perception at such periods appears to be natural, to even the most sensitive minds, or, if not natural, to be consciously induced as a practical necessity. Mr Sudbury, who was deputed to break the news of her husband's death to young Lady Dorothy Sunderland, in his predicament gave expression to what must have been the prevalent feeling among anxious non-combatants. He tried to break the news by degrees, but "this would not satisfy her ladyship, in so much that after some discourse of the miseries of these times, and how much it concerned all who had friends engaged in these wars to be ever armed against the worst news they can apprehend, I was forced to let her know that my Lord Sunderland was also hurt."[1] Lord Leicester's letter to his widowed daughter strikes a characteristic note of pious resignation:

"My deare Doll, — I know it is to no purpose to advise you not to grieve, that is not my intention.

(1) Ady, Saccharissa, p.105."
for such a loss as yours cannot be received indifferently by a nature so tender and so sensible as yours; but though your affection to him whom you loved so dearly and your reason of valuing his merit (neither of which you could do too much) did expose you to the danger of that sorrow which now oppresseth you; yet if you consult with that affection, and with that reason, I am persuaded you will see reason to moderate that sorrow...... I know you lived happily, and so as nobody but yourself could measure the contentment of it.

I rejoiced at it, and did thank God for making me one of the means of procuring it for you. That now is past, and I will not flatter you so much as to say I think you can ever be so happy in this life again; but this comfort you owe me, that I may see you bear this change and your misfortunes patiently...... I doubt not but your eyes are full of tears, and not the emptyer for those they shed. God be pleased to give His grace to you, to your mother and myself, that all of us may resign and submit ourselves entirely and cheerfully to His pleasure. So nothing shall be able to make us unhappy in this life, nor to hinder us from being happy in that which is eternal. Which that you may enjoy at the end of your days, whose number I wish as great as that of any mortal creature, and that through them all
smoothly you may find such comforts as are best and most necessary for you, it is and shall be ever the constant prayer of your father that loves you dearly, "Thou art the reason, therefore, the sense of resignation to irremediable fact is characteristic not only of those suffering from sudden bereavement. In 1654 Milton writes an interesting letter on his blindness to Leonard Philaras. The poet gives a characteristically precise and careful account of his symptoms, and then states simply his attitude to this great affliction. "If God "lead me the hand, and accompany me through life, I shall willingly permit my eyes to be unemployed." Few of this generation might have admitted to such a philosophy of life as that of Johnson's Imlac; "Human life is everywhere a state in which much is to be endured and little to be enjoyed," but it is implicit in their general outlook. Hear Dorothy Osborne, young, beautiful, and in love: "When we have tried all ways to happiness, there is no such thing to be found but in a mind conformed to one's condition, whatsoever it be, and in not aiming at anything that is either impossible or improbable." It is impossible to attribute such words sickly to the fact that the course of true love at this time was running far from...

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(1) Ady, Saccharissa, pp.104-6. by begging his wife to come
(2) Familiar Letters of Milton, pp.66-70.
(3) Johnson, Rasselas, Chapter XI.
(4) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.179.
smooth; they go deeper than the accidents of life, and re-
veal a sober and restrained attitude to life itself, a con-
scious resolution to make few demands upon it and to accept
the decrees of an unkind fate as just, if not final. There
is here a double apprehension of such decrees, the sense
that man has no right to expect happiness in this world
co-existing with the belief that in another world he may hope
for happiness beyond all possible deserts. It is the phil-
osophy of life of a simple, pious, and self-restrained age,
an age in which people take their emotions for granted,
neither analyse them nor seek their stimulation by artificial
means, but are content with, or at least resigned to their
lot in life. The pleasures of such a generation were simple
and homely. Elaborate entertainments were hardly possible
under the abnormal circumstances, and family gatherings seem
to have been the rule. There was a big house-party at
Claydon to welcome young Edmund Verney in 1657, and four
years earlier his father wrote to an expected guest: "The
more you bring, the sooner you come, and the longer you stay,
the greater will the obligation be to, Deare Sister, your
most affectionate Brother and servant." The pleasures of
hospitality were appreciated both by guests and host in those
difficult days, and even in exile such parties were arranged.
"This weeke I made a Huge, Huge, Huge feast," wrote Ralph
from Blois in 1647, and concluded by begging his wife to come
soon and preserve more apricots.

To Sir William Temple's desire to know what his sweetheart was doing every minute of her day we owe a vivid glimpse into country life, which may be taken as an average specimen of conditions during the Civil War. "You ask me how I pass my time here. I can give you a perfect account not only of what I do for the present, but of what I am likely to do these seven years if I stay here so long. I rise in the morning reasonably early, and before I am ready for bed, I go round the house till it grows too hot for me. About ten o'clock I think of making me ready, and when that's done I go into my father's chamber, from thence to dinner, and at a table that would hold a great many more. After dinner we sit and talk till Mr B. comes in question, and then I am gone. The heat of the day is spent in reading and working, and about six or seven o'clock I walk out into a common that lies hard by the house, where a great many young wenches keep sheep and cows, and sit in the shade singing of ballads. I go to them and compare their voices and beauties to some ancient shepherdesses that I have read of, and find a vast difference there; but, trust me, I think these are as innocent as those could be. I talk to them, and find they want nothing to make them the happiest people in the world but the knowledge that they are so. Most commonly, when we are in the midst of our discourse, one looks about her, and spies her cows going into
the corn, and then away they all run as if they had wings at their heels. I, that am not so nimble, stay behind; and when I see them driving home their cattle, I think 'tis time for me to retire too. When I have supped, I go into the garden, and so to the side of a small river that runs by it, where I sit down and wish you with me (you had best say this is not kind neither). In earnest, 'tis a pleasant place, and would be much more so to me if I had your company. I sit there sometimes till I am lost with thinking; and were it not for some cruel thoughts of the crossness of our fortunes that will not let me sleep there, I should forget that there were such a thing to be done as going to bed.\(^1\)

There is little variety or excitement here, and though Dorothy’s case may have been exceptionally dull, her record is borne out by such a remark as that of Cary Gardiner in 1642, on her first visit to her husband’s relations: “truly for the contrary (country) pleshar, wee have it, for we ar abrod every day tordis evening in the coche.”\(^2\) Sir Richard Fanshawe in retirement in 1653 found his recreation in translating Luis de Camoens\(^3\) and his wife left it on record that “he never used exercise but walking, and that generally with some book in his hand, which oftentimes was poetry, in which he spent his idle hours; sometimes he would ride out to take the air, but his most delight was, to go only with me in a coach some miles and there discourse of those things which

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(1) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.84-5.
(3) Memoirs, p.110.
then most pleased him, of what nature soever. Dorothy Osborne speaks of occasional calls upon country neighbours, and a glimpse into the etiquette of such visits is afforded us by Lady Halkett. A cousin of the banned Mr H. came to see Anne's mother, 'and having staid a convenient time for a visit to my mother (for then it was not unusual for mothers and daughters to be visited apart) I waited on her down here.' This proceeding was apparently too usual to excite suspicion but it enabled Anne to receive a message from Mr H. through the visitor.

Such visits were the greatest break in the monotony of life. No necessity for further excitement seems to have been felt, and in fact Dorothy Osborne definitely disliked the greater stimulus of a house-party to which she went, probably in 1654: "You must know I want sleep extremely. The sun was up an hour before I went to bed to-day, and this is not the first time I have done this since I came hither. 'Twill not be for your advantage that I should stay here long; for, in earnest, I shall be good for nothing if I do. We go abroad all day and play all night, and say our prayers when we can." When a country girl visited London, she naturally wished to see the sights, and Moll Eure was very anxious to go to a play, but her mother was afraid "lest they be as

(1) Memoirs, p.35.
(2) Autobiography, p.17.
(3) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.259.
they have bin this many eyers taged to pelsuses at them.\(^1\)

But for the most part, simple pleasures satisfied young and old alike, and even in Paris the young Princess Henrietta Maria was quite content with making Reresby "dance with her, play on the harpsichord with her..... and sometimes to toss her in a swing between two trees."\(^2\)

The diversions of this period were of a similarly unsophisticated nature. Dorothy Osborne played battledore and shuttlecock\(^3\), while her lover in town disported himself at tennis\(^4\). In her amusing description of what her husband must not be, she drew a contemptuous picture of the country squire who can "understand nothing but hawks and dogs!", but her own taste in dogs was suggestive of the kind of open-air diversion which she liked best. Asking Temple to secure her an Irish greyhound, she added: "Whomsoever you employ, he will need no other instructions but to get the biggest he can meet with; 'tis all the beauty of those dogs, or of any indeed, I think. A masty (mastiff) is handsomer to me than the most exact little dog that ever lady played withal."\(^5\)

Sir Ralph Verney in 1656 was accused of keeping "showlibord playing and nin pins with other games in your house on Sondales contrary to order."\(^6\) The Sunday indulgence in games of skill would meet with as scant mercy from

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(2) Reresby Memoirs, p.140.
(3) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.63.
(4) Ibid, pp.65, 66.
the Puritan rulers of England as the case of private theatricals recorded by Dorothy Osborne at the same house-party where she missed her beauty sleep, and had to lie "three in a bed". "I leave you to judge the constraint I live in, what alarms my thoughts give me, and yet how unconcerned this company requires I should be; they will have me act my part in a play, 'The Lost Lady' it is, and I am she. Pray God it be not an ill omen!" This incident suggests that the faster set were already becoming dissatisfied with the simpler pleasures of the time, and the conclusion is borne out by other evidence. Racing came into fashion under the Commonwealth, and was made the excuse for behaviour which was disapproved not only by Puritans. "I have the honour of seeing my Lady M. Sandis every day unless some race or other carry her out of town. The last week she went to one as far as Winchester with Col. Paunton (if you know such a one), and there her husband met her, and because he did so (though it were by accident) thought himself obliged to invite her to his house but seven miles off, and very modestly said no more for it, but that he thought it better than an Inn, or at least a crowded one as all in the town were now because of the race. But she was so good a companion that she would not forsake her company."

The fashionable resort of Spring Gardens evidently provided a more sophisticated method of entertainment than

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1. Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.265.
2. Ibid, p.239.
had been customary. Dorothy's tone in speaking of it is not altogether one of approval, and Lady Halkett testifies both to its charm and to its less pleasant possibilities: "I loved well to see plays and to walke in the Spring Garden sometimes (before it grew something scandalous by ye abuse of some)". In 1659 the following anonymous description was written by a supposed Frenchman: "The manner is, as the company returns, to stop at the Spring Gardens so called, in order to the Park as our 'Thuilleries' is to the 'Course'; the inclosure not disagreeable for the solemnness of the groves, the warbling of the birds, and as it opens into the spacious walks of St James. But the company walk in it at such a rate, as you would think all the ladies were so many Atalantas contending with their wooers.... But, as fast as they run, they stay there so long, as if they wanted not to finish the race, for it is usual here to find some of the young company till midnight, and the thickets of the garden seem to be contrived to all the advantages of gallantry." 

The impression left by these and similar details is of an age of simple tastes, gradually tending, in the younger generation and the "smart set" to greater elaboration and artificiality. In the period 1660-80 this tendency was fully developed. The external focus for emotion provided by the Civil War and its results was withdrawn. The necessity for stoic repression of emotion was also withdrawn, and the

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(1) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.243-4.
(2) Autobiography, p.3.
(3) Quoted in Notes to Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.242.
reaction from the nervous strain induced by this necessity began to be felt. There grew up an urgent consciousness of the emotional nature and its needs, a sense that it was the right of the present generation to grasp all that it could of experience and sensation. A craving for excitement betrayed the restless spirit of the age. Halifax realised the danger of the tendency and gave expression to it in his condemnation of ladies who were always seeking "diversions". "The Spring", he said, "that bringeth out Flies, and Fools, maketh them inhabitants in Hide-Park; in the winter they are an Incumbrance to the Play House, and the Ballast of the Drawing-Room." Pepys, running about London from sight to sight, was another example of the same tendency. He apparently enjoyed equally his view of the King's coronation (to obtain which he sat in the Abbey from 4 a.m. onwards) and the execution of Major-General Harrison by hanging, drawing and quartering, "he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition." It was a sensational age. This tendency was the cause of much of the lack of balance displayed so frequently by the mob during the reign of Charles II, and played a significant part in the agitations over the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey and the Rye House Plot.

The correspondence of the Hattons is full of such sensational anecdotes as the following: "Last night ye Ld Cornwallis and Mr Gerrard, ye Ld Gerrards son, being in drine,  

(1) Advice to a Daughter, p.158.  
(2) Diary, 15th Oct. 1660."
abused ye sentinells in St James Parke, and after, Mr Gerrards meeting Capt With's footboy, upon what provocation is not yet known, struck him soe yt ye boy fell down dead." The spirit of the age is further illustrated by the evidence at the trial which followed this incident, in the course of which it was proved that "one of them, but wch could not be proved, bid ye sentinell kill ye boy, and said: 'We will kill somebody'." Even allowing for the influence of drink, this casual statement of their intention suggests that state of mind which counts a sensation cheaply bought at the price of human life.

Sensationalism had its result in the tremendous impetus given at this period to gossip and scandal. Much of the charm of the letter-writers of the earlier generation lies in their snatches of pleasant gossip. Lady Fanshawe's Memoirs are full of gossipy details which have no direct bearing on the main story but are both interesting in themselves and valuable in imparting vividness to a record of historical fact. We hear of the begging methods practised on the household of a new ambassador to Spain, and the picturesque chastisement inflicted by the porter on an importunate child-beggar of the species: "The porter keeping his word, took the boy and pulled off his rags, and anointed him all over with honey, leaving no part undone, and very thick, and then threw him into a tub of fine feathers, which

(1) Hatton Correspondence, p.127.
(2) Ibid, p.135.
(3) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.165.
as soon as he had done, he set him on his legs and frighten-
ed him home to his mother, who seeing this thing, for none
living could guess him a boy, ran out into the city, the
child squeaking after her, and all the people in the streets
after them, thinking it was a devil or some strange creature."

We have a story about a gambling Jesuit, afterwards recog-
nised in England by Sir Richard, though under the disguise
of "Captain Taller"², and another of a cheating trick played
by the Marquis of Worcester on friends who had lent him
money⁵. But we do not find in the pages of this high-born
lady references to unsavoury gossip or to society scandals.
One such reference there is, and her gravity of tone is
significant of a reluctance to dwell on such subjects. It
is the story of the ghost of a Colonel Colepeper's sister,
which haunted him from the time of her death till his own,
and the dark suspicion as to the relations between them is
put by Lady Fanshawe as briefly as possible: "this gentleman
had a sister, who lived with him, as the world said, in too
much love."⁴ Dorothy Osborne displays a similar reticence
in her allusions to a notorious acquaintance: "What should
she do with beauty now? Were I as she, I would hide myself
from all the world."⁵ In the correspondence of the members
of the Verney family at this period, there is manifest an
interest in homely or family details but little desire to

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(1) Memoirs, p.136.
(5) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.168.
retrail local gossip or rumoured scandal. In the post-Restoration period, however, such subjects form the staple of news. The letters of Henry Savile to his brother are full of spicy episodes of which the following is a sample: "Yesterday my Lady Shrewsbury with only one chambermaid took her heels, and they say is gone either into a monastery or to kill Harry Killegrew herself, since none of her relations will undertake it, but her lord has sent to Dover and Rye to stop her if it be possible." On one occasion Halifax remonstrates with Harry that he is writing to England "with some freedom of a lady you converse with", and that the gossips are talking. Harry replies that he guesses the source of the scandal, a friend in whom he has naturally had great confidence, a statement significant in itself as showing that the claims of close friendship were disregarded when the retailing of a choice bit of gossip was in prospect. Even tho best of the older generation seem to fall in with prevailing fashion, and the sixty-year-old Saccharissa gossips as maliciously as her grand-daughters might have done: "My Lord Grey has carried his wife into Northumberland, and my Lady Wentworth's ill eyes did find cause, as she thought, to carry her daughter into the country, in so much haste, that it makes a great noise, and was done sure in some great passion. My Lord Grey was long in believing the Duke of Monmouth an unfaithful friend to him. He gave her but one

(1) Savile Correspondence, p.22.
(2) Ibid, pp.146-50.
(3) Supposed to be Monmouth's mistress.
night to take leave, pack up, and be gone."¹ "My Lady Anne Balendine ran away from her husband, and left a letter upon her table to say she was gone where she should see more happy days than she ever did with him! Mr Finch's vigilance in the search of her has brought her back to her house again. Who she did go to, is not out yet; I suppose not to live alone."²

When there is no particularly shocking news to retail, the writers of this period collect sensational political rumours, or malicious little stories. Charles Lyttelton writes of the French King's desire to attain unity of religion in his dominions; it is, he says, "understood but a raillery", but nevertheless he goes into detail in the extraordinary list of proposed "abolishments" (images, Purgatory, etc.), hoping doubtless to startle his correspondent. In an official despatch Henry Savile describes the entry of a Spanish envoy into Paris, and gives his contempt full play, concluding "he was not a little lucky in a rainy day that hidd his old equipage, making it onely look wett instead of old."³

All through the period 1640-80 the women maintained an interest in dress. In the pre-Restoration period, however, they had little opportunity for display. Lady Halkett in perilous and unsettled circumstances hardly ever refers to her dress, though in her account of the escape of the Duke of York from St James's, she records the truly feminine detail that the disguise she provided for his use was "a mixed

¹ Ady, Saccherissa, p.233. ² Savile Correspondence, p.99. ³ Ibid, p.254. ⁴ Hatton Correspondence, p.98.
mohaire of a light haire coulor and blacke, and ye under-
petticoat was scarlett." Dorothy Osborne in country re-
tirement gossips over the books she is reading rather than
the clothes she wears. Lady Fanshawe's interest in the sub-
ject is concerned chiefly with the splendid figure her hus-
band makes on the occasions of his official appearances. His
state entry into Madrid is described in gorgeous detail: "my
husband, in a very rich suit of clothes of a dark fillemorte
brocade laced with silver and gold lace, nine laces, every
one as broad as my hand, and a little silver and gold lace
laid between them, both of very curious workmanship; his suit
was trimmed with scarlet taffety ribbon; his stockings of
white silk upon long scarlet silk ones; his shoes black, with
scarlet shoe-strings and garters, his linen very fine, laced
with very rich Flanders lace; a black beaver, buttoned on
the left side, with a jewel of twelve hundred pounds value."

The minds even of the women in this earlier period were pre-
cupied, and none of them had leisure or heart for the de-
light in a new and gorgeous gown evident in a delicious
letter of Anne Montagu to Lady Hatton, written in 1680:
"I wish your Ladyship was hear to shew your fine manto and
of your owne work, which good husfrey I cannot brag of,
but am to have one very suddenely, for it is about; and it
is a cherry coulerd sutten embroeryed with silver thick
and a letell black, and to be lined with black villvet. My

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(1) Autobiography, p.11.
(2) Memoirs, p.175.
petticoat to it must be a rich gold and silver stuffe, which there is the finest now that ever I see, and a brode lace at the bottom."¹ Pepys' interest in his wife's costume is well known, but he seems to have insisted that she should be well-dressed while grudging her a sufficient allowance. She appeared one day "in fair hair" which annoyed him so much that she felt it a good opportunity to strike a bargain, "that upon having money to lace her gown for second mourning, she would promise to wear white locks no more in my sight."² His complacent comments upon her appearance make excellent reading: "she had put on her new best gown, which indeed is very fine now with the lace; and this morning her tailor brought home her other new-laced silk gown with a smaller lace, and new petticoat I bought the other day: both very pretty."³ Incidentally, Pepys' concern for his own dress seems to have been quite equal to his interest in that of his wife, and he comments upon it in detail almost feminine: "I did give my wife's brother 10s, and a coat that I had by me, a close-bodied, light-coloured coat, with a gold edgeing in each seam, that was the lace of my wife's best petticoat, that she had when I married her."⁴ "Captain Sparling, of the 'Assistance', brought me a pair of silk stockings of a light blue, which I was much pleased with."⁵ On Coronation Day, he notes: "Up early, and made myself as fine as I could

¹ Hatton Correspondence, p. 241.
² Dairy, May 18th, 1667.
³ Ibid, April 10th, 1664.
⁴ Ibid, Feb. 10th, 1664.
⁵ Ibid, May 31st, 1666.
and put on my velvet coat, the first day that I put it on, though made half a year ago."\(^1\)

A marked feature, then, of the post-Restoration period is its interest in gossip, preferably of the scandalous variety. And this tendency, even when scandal is not in question, is of a superficial, worldly, or flippant character, quite in keeping with the average tone of the time. An unsigned letter, ascribed on good grounds to Elizabeth Bodvile, affords an excellent commentary on the age from this point of view: "On Sunday I was at the aprer, and I chanced to sett next to Ms Lane, hoe told mee a black cap and a staf was a better sight than that was, and many other things which would but troubell you to read. I went with Mr Hindrad Robbarts, and I had the best sport with my governner, hoe is resould to tell all things. I was this day there agane, where I mett one of the godly parrty, my Lady Cauly by name. Sir Charles Sidley is like to diy; and my Lady Kildare has a daughter and has bin like to diy. Heere is nuwes that a young lady in Chambridg shier has drounded hersolfe for love, they say; but more fool shee, for that is but cold love, my thinks. Shee thru her selfe into a well and the water was not deepe enufe, and they say shee was starvd to death. And now to break your hart, my Lady Barkle is like to diy of a fright, being with child. Pray doe not you be desparat and dround your selfe in a well to, for you know as long as there is life thers hopes."\(^2\)

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(1) Diary, April 22nd, 1661.
(2) Hatton Correspondence, p. 21.
The giddy lady whom this letter calls up to the imagination evidently delighted in the opera, and this raises the question of the emotional stimuli sought by this second half of our period. It is plain that the homely pleasures of the first half have gone out of fashion. Throughout the whole forty years, it may be noticed, there are indications of a love of natural beauty. Sir Ralph Verney takes a personal interest in the management of his garden, and in 1657-8 is giving orders for "double violetttes blue and white, 100 of goodlie July flowers, sweet Marjoram and Lemon, Time, and some Althea Arborea essence."¹ Lady Conway in 1664 reminds her husband that a garden is necessary to her happiness: "I hope your Gardener being with you, you will not forgitt to have your Garden in order to be walled in, some one walk without dores being absolutely necessary to make me take delight in any place, though there be a Gallery within."² In 1679 Lady Anne Sunderland tries to persuade Evelyn, whose gardening tastes are notorious, to come and stay with her: "youl be well rewarded with seeing a gardener you have plact here keep the gardens like a cabinet."³ We have evidence that Evelyn's appreciation of beauty was not confined to the trimness of such an English garden. His record of a voyage from France to Italy shows a deep perception of beauty: "We had a most delicious journey to Marseilles, through a country sweetly declining to the South and Mediterranean coasts,

² Add. MS. 23,214, p.28.
³ Add. MS. 18,839, p.39.
full of vine-yards and olive-yards, orange trees, myrtles, pomegranads, and the like sweete plantations, to which belong pleasantly-situated villas to the number of about 1500 built all of freestone, and in prospect shewing as if they were so many heapes of snow dropp'd out of the clouds amongst those perennial greens."^1 The sail to Genoa along the coast inspired him to a simple phrase of imaginative felicity: "the wind blowing as it did, might perfectly be smalt the joys of Italy in the perfumes of orange, citron, and jassamine flowers for divers leagues seaward."^2 Edward Browne is equally moved to rhapsodise on the beauty of Italy: "From the top of a mountain to see a valley with houses and towns in it, and then the clouds creeping over the next hill to cover the whole valley between them, and make it look like a lake, and the top of the clouds gently waving, and to describe the suns, rising, and coming to shine upon the upper parts of them, and to beautifie, and gild them all, is beyond the expression of words."^3

In spite of such appreciation of natural beauty, the post-Restoration age sought emotional stimulus by more artificial means. Henry Savile may occasionally have pined for "sweet Rufford", but he was happiest in the centre of political and social life, and would have been wearied by a permanent residence at the country seat. The circumstances which forced so many of the post-Restoration youth to grow

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^1 Diary, Oct. 7th, 1644.
^2 Diary, Oct. 11th, 1644.
^3 Edward Browne, Travels, p. 231
up to manhood away from their family estates weakened the
tie that had bound their fathers to their homes, and this
may in part account for their predominant interest in town
life.

The exigencies of Civil War, and subsequent Puritan
legislation, necessarily deprived the earlier generation of
the pleasures of the theatre, which became one of the favour-
ite diversions of the later period. We have seen Elizabeth
Bodvile frequenting the opera. In 1662 Tom Verney and his
unfortunate wife were seen "very fine and at a play on tues-
day last," (1) and Pepys was a great authority on plays. His
comments are refreshingly direct: "To the Theatre, where I
saw the last act of "The Knight or the Burning Pestle", which
pleased me not at all." (2) On the other hand, he liked "The
Siege of Rhodes". On one occasion he lamented: "Troubled in
mind that I cannot bring myself to mind my business, but to
be so much in love with plays." (3) His allowance was cer-
tainly generous; in one week he saw four plays (4). The growing
and general interest in the theatre is an indication of the
public demand for sensational and showy entertainment.

Further evidence is afforded by accounts of such diversions
at Court as the following brief record suggests: "Was at the
repetition of the Pastoral, on which occasion Mrs Blagg had
about her neere £20,000 worth of Jewells, of which she lost

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(2) Diary, 7th May, 1662.
(3) Dairy, 15th August 1661.
(4) March 11th - 19th, 1660-1.
(5) Edward Browne's Journal, Works of Sir THOS. Browne,
Vol.1. p.45.
one worth about £30, borrow'd of the Countess of Suffolk. The press was so great, that 'tis a wonder she lost no more. The Duke of York made it good. 1 Private theatrials, which came to Dorothy Osborne as a novelty, had become much more general by 1674, when the Stewkeley girls acted a play and earned great applause, their father having first excised what he thought "a little immodest and impertinent". Caroline, aged fourteen, took the part of a prince. No fewer than thirty formed the audience on the first day; a "collation" was served after the play, and Stewkeley found it much cheaper to entertain thus "en masse" than in the older, more formal fashion. 2 Dancing appears to have become a much more general amusement in the second half of our period. The conditions of the first half tended to suppress interest in so frivolous a pastime and eventually to allow no opportunity for it. The Puritans put it down with a firm hand, and the reaction seems to have been as violent as might have been expected. There is a trace of lingering scruple on the subject in Edward Browne's record of a dance at Mr Howards: "our greatest beautys were Mdm Elizabeth Gradock, Elizabeth Houghton, Ms Philpot, Ms Yallop; afterwards to the banquet, and so home. - Sic transit gloria mundi!" 3 This was in the early days, but by the time that Nan Savile was growing up, the diversion had become an art for experts, to be pursued with

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(1) Evelyn Diary, Dec. 22nd, 1674.
(2) Verney Memoirs, Vol.IV, p.227. (1833)
all seriousness as a necessary part of education. Halifax
recommends the older-fashioned method of dancing "carelessly,
like a diversion, rather than with solemnity, as if it was
before the last act. And mine these were done I reflect-
a business, or had anything in it to deserve a month's pre-
paration by serious conference with a dancing-master." [1] The
"modern girl" and her passion for this pastime is well re-
presented by Ursula Stewkeley, who, in 1674, is wearing her
stepmother out with her vagaries, and "who after 3 months
pleasure came home unsatisfied, declaring Preshaw was never
so irksome to her, and now hath bin at all the Salisbury
rasis, dancing like wild with Mr Clarke whom Jack can give
you a caricature of, and came home of a Saturday night just
before our Winton rasis, at near 12 o'clock when my family
was a bed, with Mr Charles Torner, a man I know not, Judy
Torner's son, who was tried for his life last November for
killing a man, one of the number that style themselves
Tibborn Club. And Mr Clark's brother, who sat up 3 nights
till near 3 a clock, and said, shes had never bin in bed sinc
shee went a way till 4 in the morning, and danced some nights
till 7 in the morning. Then she borrowed a coach and went
to our rasis, and wod have got dancers if shee could, then
brought homb this erue with her a gaine, and sat up the same
time. All this has sophytiently vexed me, her father was
6 days of this time from home, and lay out 3 nights of it,
and fryday shee was brought home and brought with her

(1) Advice to a Daughter, p.162.
Mr. Turner's linen to be mended and washed here and sent after him to London, where he went on Saturday to see how his brother Mun is come of his tryall for killing a man just before the last sircut. And since these were gone I reflecting on these actions, and shee declaring she could not be pleased without dancing 12 hours in the 24, and taking it ill I denied in my husband's absence to have 7 ranting fellows come to Preshaw and bring musick, was very angry and had ordered when they should all ly, shee designed mee to ly with Peg G., and I scaring her, and contrysting her, we had a great quarill.  

Gambling became an increasingly fashionable diversion at this period. This is a further indication of general excitability and restlessness. Lord Sunderland's habits of play gave serious concern to his wife, not on moral grounds but on grounds of expediency. She hinted that he might ruin a mysterious good fortune, and begged Henry Sidney to remonstrate with him, without mentioning her name. On this subject Halifax is again very instructive. "To play sometimes, to entertain Company, or to divert your self, is not to be disallowed, but to do it so often as to be called a Gamester, is to be avoided, next to the things that are most Criminal.... To deep Play there will be yet greater Objections. It will give Occasion to the World to ask spiteful Questions. How you dare venture to lose, and what means

you have to pay such great sums? If you pay exactly, it will be enquired from where the money cometh? If you owe, and especially to a Man, you must be so very civil to him for his forbearance, that it layeth a ground of having it farther improved, if the Gentleman is so disposed; who will be thought no unfair Creditor, if where the Estate faileth he seizeth upon the Person. Besides if a Lady could see her own Face upon an ill Game, at a deep Stake, she would certainly foresewe any thing that could put her looks under such a disadvantage."¹ The humour of the last sentence does not detract from the earnestness of Halifax's warning.

We can draw upon other material to prove the justness of his observation. Gambling was seemingly a very common vice amongst the women of the day. In 1675 Lady Northumberland wrote an account of the birthday-party of her young daughter, then living with her grandmother on account of her mother's second marriage. "Most unfortunately, we were disappointed of our gamesters, and play being the only thing can engage her grandmother to stay abroad past her hour; failing of that she carried her home, at seven o'clock...... my Lady is grown such a spark that these two nights she has sat up till twelve and one o'clock at play herself."² Just after the close of our period, we have striking proof of the spread of this vice among women in the diversions with which Cary Gardiner sought to enliven her widowhood. At a drawing-

¹ Advice to a Daughter, p.160-1.
² Letters of Lady Russell, p.22.
room christening, she (the godmother) and the baby's mother played cards throughout the proceedings, except for "3 or 4 rounds" during the actual service. Sir Ralph and Dr Denton both remonstrated on her passion for play, and roused her virtuous indignation: "I am not so void of reason at this age but that I can refrain from doing myself and family any damage by play beyond a sum of £20 or £30 which cannot ruin them." Her advisers demanded promises of reform, but to no purpose, and an entry on some letters received by Sir Ralph in 1690 runs as follows: "My Lady Gardiner's project with Mr Primrose in the Royall Oak Lottery, wherein she plunged Mr Page, her son-in-law, and herself, and he cheated her of £600."3

The impression of an age whose chief object was pleasure or diversion is strengthened by the candid entries of Pepys' Diary, and represented even in his philosophical utterance in a more serious mood. "Though I am much against too much spending, yet I do think it best to enjoy some degree of pleasure now that we have health, money, and opportunity, rather than to leave pleasures to old age or poverty when we cannot have them so properly."4 Epicureanism is typical of a period which had been taught by the experience of the previous generation not to count upon a settled future.

"Gather ye roses while ye may" was the sentiment implied if not formulated in the attitude of the time to life generally.

(2) Ibid, Vol.IV. p.276. (1892)
(3) Ibid, Vol.IV. p.280. (1892)
(4) Diary, May 20th, 1662. (ed. Bell, 1926)
And Pepys brings us to what cannot properly be described as a diversion, but is an important form of emotional stimulus, flirtation. Pepys, a highly susceptible individual, was an inveterate flirt. Most of his "affairs" must have been harmless, in the sense that neither he nor the particular charmer of the moment took the flirtation seriously. His methods were direct and unmistakeable. Not for him the subtleties of the "intellectual" flirtation. When Mr. Allen's youngest daughter Rebecca dawned on his horizon, he "could not forbear to love her exceedingly", and rejoiced in the fact that at an evening party he got a chance of "kissing Mrs. Rebecca very often." Kissing was his delight. On board the "Sovereign" he took the opportunity of saluting all the ladies, "demanding it as a fee due to a principal officer." It is delightful to note his rueful tone when he met his match in Holland on board a boat where "a pretty, sober Dutch lass sat reading all the way, and I could not fasten any discourse upon her."

Women seem to have been as fond as their lords and masters of indulging in semi-serious flirtations. The general slackening of moral authority and the craving for notoriety and modernity was responsible for many highly discreditable incidents. The spirit in which Lucy Hutchinson was wooed and won, or which Anne Halkett brought to her three love-affairs, each of which in its turn she regarded

(1) Diary, April 10th, 1661.
(2) Diary, April 9th, 1661.
(3) Diary, May 13th, 1660.
as entirely serious, disappeared from the attitude of post-
Restoration society. The change was not so sudden as it
might appear, for already in the last years of the Common-
wealth, signs of the coming lightness of attitude can be
discovered. A letter of Charles Lyttelton dated 1659 is
sufficiently significant of the spirit of a generation which
could tolerate so deliberate and callous a jilting of a noble
lover.

"Dearest Kytt,

I cannot possibly describe to you the humour
I am in at the writing of this letter. You may easily
guess it when I shall but begin to tell you my mrs
was married yesterday in ye afternoone to Sir Thomas
Rouse, I knowing nothing of it and as little suspecting
it when I came into her chamber this morning and found
him with her; and I am confident he that could have
guessed it from what I knew of her intentions but the
night before at eleven a clock must pretend to have
bine better skilled in her thoughts and desigens than
she was herself. How it was discovered first to mee
and my resentments is not for a letter discourse, when
they are soe apt to miscarry; but, in short, when shee
had told it mee after his sister (for I could not be-
lieve her), I swore and stormd, etc. But, in fine, I
chose another way, and, instead of quarrelling at that
any farther with could not be helped, I bore it like a
man and put her againe into his armes with all ye ex-
pressions of joy that a friend could have done, and
that with such an evenesse that I think I was no longer
suspected for a rival. I will not now tell you neither
what crying there has bine both before and since the
wedding, but I verily thinke there never was any like
it. How unworthily her sisters have dealt with mee I
am not able to tell you, and I have no mind they should
for the present perceive what my opinion is...........

Dearest Kytt, a dieul! I doe not thinke upon what has
happened. I ought [not] to count myself the more un-
happy, but strangely unfortunate; and see, as nothing
but an uncontroulable fate could have brought [it] upon
mee, I cannot thinke I am ye lesse obliged to you.

"Tam teneor domo, quam si dimittar omnustus."\(^1\)

This spirit of levity is one side of a wider change in
the mental outlook of the period 1640-30. The whole question
of love in marriage was regarded from a different angle be-
fore and after the Restoration. In the seventeenth century
marriages were nominally arranged by friends of the contract-
ing parties, who were sometimes too young to take any inter-
est in the matter. When Lady Grace Grenville, aged six,
made the eight-year-old grandson of Sir George Cartwright,
Sir Ralph Verney gently poked fun at the very young couple:

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(1) Hatton Correspondence, p.18-19.
"questionlesse they will carry themselves very gravely and love dearly."  

Less pleasant is the entry of Evelyn recording his presence in 1672 "at the marriage of Lord Arlington's onely daughter (a sweete child if ever there was any) to the Duke of Grafton, the King's natural son by the Dutchesse of Cleveland."  

The bride was at this time only five years old. Seven years later Evelyn was present at the re-marriage of the couple, "a sudden and unexpected thing, when everybody believed the first marriage would have come to nothing; but the measure being determin'd I was privately invited by my Lady, her mother, to be present. I confess I could give her little joy, and so I plainly told her, but she said the King would have it so, and there was no going back. This sweetest, hopefulllest, most beautifull child, and most vertuous too, was sacrific'd to a boy that had ben rudely bred, without anything to encourage them but his Majesty's pleasure."  

In cases such as these the parties concerned obviously had no say in the matter, but the marriage of "infants" was by no means the rule, and young people of an age of discretion seem in practice to have had the affair very much in their own hands. Lady Halkett's appears to have been a rather exceptional case of parental tyranny. She and Mr H. fell violently in love with one another when both very young. At the last interview at

(1) Varney Memoirs, Vol.IV, p.225. (1892)
(2) Evelyn's Diary, August 1st, 1672.
(3) Ibid, Nov. 6th, 1679.
which she actually saw him, "laing aside all former dis-
tance I had kept him att, I sat downe upon his knee, and lay-
ing my head near his I suffred him to kisse mee, wch was a
liberty I never gave before, nor had nott then had I nott
seen him so overcome with grieve." After this interview,
she was left "to the seaveritys of my offended mother, who
nothing could pacify. After she had called for mee, and
said as many bitter things as passion could dictate upon such
a subject, shee discharched mee to see him, and did solemnly
vow that if shee should heare I did see Mr H. shee would
turne mee outt of her doores, and never owne mee againe." 2
Her unkindness did not cease with the cause of it, for when
Mr H, subsequently married "my Lady E.M.," Anne's sensitive-
ness was not respected. "Nothing troubled mee more than my
mother's laughing att mee", is her painful record. 3  More
typical is Susan Verney, whose brother wanted her to marry
a gentleman who "has att the least 500 pound a year; he is
of my one oppinion, otherwise I should nott think of itt." 4

Sir Simonds D'Ewes, having secured the con-
sent of the lady who was to be his second wife, seemed to
think some apology due to her father, and was careful to
state that his first intention had been to approach him "to
prevent that undeserved calamitie which might else ensue to
your noble daughter and myselfe, if an Higher Hand should

(1) see p. 138
(2) Autobiography, p.9.
(3) Ibid, p.18.
vouchsafe a mutual affection between us (which hath been
since even beyond my hope affected,) and you should after-
wards disassert." 1 Sir John Bramston's cousin, Theodosia,
cannot fail of our sympathy in the opposition that she
successfully maintained against her father in refusing to
marry an individual who "coming to court her was sick in
her lap, which gave her such aversion to him that she re-
fused to see him when he came to Sceenes...... nor ever
would be brought to see him more, which was a great trouble
to her father." 2 Sir John himself is an example of flouted
parental control, and of the fact that such rebellion was
not necessarily followed by the traditional "cutting off
with a shilling". "The eldest, Moundford, married my
youngest daughter, Elizabeth, without my consent, yet I gave her 1100 pounds to her fortune. 3 Dorothy
Osborne's romance is a proof of the fact that family op-
position could be overcome by patient resolution, and it is
noticeable that at no time during her seven years' attach-
ment to Temple was there any attempt to force her into
marriage with one of her many eligible suitors. In 1679-80
the Saviles and the Sunderlands were both working for ad-
vantagous matches for the younger generation. Henry in
Paris suggested as a suitable match for his nephew a Huguenot
girl whose mother would give her a dowry of £25,000, and who
was pretty and "as modestly bred as I have ever seen." To

(1) Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes,
(3) Ibid, p.28.
my own knowledge (pray speak not of this,)" continued the
careful uncle, "my Ld and LV Sunderland have had thoughts
ever since their embassy of having this young woman for my
Ld Spencer, but whether they think her too old (being just
fourteen), or whether dancing on the high rope they hope
for a better fortune in England, or whether they keep him
for some minister's daughter in case of change to buy their
own interest, I will not guess."¹ Halifax replied that
financial and political considerations inclined him not to
favour this match, unless indeed "Harry himself had such a
liking for the person as might make him wish for my ap­
probation."²

All this is sufficient proof that throughout the
period 1640-30 parents and friends took it upon them to
arrange marriages unless the young people happened to pos­
sess decided views of their own, in which case the instinct
for liberty broke through conventional customs. Dictation
was permitted only where the match was a matter of indif­
ference. If anything, more freedom was allowed in the first
half of our period than in the second because the earlier
generation had a deeper belief in love. This belief was
not incompatible with that adherence to worldly prudence
which we have seen in the case of Dorothy Osborne. The
attitude of this generation is simple and straightforward,
and this is especially true of the women. It was regarded

¹ Seville Correspondence, p.141-2.
² Ibid, p.145.
as the natural state to love one's husband, and the inexperienced heart found itself ready to follow the lead of the unanalytic mind. The emotion once aroused was entirely genuine, as in the case of Cary Verney, who became a devoted wife to the husband whom she married at the age of fifteen. But the type of emotion was of the placid, not the passionate, order, and perhaps this accounts for the surprising frequency of re-marriage in the seventeenth century. Many of the twice- or thrice-bereaved married again, obviously for the sake of marrying, and seldom failed to induce a state of habitual and satisfying emotion. Sir Simonds D'Ewes lost his beloved first wife at the end of July 1641. He could not forgive himself for having left her, and wrote to his friends in overwhelming distress. Only a year later, treating for a second marriage, he wrote to the father of the lady, with a naïf reference to his love for his former wife: "My sad losse of a rare jewell, the sole inheritrice of a great and ancient family, will sufficientlie teach mee, if I wanted all just motives, how to prize and value such an inestimable treasure at a due rate."¹

Elenor Wortley married four times. Her second husband was the Earl of Sussex, and much older than herself. She writes of him in a tone of placid content; he is her "good old lord"; when their home is judged to be unsafe she stays by him and faces the dangers of war because he cannot be

¹ Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Vol.II. p.294.
moved; and just before his death she writes "he hath express
so much love and respecte to me all the time i have made
him, that truly I cannot but bee very hartily sensible of
his lose." Margaret Denton became first Margaret Pulteney,
and then, in 1639, made a wilful match with a Roman Catholic,
Colonel Eure, eventually consoling herself for his loss by
a third marriage, with a Mr. Philip Sherard. Young John
Verney, whose somewhat cold-blooded views on matrimony will
be quoted later, seems to have been ideally happy in each
of the three marriages which he ultimately contracted.

It would be a mistake to suppose that these simple-
minded folk had no experience of the "grande passion". A
young lady like Peg Eure could lay down in high-handed fash-
ion her requirements of a husband, that his father and mother
should be dead (for otherwise she would have to live with
them!) and that he should have served in the war on the same
side as her father. But she was at the time heart-whole
and that such scruples melted away at the touch of romance.

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(2) Ibid., Vol.I. p. 315. (1925)
is shown by her aunt Susan Denton's marriage. Captain
Jacomiah Abercomby was one of the besiegers of the house
of Susan's brother, and married his fair enemy two months
later, but the proposal must have been made almost simul-
taneously with the capture of the house, for he is spoken
of only three days later as her "new husband." A case of
love before first sight is the romantic attachment of John
Hutchinson and Lucy Apsley, part of which must be given in
her own words. She herself was away with her mother, actual-
ly on business connected with her probable marriage, when
Mr Hutchinson came to stay in a house where her younger sister
was also staying. She having the keys of her mother's house,
some half a mile distant, would sometimes ask Mr Hutchinson,
when she went over, to walk along with her. One day when he
was there, looking upon an odd by-shelf in her sister's
closet, he found a few Latin books; asking whose they were,
he was told they were her elder sister's; whereupon, in-
quiring more about her, he began first to be sorry she was
gone, before he had seen her, and gone upon such an account
that he was not likely to see her. Then he grew to love to
hear mention of her, and the other gentlewomen who had been
her companions used to talk much to him of her, telling him
how reserved and studious she was, and other things which
they esteemed no advantage. But it so much inflamed
Mr Hutchinson's desire of seeing her, that he began to
wonder at himself, that his heart, which had ever entertained

so much indifference for the most excellent of womankind, should have such strong impulses towards a stranger he never saw." A trick which caused him to believe that she was married threw him into such distress that he took to his bed, and when he discovered the truth, all his thoughts ran on the possibility of their meeting. When this actually took place, "in spite of all her indifference, she was surprised with some unusual liking in her soul when she saw this gentleman." The acquaintance thus promisingly begun, soon ripened into love, and though just before her arranged marriage she took smallpox which temporarily "made her the most deformed person that could be seen, for a great while after she recovered; yet he was nothing troubled at it, but married her as soon as she was able to quit the chamber, when the priest and all that saw her were affrighted to look on her."¹

The love between the two only strengthened and deepened through the troubled years of their married life, and the poignant account of the Colonel's dying charge and her observance of it shows how close was the bond between them.

"He left a kind message to his wife, 'Let her', said he, 'as she is above other women, show herself, in this occasion, a good Christian, and above the pitch of ordinary women.'"²

And so she begins her memoir of him in a proud and gallant spirit: "I that am under a command not to grieve at the common rate of desolate women, while I am studying which way

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¹ Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, pp.45-51.
had heard the Prince had received a packet from the East, to moderate my woe, and if it were possible to augment my love, can for the present find none more just to your dear father nor consolatory to myself than the preservation of his memory. The letters of Lady Conway have nothing of the placidly affectionate tone resulting from a marriage of mere respect or convenience. She addresses her husband as "Dearest Deare", and closes her letters with formulas such as the following: "I shall conclude that am most absolutely and eternally yours"; "most perfectly and eternally yours"; "I shall always remain entirely and eternally yours". The Foundling is given by Lady Fanshawe in her account of her early married life at Bristol. Other ladies of the company prided themselves on their knowledge of state affairs, and one Lady Rivers incited the young wife to discover the contents of a letter to her husband from the Queen. "I that was young and innocent, and to that day had never in my mouth what news, began to think there was more in inquiring into public affairs than I thought of, and that it being a fashionable thing would make me more beloved of my husband, if that had been possible, than I was. When my husband returned home from Council, after welcoming him, as his custom ever was he went with his handful of papers into his study for an hour or more; I followed him; he turned hastily and said, 'What wouldst thou have, my life?' I told him, I

(1) Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p.16.
(2) Add, MS. 23214.
had heard the Prince had received a packet from the Queen, and I guessed it was that in his hand, and I desired to know what was in it; he smilingly replied, 'My love, I will immediately come to thee, pray thee go, for I am very busy.' When he came out of his closet I revived my suit; he kissed me, and talked of other things. At supper I would eat nothing; he as usual sat by me, and drank often to me, which was his custom, and was full of discourse to company that was at table. Going to bed I asked again, and said I could not believe he loved me if he refused to tell me all he knew; but he answered nothing, but stopped my mouth with kisses. So we went to bed, I cried, and he went to sleep. Next morning early, as his custom was, he called to rise, but began to discourse with me first, to which I made no reply; he rose, came on the other side of the bed and kissed me, and drew the curtains softly and went to Court. When he came home to dinner, he presently came to me as was usual, and when I had him by the hand, I said, 'Thou dost not care to see me troubled'; to which he taking me in his arms, answered, 'My dearest soul, nothing upon earth can afflict me like that, and when you asked me of my business, it was wholly out of my power to satisfy thee, for my life and fortune shall be thine, and every thought of my heart in which the trust I am in may not be revealed, but my honour is my own, which I cannot preserve if I communicate the Prince's affair; and pray thee with this answer rest.
satisfied. ¹ This reply completely won his wife's heart. The relations between Lady Dorothy Sunderland and her young husband make equally pleasant reading. She wished to join him at Oxford, and he wrote: "I shall endeavour to provide you better lodgings at Oxford, and will be careful to furnish them according to your desire." ² And in the last letter he wrote to her, he tells her: "I have taken the best care I can about my economical affairs; I am afraid I shall not be able to get you a better house, everybody thinking me mad for speaking about it." ³

A poignant pair of letters attests the strength of mutual affection which supported husband and wife in deeply tragic circumstances. Mr Penruddock was a Royalist, beheaded by Cromwell's command in 1655. We have fortunately preserved the last letters that passed between him and his wife. Hers is given first:

"My Dear Heart," - My sad parting was so far from making me forget you, that I scarce thought upon myself since, but wholly upon you. Those dear embraces which I yet feel, and shall never lose, being the faithful testimonies of an indulgent husband, have charmed my soul to such a reverence of your remembrance, that were it possible, I would, with my own blood, cement your dead limbs to live again, and (with reverence) think it no sin to rob Heaven a little longer of a martyr. Oh! my

¹ Memoirs, pp.65-7.
² Ady, Saccharissa, p.96.
dear, you must now pardon my passion, this being my last (oh, fatal word!) that ever you will receive from me; and know, that until the last minute that I can imagine you shall live, I shall sacrifice the prayers of a Christian, and the groans of an afflicted wife. And when you are not (which sure by sympathy I shall know), I shall wish my own dissolution with you, that so we may go hand in hand to Heaven. 'Tis too late to tell you what I have done, or rather have not done for you; how being turned out of doors because I came to beg mercy; the Lord lay not your blood to their charge.

I would fain discourse longer with you, but dare not; passion begins to drown my reason, and will rob me of my devours, which is all I have left to serve you.

Adieu, therefore, ten thousand times, my dearest dear; and since I must never see you more, take this prayer,--

May your faith be so strengthened that your constancy may continue; and then I know Heaven will receive you; whither grief and love will in a short time (I hope) translate,

My dear,

Your sad but constant wife, even to love your ashes when dead,

Arundel Penruddock. May the 3rd, 1655, eleven o'clock at night. Your children beg your blessing, and present their duties to you.
Penruddock's last letter follows:

"Dearest Best of Creatures! I had taken leave of the world when I received yours: it did at once recall my fondness to life, and enable me to resign it. As I am sure I shall leave none behind me like you, which weakens my resolution to part from you, so when I reflect I am going to a place where there are none but such as you, I recover my courage. But fondness breaks in upon me; and as I would not have my tears flow tomorrow, when your husband, and the father of our dear babes, is a public spectacle, do not think meanly of me, that I give way to grief now in private, when I see my sand run so fast, and within a few hours I am to leave you helpless, and exposed to the merciless and insolent that have wrongfully put me to a shameless death, and will object the shame to my poor children. I thank you for all your goodness to me, and will endeavour so to die as to do nothing unworthy that virtue in which we have mutually supported each other, and for which I desire you not to repine that I am first to be rewarded, since you ever preferred me to yourself in all other things, afford me, with cheerfulness, the precedence of this. I desire your prayers in the article of death; for my own will then be offered for you and yours.

J. Penruddock."1

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1 Scoones, Four Centuries of English Letters, p.114-5.
We have noticed that the normal tendency of this period was to a simplicity of emotional outlook which did not preclude deep feeling. In Court circles, however, there was besides another and quite contrary tendency. Henrietta Maria succeeded in introducing a fantastic and elaborate emotional theory from France and in maintaining it in a flourishing condition for a considerable number of years. It resulted in a group of highly-strung "friendships", in which there was supposedly no taint of the material, and which expressed themselves in high-flown sentiments and plaintive demands for proofs of a superlative devotion. The hold obtained by this theory over the minds of Society is proved by its persistence throughout the period of Civil War, and its characteristic exemplification in the post-Restoration correspondence of the "matchless Orinda". This was the "Platonic" name of Katherine Philips, in accordance with the rule that every member of the society should bear a flowery name. The bond of friendship could be as close between members of the same sex as between man and woman; marriage was despised, and a kinship of souls was the ideal. Unfortunately, human nature sometimes proved too weak to sustain such lofty heights, and the dear friend submitted to the contemptible yoke of matrimony. In 1662, when "Lucasie" married, Orinda wrote that she herself "of all the company was out of humour, - nay, I was vexed to that degree that I could not disquise my concern, which many of them were surprised to see, and
spoke to me of it; but my grief was too deeply rooted to be cured with words."¹ Orinda left Poliarchus in no doubt as to her sentiments: "I can say no more, my time is so little, and my Grief so great; but whithersoever that transports me, tho' even to my Grave, I beseech you to get the victory over yours, and be assured that I am to my last Gasp, etc."² Her wishes for her friend's married happiness were amusingly lugubrious: "As for Lucasia, why should we be more concerned for her than she is for herself."³ "I see no alteration in her Husband's Humour or Mien, but in my opinion he behaves himself more despotically towards her than becomes him....... She pretends to be the most satisfy'd Creature in the world."⁴

The straightforward style of such effusions may be compared with that of "the earliest prose composition"⁵ of Dryden, a love-letter which is sufficiently interesting to be quoted in full.

"To the faire hands of Madame Honor Dryden these

My madame, I have enclosed a lover your's to the fairest hands of a person to sure you of my esteem. Cambridge, May 23, 1655.

Madame,

If you have received the lines I sent by the reverend Levite, I doubt not but you have exceedingly wrought upon you; for being so longe in a clergymen's

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¹ Letters of Orinda to Poliarchus (ed.Lintott) p.41.
² Ibid, p.44.
³ Ibid, p.43.
⁴ Ibid, p.48.
pocket, assuredly they have acquired more sanctity than their author meant them. Alas, Madame: for ought I know, they may become a sermon ere they could arrive at you; and believe it, having you for the text, it could scarcely prove bad, if it light upon one that could handle it indifferently. But I am so miserable a preacher, that though I have so sweet and copious a subject, I still fall short in my expressions; and instead of an use of thanksgiving, I am always making one of comfort, that I may one day again have the happiness to kiss your faire hand; but that is a message I would not so willingly do by letter, as by word of mouth.

This is a point, I must confess, I could willingly dwell longer on; and in this case whatever I say you may confidently take for gospel. But I must hasten. And indeed, Madame (*beloved* I had almost said,) hee had need hasten who treats of you; for to speak fully to every part of your excellencyes, requires a longer hour than most persons (*= persons*) have allotted them. But, in a word, your selfe hath been the best expositor upon the text of your own worth, in that admirable comment you wrote upon it; I means your incomparable letter. By all that's good (and you, Madame, are a great part of my oath,) it hath put mee so farre besides my selfe, that I have scarce patience to write prose, and my pen is
stealing into verse every time I kiss your letter. I am sure the poor paper smarts for my idolatry; which by wearing it continually near my breast, will at last be burnt and martyr'd in those flames of adoration which it hath kindled in mee. But I forget, Madame, what rarityes your letter came fraught with, besides words. You are such a deity that commands worship by providing the sacrifice. You are pleased, Madame, to force me to write by sending me materials, and compell me to my greatest happiness. Yet, though I highly value your magnificent presents, pardon mee, if I must tell the world they are imperfect emblems of your beauty; for the white and red of waxe and paper are but shadowes of that vermillion and snow in your lips and forehead; and the silver of the inkhorne, if it presume to vye whitenesse with your purer skinne, must confesse it selfe blacker then the liquor it contains. What then do I more then retrieve your own gifts, and present you with that paper, adulterated with blotts, which you gave spotlesse?

'For, since 'twas mine, the white hath lost its hiew, To show 'twas h'ere it selfe, but whilst in you: The virgin waxe hath blusht itselfe to red, Since it with mee hath lost its maidenhead. You, fairest nymph, are waxe: oh! may you bee As well in softness, as in purity! Till fate and your own happy choice reveale Whom so farre shall blesse, to make your seal!
Fairest Valentine, the unfeigned wishe of your humble votary.

Jo. Dryden.

Though this letter is dated 1655, the young Dryden is of a new school in love. Malone feels that the letter needs some defence. "It is but just to add," he says, "that for this cluster of forced conceits, and the indelicacy of one of the images, the age, rather than the writer, is answerable. Such conceits were at that time not merely pardoned, but admired; and with the allusion no reader of either sex, however fastidious, was likely to be offended." But the conceits and flowery compliments, though significant of the age, are also indicative of a lack of passion. The letter is a love-letter, but the writer is conscious chiefly of his own ingenuity. In this, Dryden is a forerunner of the post-Restoration generation, to whom deep feeling became a thing of suspicion, and for whom the simplicity of love became complicated by restless uncertainty or cynical disbelief. The sense of instability which haunted the reign of Charles II had its effect in the emotional as well as in the political sphere. Human nature was felt to be fickle and human emotions to be fleeting and incalculable. All emotion necessarily became more transient, because jaded, and, as we have seen, under constant artificial stimulation. Dryden's letter may be compared with the effusion of a bored young

man, written at the other end of our period, in 1679:

"Dear Cousin,

The continual motions of speedy time having compiled together such a numerous catalogue of dayes, and weekes, and monthes, since you were pleased to give me the occasion of rejoicing at the sight of a line or two from you.... and yet Cousin still continue like a ship sayled without a rudder, tossed up and downe by ye ebbs and flowings of unsteddy fortune, sometimes invited by ye pleasing smiles of a charming face to cast anchor, and ye againe driven of by ye angry stormes of displeasure and forced to set my selfe upon ye stream. With such perplexities young men's thoughts are often troubled. experientia docet. yet hope shall one time or other, though not yet, get my selfe into a secure harbour of quiet, and content. But suppose that I shall spend this summer in som part of ye world abroad (if it please God to bless me with life and health) resolving not to live at home as hitherto I have, where nothing of advantage, nor but little of content can be found."

The years which had elapsed between the dates of these two letters had seen the development of a disillusioned spirit, uncertain alike of itself and of others. Love became a transitory passion, to be seized and enjoyed while it lasted, but not to be regarded as the motive force of a

lifetime. So there arose a flippant mockery of love, exemplified by Elizabeth Bodville, who wrote in merry vein: "My Lord Middleeex is like to die of the small pox; and Mrs Crue is like to run quite mad, for she was but 3 quarters mad before. I am to be married to my Lord Lichfield, and Mrs Shruby is to have my Lord of Worwicke, hee might bee a widde within a very short time, for hee had like to have made a sivilretreat the other night, but that God spares him still for a better intent, which is, to have mee, for all I am to be marrid. But I shall save the person a labor and have nobody, which is best; without I can have him, that I may not bee troubled long with him." Marriage tended to be regarded as a convenience, social or financial, with which love had little to do. Halifax in all seriousness suggested to his daughter that as she would probably find herself married to a man whom she could neither love nor respect, she must be prepared to forego all dreams of romance, and take advantage of his faults and follies to establish her own position in his household. John Verney, the prosperous young merchant home from abroad, wrote of marriage thus: "If ever I settle in the way of marriage, I am certain the first proffers are best and at a man's first coming from Turky, for then estates are least known and rumours run high." When approached in 1674 by a Mr Edwards, he commented: "He is a rich man computed worth 10,000 l. so that if I can

(1) Hatton Correspondence, p.13.
skrew him up a little higher I know no reason, if the match be consonant to your will but that I may have her." Mr Edwards then walked his daughter in Drapers' Gardens, so that John might see if there were anything "disgustfull" in her. The would-be husband criticised dispassionately; he found her "a passable handsome woman, and her father able if he be but willing to give her money enough." Sir Ralph, John's father, then mentioned his Cousin Jefferyes, and the young man replied that he did not know of her existence, "but if his friends will propose certaintyes, I'le step down to see her." He was nevertheless satisfied with the prospects held out by Edwards, "considering if withall I marry one that hath no father, her cloaths at wedding, etc. must all be paid out of the portion, and some people require so much expense in wooing and treating, carrying up and downe to playes, etc. that tho' they bring more smoke yet (in the end) there is less roast found." This cold-blooded wooing came to nothing, and John's marriage eight years later was a more romantic affair.

That there were love-matches as romantic and as successful in this second half of our period as in the first is undeniable. One brief and idealistic marriage seems to have excited the admiration even of contemporary frivolous circles. Margaret Blagge, Maid of Honour and devoutest of souls, fell in love, with all the earnestness of which such a character

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was capable, with Sidney Godolphin. For many months she refused on conscientious grounds to marry him, unable to make up her mind as to her vocation for the religious life. At last she gave way, and three years of perfect union were crowned by her early death. "She died", says Evelyn, "in the 26th year of her age, to the inexpressible affliction of her dear husband and all her relatives, but of none in the world more than of myself, who lost the most excellent and inestimable friend that ever liv'd."

The romantic marriage of Richard Baxter with his young and ardent disciple, Margaret Charlton, after both had gone through agonies of doubt as to its expediency, bears its justification in the following letter of the great teacher:

"Dear heart, the time of our mutual help is short; let us use it accordingly; but the time of our reaping the fruit of this and all holy endeavours and preparatory mercies will be endless.... The Lord forgive my great unprofitableness and the sin that brought me under any disabilities to answer your earnest and honest desire of greater help than I can afford you, and help me yet to amend it towards you. But though my soul be faulty and dull, and my strength of nature fail, be sure that He will be a thousandfold better to thee, even here, than such crooked, feeble, useless things as thy R.B."

(1) Diary, Sept. 9th, 1673.
(2) Quoted by Dowden, Puritan and Anglican, p.221.
Slighter as evidence, but very human and a pleasant con­trast to the brilliant sophistication of such as Elizabeth Bodvile, is the charming picture of Mary Abell, who "weares
the ring Mr Verney gave her openly"¹, before there was a
definite engagement between her and Edmund, and who with
her friends, "made themselves merry at Valentines day in
drawing Valentines, and very unwilling she was to be brought
to draw..... for feare she should not draw you. But being
persuaded to it at last she ventured, and they say very
fairly happened on you to her great satisfaction."²

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that such
examples of love-matches as we have quoted stand out as
exceptions to the general tendency towards flippancy in
love and business-like worldliness in marriage. The very
methods adopted by young people to break down barriers in
the way of their marriage differ in motive in® period:
Mary Boyle seems to have forced her father's consent to her
marriage by taking her unpopular suitor as her lover before­
hand, but at least her motive was to ensure her union with
the man she loved.³ Mary Lloyd, neé Verney, brought dis­
grace upon her family and shame to herself, but at least
she thought herself to be in love. But Lady Alethea Compton
in 1677 had no such motive, nor, so far as one can see, any
reason for her methods except a desire for notoriety. The
story is given in a letter of Lady Elizabeth Berkeley:

¹ Verney Memoirs, Vol.IV. p.17. (1892)
² Ibid, Vol.IV. p.32. (1892)
³ See Add. MS. 27,357, Specialties in the life of Mary
Countess of Warwick (an autobiography).
"I believe they have not acquainted you with Lady Alethea's privet wedding last Tuesday. Mrs Katherine Grey call her out upon the pretence of going to a play, but with her own consent, carried her to Sir Edward Hungerford's, wher she was married to his eldest son whom she had never seen but thrice. She did not acquaint her father nor any of her friends or relations, who I think are more angry at the proceeding than at the match, for he is a very considerable fortune and a handsome man."\(^1\)

Another incident of the same kind, though slightly more reasonable, has a mundane and sordid ring about it. The gossip this time is Henry Savile, the date 1677:

"Mrs Colombine is marry'd to one Mr Marberry, who has £1300 per. ann. in Cheshire, but the method she took in it was something extraordinary; for she suffered herself to be lugg'd out of her coach at 10 of clock at night, and thrust into a hackney which galloped towards Kensington with 10 horsemen with swords drawn, she crying murder all the while; but before she came to Knightsbridge she consented to return and marry quietly: so that an hour after her aunt had been with me the next morning, to get all the ports stopt to discover this ravisher, she sent for her to come and see her in bed with her dear husband, and is found to have been consenting from the beginning, and played this trick only to avoid further engaging her fortune, as she had already done something at the importunity of this aunt, who is now wholly

\(^{1}\) Hatton Correspondence, p.143.
defeated, and ready to hang herself."1

As the artificial code of a brilliant society hardened, the tendency to deride emotion and to consider its display as "bad form" grew stronger. We have seen that the post-Restoration period disliked and distrusted enthusiasm of any kind. Emotion went out of fashion, and superficiality became the rule. The close of our period is the period of Congreve, and the artificial tone now prevalent developed into the spirit of "The Way of the World". Of this play, a recent writer says: "A temporary whim in the career of Shakespeare's Beatrice becomes conventionalised into the governing temper of Millamant's life..... Millamant could not exist in society without her affectations..... Millamant's very flippancies are charged with meaning. It is plain that her excessive gaiety is forced. She talks very fast, and is afraid of pauses, fearful lest the realities of love may somehow rudely intrude upon the pretty decorum of this 'beau monde'. The social mode makes no allowance for the sympathies of lovers." Millamant wishes "to remain in appearance imperious, brilliant, heartless, the finest of fine ladies."2

It is the triumph of good form, and it is the early stages of this process that we have seen in the attitude of our period to the emotion of love.

Ordinary family affection was strong, though not demonstrative, throughout our period. Family relationship

(1) Savile Correspondence, p.48.
(2) Lynch, Social Modes of Restoration Comedy, p.204.
seems to have been felt as a very close and binding tie, and its influence was far-reaching. When Cary Gardiner heard that Sir Roger Burgoyne was urging the plundering of her Royalist brother-in-law's house, she appealed to her own brother, Sir Roger's greatest friend, to use his influence on behalf of an enemy, for the sake of the family connection.\(^1\) Circumstances necessarily limited the circle of marriageable acquaintances, and families tended to become connected by inter-marriage. The practice of early marriages, and the usual large families led to complicated relationships. Thus Saccharissa, mother of Lord Sunderland and mother-in-law of Halifax, was also sister to Henry Sidney, but Sidney, the youngest of a large family, was of the same age as his nephew Sunderland, and apparently saw nothing incongruous in making love to that nephew's wife. This fact is indicative of a slight weakening of ties in the second half of our period. With general laxity in other directions, the duty of family loyalty seems to have lost some of its force, and Sunderland himself made no effort to save his uncle, Algernon Sidney, from the block. In less exalted circles, individuals even in these later days clung to the belief that "blood is thicker than water". Edmund Verney helped his highwayman cousin Dick Hals in many an emergency, and on one of these occasions Sir Ralph himself was appealed to for the loan of one of his "whitest wigs" "to help away a friend."\(^2\) Evasion of the law

\(^1\) Verney Memoirs, Vol.I, p.246. (1925)
\(^2\) Ibid, Vol.IV, p.300. (1892)
was justified by the relationship, although such justification appears to have been regarded as unimportant. The general attitude at this time to the "gentlemen of the road" appears to have been that of John Verney in 1679: "'Tis great pity such men should be hanged." The fact was that such men frequently belonged to old and respectable families, and kept up their traditions by a debonair courage which won them on their own merits the sympathy which had already been touched by the fact of relationship. As late as 1685 it is recorded of a distinguished judge that, having been obliged to sentence an old companion for highway robbery, he visited him and enquired after the rest of their mutual friends. The reply is characteristic of the urbane humour of such gentlemen: "They are all hanged now but myself and your lordship."2

Various private letters of no intrinsic importance are of interest as expressing the natural affection felt for one another by members of the same family. Sir Symonds D'Ewes's sister Grace seems to have been a warm-hearted, impulsive woman, not in the least ashamed of putting her affection into words, and thereby affording to posterity a vivid glimpse of a very attractive personality. In her handwriting she breaks out thus to her adored brother: "Oh how happy are all my other sisters in being so near your much desired self which I may not hope for untill our perfectting in heaven."3

(2) Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 516. (1892)
(3) Harl. Ms. 352, p. 150.
To her sister she writes:

"Most noble sister,
I dare not omit this blest opportunity of saluting your vertuous selfe whose absence is no is the small cecropes in this our aseare, your unparaleeled his discorse to myselfe being one continuated Paradise and let your pleasing StoW the best of freedoms to all your a po frinds. It glads me to here yrselfe end our sister as Pocly will goe to Busbridg, where I shall truly wish you many millymons of pleasure. As for myselfe I shall stree not this summer goe neythor to Brumly nor Boxted. I ject may freely convey my boundles loves and respect to a selfe and my prudent Brother. My commends to all

Your boundles well wishing sisster

Grace Bokenham."¹

Some MS letters of 1652 from "Ann and Jane Morton" to their brother, help to fill out a picture of happy family life and of normal family affection enduring through outwardly disturbed times. The sisters always write a joint letter, but it is sometimes in one handwriting and sometimes in the other. The first of the letters has a very feminine postscript: "Cate Ward much desires to heare what hopes she may have of a gowne, for this is out at elboes." Another begins with a gentle sisterly rebuke: "Deare brother, This

¹ Harl. MS. 332, p.144.
is the third time we write to you since you went and by the Wednesday post sent up a bill of exchange for you to receive a pound." After some business remarks, the letter continues: "inquire for your letters at my cousin Tucks, wherein is the bill of exchange", an excellent device for ensuring his attention to his sisters' correspondence! In a third letter they say that they are sending some brawn, and add a postscript: "my father desires to have some tobacco so soon as you can the carriage of the brawn is paid for."

During the period 1640-60, family ties were all the stronger for the abnormal strain to which they were subjected. The Verney family seem to have remained united in affection throughout the vicissitudes which separated them physically and politically. Strained nerves and intolerably trying conditions at one time brought about a coolness between Sir Ralph and Dorothy Lecke, yet for the most part their attitude seems to have been that suggested by the exile's touching request to his faithful cousin to "write and write and write again, and never give over writing till one of your letters come with safety to your affectionate servant." He and his friend Lady Barrymore exchanged the title of "enemy" in humorous affection. When the Royalist Sir Alexander Denton died, Sir Ralph wrote of his grief in the loss of so true a friend, and contrasted their staunch

(1) Add. MS. 33937.
(2) Verney Memoirs, Vol.I. p.309. (1925)
affection with the "totall decay of freindship and common honesty" from which he has suffered at other hands. His relations with his brother Edmund were the most poigniant of all. Edmund wrote from Ireland, severely condemning his elder brother's political choice. Ralph was in the thick of the trouble consequent upon his father's death, and left the letter unanswered. Many letters miscarried; all were opened unless sent by private hand; and Edmund became sick at heart at the apparent estrangement. Eventually communication was re-established, and when Edmund prepared to leave Ireland, he in his turn assured his brother of his constant love: "though I come with ass mortal a dislike to those you wish too well to, ass any man that shall come over, yet I pray be assured that I have ass much affection towards you ass any freinde you have." When he received this letter, Ralph was preparing for exile in France, and replied thus characteristically: "sweet Brother, let your breath and mine be spent in praiers for Peace, and thoufÿi it be denied us in this world, hereafter wee may find it." It is sad to record that this letter never arrived to cheer the gallant young soldier.

These extracts give an impression, which is borne out by other writers, that the period 1640-80 was marked by vehement hatreds only amongst the extremists. The militant

saints hated their enemies with an energy which they felt to be righteous, but which rings with an alien fierceness. When Hodgson prefaces a list of enemy casualties with the triumphant statement that "God appeared wonderfully for us that morning, in delivering us and in destroying our enemies", we feel that his lack of humour, his vindictive certainty of the Lord's condemnation of the other party, and his exultation over their losses, are diametrically opposed to the normal English tradition. That this tradition was characteristic of the nation as a whole, even at this period, is abundantly evident. We have noticed it in Edmund Verney's remarks on the proper treatment of prisoners of war; we hear it in the generous statement of Captain Gardiner: "I am persuaded that Conscience hath much to do on both sides, which though it may chance to be Erroneous yett ought to be respected." Rous in 1642 testifies to the generous willingness of the moderate Parliamentarian to make excuse for the King and allowance even for some of his party. He quotes an interesting set of verses, simply headed "In October I received these:

"For if by force of arms the King prevails,
He is invited to a tyrannie;
But if, by strength of Parliament, he faileth,
We heape continuall warres upon posteritie.

Then he that is not for accommodation
Loves neither God, nor Church, nor King, nor Nation.

These verses, I believe", he continues, "were made before the Earl of Essex went forth, and may be conceived

(2) Verney Memoirs, Vol.I. p.245. (1925)
to be a secret taxing of the Parliament, for arming of men against the King, when he protested not to intend warre with the King, or being in the same place, and that all against the Parliament. Indeed if the Parliament had not sufficient grounds of a contrary practise, by the Malignant side with the King appeareing at Hull and elsewhere, they had deserved to be taxed; yet it was little witte in the composer to taxe that high court, and further what knavery was in it

I leave to be judged by others. I conceive (as the Parliament) that his Majesty is abused, and I conceive of the Malignant party (some at the least) as of cheaters that desire to be believed, till they have fully galled the fool they have in handling."¹ Lucy Hutchinson, a violent partisan, gives her enemies their due: "The cavaliers marched in with such terror to the garrison, and such gallantry, that they startled not when one of their leading files fell before them all at once, but marched boldly over the dead bodies of their friends, under their enemies' cannon, and carried such valiant dreadfulness about them, as made very courageous stout men recoil."² A significant entry in the Diary of Richard Symonds suggests that an attitude of generosity to the foe was general amongst officers in the Army, but was much less prevalent in the ranks. On September 1st, 1644 Major Skippon in Cornwall asked for terms from the King, and accepted the conditions, involving the withdrawal of his army and the surrender of its munitions. Symonds gives

¹ Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p.164-5.
² Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p.164-5.
a detailed account of the withdrawal. "The King himself ridd about the field and gave strict command to his chief officers to see that none of the enemy were plundered, and that all his soldiers should repair to their colours which were in the adjoining closes. Yet, notwithstanding our officers with their swords drawn did perpetually beat off our foot, many of them lost their hats, etc. Yet most of them escaped this danger till they came to Listithiel, and there the people inhabitants and the country people plundered some of their officers and all, notwithstanding a sufficient party of horse was appointed by his Majesty to be their convoy. They all, except here and there an officer (and seriously I saw not above three or four that looked like a gentleman,) were strucken with such a dismal fear, that as soon as their colour of the regiment was past, (for every ensigne had a horse and rid on him and was so suffered,) the rout of soldiers of that regiment pressst all of a heape like sheep, though not so innocent. So dury and so dejected as was rare to see. None of them, except some few of their officers, that did looke any of us in the face. Our foot would flowt at them and bid them remember Reading, Greenland House (where others that did not condition with them tooke them away all prisoners), and many other places, and then would pull their swords, etc., away, for all our officers still alasht at them. The rebels told us as they passst that our officers and gentlemen carried themselves honourably, but they were hard dealt withall by the common soldjers." 1

Though in this passage the chivalry of the cultured "officers and gentlemen" is in marked contrast to the less generous attitude of the soldiery, the feeling by which these latter were actuated was obviously not hatred. It was rather a malicious contempt for untrained troops whose quality was unequal to their own. The fact that those troops were their own countrymen accounts for the maliciousness. In a Civil War bitterness is inevitable, and if it was felt even among affectionate brothers and sisters, would the uneducated fighting ranks be able to escape it? There was a general feeling, largely justified in the first years of the war, that the enemy's military quality was as feeble as his cause was disgraceful. Symonds elsewhere voices the prevalent attitude when he remarks that "they were such cowards and so fearfull that eight..... would make twenty cry for quarter." That such men should be in arms at all was matter for contempt, while the bitter nature of the struggle itself could not fail to arouse rancour.

The same kind of spirit persisted after the Restoration. The general feeling seems to have been that oblivion was the safest and most comfortable course. There were singularly few reprisals, and the most violent emotions that remained were sullen acquiescence on the one hand and tolerant contempt on the other. Hodgson's "Account of the Troubles that befell me, after the month of October 1660, about my Imprisonment" well illustrates the state of affairs. One

(1) Diary, p.65.
old enemy threatened him, with the typical remark: "The sun now shines on our side of the hedge." Hodgson seems to have felt the justice of the retort, though his own attitude was "that the business was over, and that it was not seasonable to rip into old troubles." On another occasion, "a party of horse came to my house, commanded by Mr Peebles; and he told me, he was come for my arms, and I was to deliver them to him. I asked him for his order. He told me, he had a better order than Oliver used to give; and clapping his hand upon his sword-hilt, he said that was his order."  

The outbursts of popular hatred at the times of the Popish or Rye House Plots, or the execution of Algernon Sidney, were indicative of the uneasy and overwrought state of the public mind. They were a legacy from the bitterness of Civil War, but were not representative of the general and normal national tone at the time. Restoration England was too casual and too lazy to indulge in the business of serious hatred. Evelyn comments with vigour enough upon the vengeance taken on the bodies of the Regicides, but it is in a tone of philosophic detachment rather than of virulent hatred.

"This day (O the stupendious and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcasses of those arch rebels Cromwell, Bradshaw the Judge who condemn’d his Majestie, and Ireton scion-in-law to ye Usurper, dragg’d out of

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their superb tombs in Westminster among the kings to Tyburne, and hang'd on the gallows there from 9 in ye morning till 6 at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators. Look back at Nov. 22, 1658 (Oliver's funeral) and be astonish'd! and feare God and honor ye King; but meddle not with them who are given to change!\(^1\)

That the details of this ceremony were influenced by political malice as well as by political and moral necessity cannot be doubted and spite and malice are very characteristic of the post-Restoration period. Hodgson's enemies not only deprived him of arms found in his house, but robbed him of a buff coat, saying that "it was too good for me to keep."\(^2\)

At a certain trial, Sir John Bramston, on the Bench, took exception to Mildmay's disrespectful allusions to the old divine, Dr Michelson, and added some home truths on Mildmay's general conduct. "This", he says, "is the truth, and the ground of his malice, and he immediately vowed revenge, as my Lord Fitzwalter told me."\(^3\) The result of this quarrel was a lengthy and complicated lawsuit, Mildmay accusing Bramston of Popery and even suborning witnesses to prove his case, so that Sir John records that Charles II "would say, after Oates his plott was on foot, that the Popish Plott begann upon Sir John Bramston."\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Diary, Jan. 30th, 1661.
\(^2\) Hodgson, Memoirs, p.179.
\(^3\) Autobiography, p.123.
On the whole, then, it would be fair to claim that hatred was not a prevalent feature of our period, except amongst extremists; that during the Civil War there are distinct signs of generosity towards the opposing side; but that vindictiveness increased during the years 1640-80 as a natural result of the bitter strife in the first half of the period.

The relationship of parent to child throughout the period 1640-80 is interesting. Its most striking characteristic is its freedom. There were limits to the indulgence of the parent; for instance, Sir Ralph Verney was seriously displeased when his son John wanted to know, reasonably enough, how much he was likely to leave him; but within those very wide limits existed that relation of affectionate comradeship which is sometimes regarded as a much more modern development. It is true that the same John Verney used an abject phrase when he lamented that his father was "a little displeased with your worms for desiring to be an apprentice"; and that his brother in 1682 wrote to his own young son "I thought you no lesse than a young Sainte, But now to my Greife perceive that you are growing very fast to be an old Devill." But these severities of expression do not imply a stern and reserved parenthood on the one hand, and a repressed and timid if respectful childhood on the other. Any such idea would be dispelled by the following charming epistle from Ralph and Mary Verney's ten-year-old son, who was being brought up in

(2) Ibid, Vol.IV, p.220. (1892)
exile in France, and who in much later years addressed the
stinging rebuke quoted on p.268 to his own "old Devill".
When he wrote his French effusion (1647), his mother had
just given birth to a baby in England, and he addresses her
thus:— "he supposed Tommy on any such kind of stuff was
fit for "Madame ma bonne mère. Milie ma soeur est extrêmement
courtoisée contre vous par ce que vous avez eu un garçon
et non pas une fille. Je prie continuellement pour
vous comme mon devoir me le commande. Vous baiserez
pour moi Mon. mon petit frère, Milie ma soeur vous baise
humblement les mains quoique vous l'ayez grandement
desobligeé; envoie nous de vos bonnes nouvelles, vous
nous obligerez extrêmement, et moi particulièrement qui
demeurera éternellement comme je suis, Madame ma bonne
mère, votre plus humble serviteur et fils." 

This same Edmund married the Mary Abell of whom we had
a pretty glimpse as she drew him for her Valentine, (p.354),
and the promise of a happy married life was soon clouded by
a distressing form of insanity which periodically attacked
the young wife. They had several children, to whom Edmund
had to be father and mother in one. The following letter
written by his servant at his order pathetically suggests
his relations with the children and his intimate care for
their needs: "His wants a nupper coate, and I have here
inclosed a measure taken by a Tayler. She also wants a Petty

(2) Ibid. Vol.IV. p.318. (1892)
(3) Ibid. Vol.XII. p.313. (1928)
(4) Letters of Lady Roswell, p.56.
Coate or two, and a couple of frocks, my Mr. understands not the fashions of collar (colour) or stuff; therefore he leaves those things to you, but he doth not think Silk so proper for so little a child, and therefore is unwilling to goe to the cost, he supposes Tammey or sum such kind of stuff most fitt for her and genteel, my Mr. desires you to enquire what sort of Linen Sutes such children ware and send him word.¹

A letter from one of these children to his grandfather may be quoted as a further example of pleasant family relations:

"Honour'd Sir, — I and my brother present our most humble dutys unto you; and my sister presents hers alsse; and I have sent you a small present which I doe humbly beseech you to accept of, which is a few Puddins."²

Less pleasant, but equally indicative of a free-and-easy state of affairs is the account of Peg Cure, who, when her marriage was debated in 1657, gave her mother "10 words for one".³

Lady Russell's relations with her children can be gathered from the constant references to them in her letters to their father. She must have spent half of her time in the nursery, and allusions such as the following constantly occur: "Miss Rachel has prattled a long story...... she says, papa has sent for her to Wobee (Woburn), and then she gallops and says she has been there, and a great deal more."⁴

No doubt the family atmosphere developed naturally, and "methods" of upbringing were unsystematised and instinctive,

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¹ Verney Memoirs, Vol.IV. p.176. (1892)
² Ibid, Vol.IV. p.218. (1892)
⁴ Letters of Lady Russell, p.36.
but a great deal of sound thinking on the subject must have
gone to the formation of Halifax's reasoned theory: "You must
begin early to make them love you, that they may obey you.....
The first thoughts of your children will have no small mix-
ture of mutiny; which being so natural you must not be angry,
except you would increase it. You must deny them as seldom
as you can, and when there is no avoiding it you must do it
gently; you must flatter away their ill humour and take the
next opportunity of pleasing them in some other thing before
they either ask or look for it. This will strengthen your
Authority, by making it soft to them, and confirm their obed-
ience by making it their interest..... Let them be more in
awe of your kindness than of your Power..... You are to live
so with them that they may never chuse to avoid you except
when they have offended, and then let them tremble that they
may distinguish. But their penance must not continue so long
as to grow too sour upon their stomachs, that it may not
harden instead of correcting them. The kind and severe parts
must have their several turns reasonably applied, but your
indulgence is to have the broader mixture, that Love rather
than Fear, may be the root of their obedience. Modern
theories of upbringing go little further than this. It does
not appear that children were over-indulged, any more than
that they were harshly repressed. Sir Ralph Verney in his
grief at the loss of his little daughter, testifies to a
judicious restraint of his fondness during her lifetime: "I

(1) Advice to a Daughter, pp.79-82.
even concealed what passion I had for her, and rather appeared to neglect her, least our over fondnesse should spoyle her, or make the others jellous; but I must needs say, I loved her at least equall too (if not above) any child I had, and truly she deserved it, for there was never a better, nor more patient Babby borne.\(^1\) The balance between indulgence and repression seems to have been remarkably well kept. Children were less shielded from the knowledge of sorrow than they are to-day. A child of five was put into mourning for his grandmother, and deprived of the coat of sky-blue figured satin intended for an Easter present by his godmother.\(^2\) Calamy records that as a child he saw Pickering, Ireland and Grove going to execution, and has vivid memories of being sent to Newgate with gifts of money to imprisoned dissenting ministers.\(^3\) Responsibility was shirked neither by the child on its own behalf, nor by the parent out of tenderness for the child. Lady Fanshawe in her childhood was a tomboy, "but upon my mother's death, I then began to reflect, and, as an offering to her memory, I flung away those childnesses that had formerly possessed me, and by my father's command, took upon me charge of his house and family, which I so ordered by my excellent mother's example as found acceptance in his sight."\(^4\) This heavy charge was laid upon her at the age of fifteen.

\(^1\) Verney Memoirs, Vol.I. p.315. (1925)
\(^2\) Ibid, Vol.II. p.316. (1892)
\(^3\) Life of Calamy, Vol.I. pp 84 and 83.
\(^4\) Memoirs, p.54.
As the children grew older, the attitude of sympathetic adviser seems to be the general form taken by the care of the parent. Tom Browne was evidently homesick when he started on his travels abroad, and his father sent him frequent advice to keep his spirits up. One letter begins:

"Honest Tom,

I was very glad to receive your letters dated July the 13th but I hope by this time thou art not so mallenoholy as you seem to be, hold out a little, diffuse thy spirits, and trust in God’s protection."¹

Sir Roger Twysden was a model father in his attitude to his son’s choice of a profession and in his endeavour to supply means for the son’s further academic distinction, even though he himself had little sympathy with this ambition. "You must now study Greek and other thing", he writes in 1665, "that you may make yourself fit for any employment at home or abroad, though I do not believe thou wilt ever bee fit for other than a University, where I long to see thee a fellow." Charles Twyaden decided to practise medicine, and in 1669 his father wrote: "Though I do not know what good it can doe you being Master of Arts, yet because of your desire I have writ up to my brother Jack to see if he bee able to procure my Lord of Ormond’s letters for you. Now certanyly with out you intend to live allways there, it can be no use the being Master of Arts for what advantage can you reap by it if you study physick?........ I have written in my last what I am able to


doe for thee, to which I have yet no answer, and you must seeke to improve that, for really I am able to doe no more.\textsuperscript{1}

We have preserved the letter of a mother anxious for the welfare of her student son, which shows the same spirit of friendly care rather than stern parental control. Grace Bokenham begs her brother to "advice Henry to folow his Studdie and not to lowes any of that most precious of all iuoles which is his time. If it will please you to lend him any books fit for his reading I shall ever acknowledg it for noe small indecreiment to us all. He shall returne them safe again to your kind self. I hope he will attende your selfe and my sweete sister that hee may learn what you shall give in charge for his best good.\textsuperscript{2}

Letters from grown-up sons and daughters prove that the spirit of comradeship was reciprocal. Dutiful in the outward form, they suggest a sense of sympathetic friendliness, deepened by the consciousness of the parental tie. Here is a son writing to his mother of the new daughter-in-law whom she has never seen: "My brother is not yet married but I suppose will be a Tuesday next the Lady which he hath made choice of I doe verily beleive is a very good natured women and I thinke her to be very handsome far before any of the other sisters. ... as for her breeding she's well enough ye better than I thought shuch a place as this is could have afforded."\textsuperscript{3} This letter shows a delicate perception of the

\begin{enumerate}
\item Add. MS. 34161, p.25.
\item Harl. MS. 332, p.152.
\item He was writing from St Michael's Mount.
\item Add. MS. 11344, p.52.
\end{enumerate}
anxieties of the mother, and a sympathetic wish to supply all the information she is most likely to desire. Even more significant of this attitude of child to parent are the letters of Algernon Sidney to his father. Algernon's part in the Civil troubles had deeply offended the staunchly Royalist Lord Leicester, and the exiled and poverty-stricken son received little sympathy or affection from home. He was of a reserved and sensitive nature, and obviously too had a deep love for his father, but their natures probably were too unlike to make it possible for them to understand one another. After Lady Leicester's death in 1659, Algernon wrote to his father, in diffident and rather formal terms, a letter that by its very awkward unsureness gives an impression of earnest sympathy, the feeling of one man for another added to the bond of a common grief. "It were a small compliment for me to offer yr IP to leave the employment in which I am, if I may in anything be able to ease yF IP's solitude." Then, with the instinct not to dwell on too painful a subject but to try to distract his father by interesting topics, he gives him some political news unlikely to have reached him in England, and then continues: "If I have mistaken yr IP's mind in this, by throwing theis papers into the fire yr IP hath an easy way of saving yourself from trouble; and if you care to know any more of these businesses I shall, as long as I am heare, give yF IP an exact information of them or any thing else that is in my power."

A little later, Algernon was moved beyond his usual reticence by concern for the father whose forgiveness he could not win. "I have appointed this bearer to wait upon you that if you care to know anything of our business here, he may give you a very full relation, having been employed by me in it. I have not heard anything of your letters these many months, which is a great trouble unto me. I desire you to take me out of it; and if your own affairs or health will not give you the convenience of writing unto me, that you would appoint some servant to send me news of your health and concerns, how you are and how you live in this time, which I know must be solitary unto you, I fear, uneasy. I shall rejoice in hearing I am mistaken, and that all things do succeed according to your letter's own desires and the prayers of...

These letters throw a pleasant light upon the grave and Spartan Algernon Sidney, and show that he possessed a very human side. He was entirely unselfish in his care for his father. Though the loss of his mother and his own circumstances must have been pressing griefs, there is no allusion to himself. What he felt on that subject, he kept to himself.

There are some interesting comments on bereavements in the letters of the period. One of the notable features of the century is the great mortality among children. It seems to have become so accepted a fact that the loss of child after child in infancy or early life was regarded almost as a matter of course. Lady Fanshawe had to record time after time the

death of one of her many children, and the pathetic list in the early part of her Memoirs is striking: "Harrison my eldest son, and Henry my second son, Richard my third, and Henry my fourth, and Richard my fifth are all dead. My third lies buried in the Protestant churchyard in Paris, by the father of the Earl of Bristol. My eldest daughter Ann lies buried in the parish church of Tankersley in Yorkshire, where she died. Elizabeth lies in the chapel of the French Hospital at Madrid where she died of a fever at ten days old. My next daughter, of her name, lies buried in the parish of Foot's Cray, in Kent, near Frogpool, my brother Warwick's house, where she died; and my fourth daughter Mary lies in my father's vault in Hertford, with my first son Henry. My eldest lies buried in the parish church of St John's College, in Oxford where he was born. My second Henry lies in Bongos church, in Hertfordshire; and my second Richard in the Esperança in Lisbon in Portugal, he being born ten weeks before my time, when I was in that court. I praise God I have living yourself (her surviving son Richard) and four sisters: Katherine, unmarried; Margaret, married to Vincent Grantham, Esqre., of Goltho, in the county of Lincoln; Ann, and Elizabeth." Sir John Bramston's wife "was mother of ten children in the twelve years she was a wife, four daughters and six sons, though when she died she left only two sons, one of which survived but a short time."

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(2) Autobiography, p.111.
Ralph and Mary Verney lost their first child in 1638 at the age of four, and their second daughter Peg died in France while her mother was on her husband's affairs in England. Mary's baby born in England at this time also died at the age of a few weeks, and she wrote to her husband: "I have received ye sad news of one of our dear children's death, which affliction joyned with being absent from thee is - without God's great mercy to me, a heavier burden than can be borne by thine owne unhappy M."¹ Ralph and Mary seem to have felt their losses more deeply than did many of their contemporaries. In such an allusion as that of Charles Lyttelton "I think I told you in my last, my pretty girl died suddenly in her inne ...... of a convulsion"², we have both the almost casual acceptance of such mortality and the expression of the father's grief for his "pretty girl".

This matter-of-fact attitude led to some curious attempts at consolation. When Howell wrote to condole with the widow of the "Controller", he evidently prided himself on the felicity of his comparisons rather than on the depth of his sympathy. He praised the dead man as "soe great a controller of his passions", and referring to his embassy, remarked "he is now arrived at a far more glorious port than that of Constantinople."³ A still more extraordinary letter is that in which Ralph Verney acquainted Lady Barrymore with the death of his mother. Eight years before, his friend

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¹ Verney Memoirs, Vol. II. p.296. (1892)
² Hatton Correspondence, p.95.
³ No-Elianæ, Book II. p.424.
James Dillon had sent him an elaborate epistle announcing the death of Lady Digby, and Ralph simply altered the names and transcribed the earlier letter. Perhaps it was this matter-of-fact acceptance of death as the common lot, coupled with the desire to honour the dead by outward show which prescribed the ponderous necessities of mourning at this time. Deep grief was certainly felt, but it expressed itself by carefully-regulated externals. Charles Lyttelton, writing to Christopher Hatton on the occasion of an explosion which had caused the deaths of Hatton's wife and mother, gave characteristic counsel of moderation in grief. He told how immediately on receipt of the news he hastened to Hatton's brother, "and all this day almost we have spent together in taking order about mourning and other matters necessary for the bringing my Ladys to towne and theiyr interrment, wch I hope will be to y^ LP^s liking...." (these practical details come before any but the most casual reference to the bereavement, yet Lyttelton's sympathy is sincere and deep, as the rest of the letter shows) "At present indeed I ought only to tell you how much all the world doth accompany y^ LP in y^s tenderest resentments you have in y^s occasions of y^s sorrow, and yet with all doe congratulate and allay those troubles by the strange, and almost miraculous, deliverance of y^ LP^s own person, y^ children and sisters, wch I hope y^ LP will take that comfort in as not to neglect y^s care of them by abandoning y^ self to melancholy and greife, wch, you
know, too much of will hurt ye living and is of no use to ye dead.¹ Marvell’s letter of condolence with Sir John Trott on the death of his only son is typical: "I have not that vanity to believe, if you weigh your late loss by the common ballance, that anything I can write to you should lighten your resentments; nor if you measure things by the rules of christianity, do I think it needful to comfort you in your duty and your son’s happyness." Here we have the spirit of philosophic resignation. Then comes a more human touch: "I cannot forbear to inquire, how you have stood the second shock at your sad meeting of friends in the country. I know that the very sight of those who have been witnesses of our better fortune, doth but serve to reinforce a calamity." Towards the close of the letter there is some very practical advice "make use of all that may strengthen and assist you; the word of God; the society of good men; and the books of the ancients; there is one way more, which is by diversion, business and activity", and the letter ends with an allusion to the writer’s only way of expressing his sympathy, the composition of the enclosed Elegy on his friend’s son.² In the pages of a private Diary, emotion may be given fuller play, and the record of the deaths of Evelyn’s children is marked by the comment "after evening prayers was my child buried neere the rest of his brothers - my very deare children."³

¹ Hatton Correspondence, p.103-4.
³ Diary, March 26th, 1664.
Two letters on this subject may be quoted in full, as possessing special interest. The first is addressed by a tenant to his landlord, who has just lost his son. The close references to Scripture, and the tone taken by this "most respective tenant" make it worthy of record.

"Good Sir,

I cannot but condole the death of your son, but I trust you have learnt to submit your will to God, who doth best know what's best, and doth wrap up a blessing in every crosse, which he laieth upon those whom he loves, and that is, upon all that love him. Rom. 8:28. It may be the Lord doth herein aime at the taking you from the world before he take you out of the world; that as he vouchsafed you the favour to grow extraordinary ripe in yeares, so you may grow ripe in grace, before he plucke you. To which purpose he openeth unto you now a faire opportunity to lay aside all worldly care, and sequester the remainder of your life wholly to devotion, and a heavenly course. Whereunto you may, and I desire you will, take that faire way that lieth before you, even to come from your solitary and uncomfortable living, and enjoy the company, comfort, and daily assistance of Sr Henry, whom God hath made the Heire of your land and love, and to the carefull nursery of his good Lady. I pray Sir, consider what need you and I have to turne our backs to the world, and our face to heaven. It hath
bene a great favour of God, to give us so long a time to provide for eternitie; and Age itself hath now brought death near our doors, and we know not how soone he will break in, surely long it cannot be. He that hath a great worke to do, and but little time left, and that uncertaine too, hath need to sett nimbly and earnestly on it. Sir the worke we have to do in this little ragge of time that is left us, is no lesse than to avoid everlasting woe, and purchase everlasting blisse, which cannot be done without hearty, earnest, and constant devotion in the service of God, for none shall enter into heaven at his death, but through the entry in his life; even that way which St Peter hath chalked out unto us. 

2 epist. 1 chap. 10, and 11 ff. giving diligence to make our calling and election sure; by getting and using that chaine of graces, whch he had mentioned op. 5,6,7. I pray Sir, pardon this boldness to which my duty bindeth me, and be pleased to excuse me, that I send my son instead of my selfe to visit you in this comfortlesse solitude, being my selfe detained here, being willing and ready otherwise to do you any good service at any time, that shall lie within the compasse of my ability.

The Lord be your comfort and guide, your sune and shield, strengthen you with his grace and fitt you for his glory. With the continuance of my prayers for you as for my self:

I beg againe your pardon for my bold love, and take
leave to rest ao told her she great wicked and wicked
your most respective tenant, desirous of yr
eternall good.

Joh. Bury."

The second letter is the account of Lady Twysden's
death, written by her husband, and is both a touching revela-
tion of human emotion and an illuminating account of a pious
death-bed. It bears marks of distraction: many erasures and
omissions of words which were afterwards inserted above.

"Deare Jack,

I am so overwhelmed with trouble by reason of
this great affliction it hath pleased God to lay upon
me as I doe not well think of any thing, yet I can not
let the carriuer part without returning my many thanks to
so good a brother for so kind a letter, which had no
fault but (that thou wouldst excuse) that it was not
long enough, neyther doe miseries goe alone this of my
wife though all ye children have had their share yet
she that was wth her and present all the sickness takes
it to hart as I have beene not wthout fear she might
have some followed her, or at least fallen into some
sickness but I hope hee yt onely gives com-
fort will send it her and bee mercifull to mee truly
she takes it hitherto exceeding heavily though her death

(1) Add. MS. 10,573. Miscellaneous Papers. John Bury to his
"honored landlord Peter Carew". 1653.
was such as may bee a comfort to all knewe her when my
inten Burston told her she grew weaker and weaker.
so as she feared, she took ye words out of her mouth
and herself added I am no woman of this world, God's
will be done the Lord's name be ever praised. I was in
of the country but they sent for me all her joy was she
could see me anon about 10 a clock I was with her, God
gave her then a little lightning to receive with the
holy Communion which I never saw any take it with greater
joy comfort and reverence, the Minister spake of it with
me in admiration to see how God had given her ye light to be
voly partaker of his body for me and take her leave of me and
life was all which she did and then desired to be ladyd to rest,
and about 4 a clock she waked again saw me knewe me and
not others kist me again after her former manner so as I
told her this is old kisse then her time approaching
time she grew heavier and layd again to rest out of which she
never waked but about 6 at night without any styr slept.
it in ye Lord leaving a happy memory of her to all that
knewe her but most disconsolate to

We have seen that in the period 1640-60, the exceptional
strain put upon the emotions seems to have resulted in a
temporary deadening of perception, a natural process which was
complemented by a conscious dread of over-acute apprehension.

Such a double process probably takes place in any time of intense national or individual emergency, and becomes more pronounced as civilisation advances. The more civilised the nation the more sensitive its nerves, and the greater the necessity for their control. The actors in the drama of the seventeenth century took it much more as a matter of course than their descendants in the twentieth, and the latter show a more deliberate adjustment to abnormal conditions.

In the first half of our seventeenth century period, we noticed a general simplicity of outlook, a sense of the value of resignation, and a certain detachment of spirit. Life was not expected to yield a full harvest of pleasure, and the right of the individual to personal happiness was not maintained. In an age of general piety and of simple tastes, such an attitude was to be expected. The pre-War twentieth century bears an interesting resemblance to the years 1640-60, rendered more interesting by some very definite divergences. Taking the years before 1914 in comparison with those after 1918, the earlier period is decidedly a time of greater simplicity, and also of a more generally-recognised sense of the individual as only part of a whole. The clamorous and insistent craving for personal happiness is not so characteristic of the pre-War as of the post-War period. This can be illustrated in current literature. The novelist who of all others best seizes the immediate spirit of his age is
Mr H.G. Wells. Mr Wells's "Marriage" is an analysis in the form of a novel of the problems arising from the clash of scientific and emotional needs, but it is the burning sense of the ultimate needs of the race that gives character to every page. Even the perplexed and passionate individuals of the novel are groping after that ideal.

Mr Bernard Shaw is of the same breed in this one respect. His "Man and Superman", with all its farcical exaggeration, preaches the doctrine of race-development overruling or transcending self-development. Yet the pre-War period has frequently been condemned for its luxury and selfishness, and, in so far as the indictment is true, it cannot compare except unfavourably, with the years 1640-60. Scientific and mechanical invention, and sudden extension of the wealthy classes, made the age superficially one of brilliant variety and excitement. The "night before the War" has been described in countless "war novels" as the end of a glittering era, and the beginning of a stern age. But the showy sophistication truly described as one of the sinister symptoms of this period was confined chiefly to a distinct minority of the nation. Just as we saw at the close of the pre-Restoration period, the "fast set" making themselves felt and setting a tone of excessive emotional stimulation, so the same elements of society set a false tone just before the Great War. The national spirit must be judged by the thinkers and the majority of the nation, and these, though
affected by the rapid intellectual and mechanical stimulation of the age, maintained a steadiness and an essential simplicity of outlook. There is a sense of placid security about representative descriptions of life before the war such as Galsworthy's idyllic "Awakening" or even the first chapter of "The Hounds of Spring", with its peaceful country house and placid, satisfied inmates. The revival of a play of the type of "Romance", produced during the War, affords an opportunity for judging the changed mentality of the age. The straightforwardness of the motives in this play makes it a study in black and white, a definite struggle between good and evil, whereas the chief aim of the post-War psychological play seems to be to produce an impression of greyness, to state perplexedly both sides, and hold the balance even.

We have seen that after the seventeenth century upheaval the reaction showed itself first in an unrestrained and ill-founded optimism, and then in restlessness and disillusionment. The Stoic restraint of the disturbed period broke up, and a wave of exaggerated emotionalism swept the country. This tendency seems in the seventeenth century to have taken the form of an overmastering impulse to seize on the joys of the moment and a feverish sense of the instability of life and its conditions. The post-Restoration age was haunted not so much by a sense of loss of lives as by a constant apprehension of the next turn of Fortune's
wheel. It was inevitable that such an insidious dread, when coupled with relaxed religious beliefs, should result in a passionate quest of material good things and a resolute determination to live in the present moment alone. Out of this conflict of emotions arose a materialistic age.

The post-War twentieth century is also in many respects a materialistic age, and for the same reasons. But there is here a difference. The predominant emotional result of the Great War is the sense of young lives lost, and this sense seems to produce two distinct trends of thought. On the one side are those who seek passionately to find a reason and a justification for the sacrifice, or, failing that, a guarantee of its non-recurrence, and these use the material as a means to an end which may be called spiritual. On the other side are those who, consciously or unconsciously, have adopted a philosophy of despair, who accept the necessity of such sacrifice and set themselves to grasp and embrace all that life may hold of sensation, since none knows when their own turn may come. This class, the most significant emotionally, if not the greatest numerically, in England to-day, shows most marked affinities with the period under consideration in the seventeenth century. We noticed the sensationalism of the earlier period, the attraction of "sights", and the unbalanced excitement of the crowd over such untrustworthy revelations as those of Titus Oates. It is more than probable that Oates was a cleverer psychologist than his
contemporaries suspected, and that his knowledge of the state of public feeling enabled him to use tactics which would have been impossible in a less sensational age. A modern psychologist has pointed out that "whatever strikes the imagination of crowds presents itself under the shape of a startling and very clear image, freed from all accessory explanation, or merely having as accompaniment a few marvellous or mysterious facts.... It is not, then, the facts in themselves that strike the popular imagination, but the way in which they take place and are brought under notice.... To know the art of impressing the imagination of crowds is to know at the same time the art of governing them."1 Exactly the same kind of sensationalism, though necessarily under different manifestations, shows itself in post-war England. The slightest excuse is sufficient to draw the interest of a crowd, an interest purely emotional and detached from the significance of the incident itself. Immediately after the war this tendency on the part of Londoners became almost ludicrous. One of its most striking manifestations was the virtual mobbing of the airman Hawker when he returned from a flight which it had been feared had cost him his life. The ordinary newspaper headings show the same tendency, which in this case becomes daily more and more pronounced. The most lurid feature of the latest murder case is picked out for presentation on the newsboards, and the very adjectives chosen for the headlines

1 Le Bon, The Crowd, pp.78-80.
are significant: "Tragic Death of a Comedy Actress"; "Sensational Turn in Divorce Case"; "The Great Thaw", etc. Rumoured Royal engagements, and the extreme interest shown in the constantly-recurring rumours of a new war, are indicative of the same habit of mind. A recent play advertisement ran as follows: "In the two hours of its plot, there is more excitement than the world has known since the war." This notice is an extreme example of bad taste in the comparison made, and of the inevitable blurring of values which follows indulgence in sensationalism. A modern novelist has summed up the situation exactly, and his words might be taken as equally applicable to the post-Restoration period: "Sensation-hunting had become a disease, in his opinion, and no one was being inoculated for it, so far as he could see."¹

Scandalous gossip, which we saw to be so marked a feature of the years 1660-80, has its analogy in the post-War period. There has been for some years a fashion, amounting almost to a mania, for publishing Reminiscences of the still alive and Memoirs of the recently dead. Official condemnation has sometimes followed, but the public taste has been correctly calculated, and these volumes have wide and continued popularity. The same taste is catered for in the newspaper records of leading divorce cases. The daring Henry Savile in the seventeenth century could go no further than the detailed accounts by newspapers, read with

¹ Galsworthy, The Silver Spoon.
avidity by respectable middle-class twentieth century Britons, of the notorious case of "Mr A." and others scarcely less scandalous.

It was observed that after the Restoration the simpler emotional stimuli went out of fashion, and much more exciting and elaborate pleasures were demanded. The description of the seventeenth century "modern girl" given on p.225 irresistibly suggests a comparison with certain phases of post-war life in the twentieth century. There is the same craving for emotional excitement; the same yearning for the sensuous forms of recreation; the same free-and-easy "camaraderie" between the sexes; the same disregard of convention; and the same masterful independence of youth. Dancing, according to Halifax, became a serious business rather than a diversion, and the same might be said of this amusement in the twentieth century. It is a commonplace of post-War life that in all the provinces which used to be regarded as recreative there is now no room except for the expert. Dancing is a universal form of amusement, but where in pre-War days a few lessons sufficed for the whole of a dancing life, in these days constant lessons in new steps, constant practice, and, in effect, a constant partner are necessities for one who wishes to keep up to standard. The process has become almost scientific, and the dilettante is unpopular. The same generalisation applies to games of physical or mental skill. A promising young tennis player
is offered £30,000 to turn professional, and Bridge becomes a scientific means of augmenting one's income. This tendency to elaboration adds excitement to life, but detracts from the pure pleasure of what was designed for recreation. We saw that the post-Restoration period was noted for gambling, a form of amusement which always seems to mark decadent days of comparative peace and apparent prosperity. In the twentieth century we can observe its counterpart. Since the War the artificial stimulation of excitement by gambling in one form or another, has received great impetus. The number of Derby sweepstakes seems to increase yearly, and certain facts go to prove that what used to be a "harmless flutter" is now becoming a serious and insidious disease, affecting all classes of the nation. The modern fascination of Greyhound Racing is another attempt to provide an outlet for the restless spirit of the people, and to give them opportunities for betting as exciting as any to be found at Monte Carlo.

The period 1660-80 witnessed a great revival of interest in the theatre. We have contemporary accounts of the spectacular entertainments at Court, and the demand for such shows is proof of the state of mind which desires superficial distraction rather than provocation of thought. Restoration comedy has become a byword, and is symptomatic of the prevailing characteristics of the time. It has been pointed out that Wycherley was the only one of the
Restoration dramatists who ridiculed contemporary folly and vice from the corrective point of view, and that even he had to readjust his material "to suit the temper of Restoration society", which preferred the more general method of lighthearted and tolerant amusement. The same writer remarks that Congreve showed "how inexpressive such comedy must be of the realities of character, how profound must be its silences concerning human passions, how restrained and stereotyped must remain its rule of life. That this was the type of play favoured by the fashionable world of the time is indicative of the point of view of those highly-specialised products of a highly artificial age. The jaded palate required stimulation by the presentation of "sex situations"; the more risky the language or scene the lighter became the laughter; the theatre was used not as a purging representation of pity or fear, but as a stimulant of transitory excitement. Parallels in the twentieth century are ready to our hand. The long runs of such purely spectacular shows as "Chu Chin Chow" or "Cairo"; the wealth poured out in the production of "Decameron Nights"; and the modern partiality for highly over- or under-dressed revues, catchy tunes, and scenic effects such as those of "The Ghost Train" go to prove the desire of our own age for distraction by means of the senses rather than stimulation by means of the brain. The prevalence of murder plays and the increasing appetite for "horrors" shows a morbid craving for artificial

(1) Lynch, Social Mode of Restoration Comedy, pp. 169, 173, 217.
emotion. A remark overheard in the train from a girl just out of her teens is significant: "I want to go to 'Dracula' because I'm told they have nurses and First Aid people there in case you have to be carried out. I'm so blasé that the ordinary 'thrill' only bores me." This form of emotionalism is also at the root of the popularity of "sex plays". The wit and brilliance of "Bluebeard's Eighth Wife" and the inevitable "bedroom scenes" which are becoming almost commonplace, are indications of the same attitude of mind. Further commentary is afforded by the playbills, which advertise "the play with a scene which shocked the critics", or pick out passages banned by the censor and print them in a notice of the expurgated play, in an endeavour to titillate the public taste. In the first half of the period at least, the desirability of mutual affection was recognised, and in many

The question of Love and Marriage has undergone certain changes since the seventeenth century. Broadly speaking, the eighteenth century developed the worldly ideas which we saw to be prevalent at the end of our period, the point of view which regarded marriage largely as a convenience and which doubted and almost denied the permanence of emotion, and especially the emotion of love. In the nineteenth century a reaction set in, and a simpler and more straightforward view of love and marriage became the rule. It is expressed in the novels of Dickens, Thackeray and Trollope, all representative of the normal thought of their day.
Meredith represents it on rather more subtle lines. The twentieth century reacted again, and cried from the rooftops its demand for idealistic marriage or freedom. It would have none of placid and dutiful affection; passion or nothing was its cry. The modern age has become more questioning, more insistent, and in a sense perhaps more deeply sentimental than the Victorian Age which it condemns. The difference between the twentieth century and the seventeenth is one of advancing education and civilisation, and it shows itself in the modern distaste, at least in theory, for worldly prudence in the matter of marriage. We have seen that in the years 1640-80 financial and social considerations were generally admitted to play a great part in the arrangement of a match, though, in the first half of the period at least, the desirability of mutual affection was recognised, and in many cases insisted upon. One mark of the different attitudes may be seen in the infrequency of re-marriage in the twentieth century as compared with its common occurrence in the seventeenth century. The later age makes greater demands, is less easily satisfied, and more conscious of its emotional needs. Yet, in the pre-War period, marriage tended to be more of a matter of course than it has been since, and in this sense bears comparison with the earlier half of our seventeenth century period. The great difference made by the War in the matter of careers for women has deeply affected the feminine attitude to marriage, and the economic results of the War

have equally influenced the masculine outlook. To some women marriage comes as a deliberate sacrifice of an absorbingly interesting business career, and sometimes the result is a problem such as that faced in that topical modern novel "This Freedom", in which the mother tries to run her business and her home at the same time, with disastrous consequences. On the other hand, the increased difficulties of supporting a wife and family and the larger claims made upon life in the post-War period are responsible for many voluntary bachelors. All this is new and probably a temporary lack of adjustment to suddenly-altered conditions. But, apart from these particular tendencies, comparisons can be drawn between the post-War ages of the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. In both, a certain flippancy towards love and marriage can be traced. The tone of Elizabeth Bodvile's letter quoted on p.851 is not so unlike the half-mocking uncertainty of Fleur Forsyte, in the jubilation of her first love: "I believe I'm in love... I've got it in the neck, only the feeling is really lower down...... Don't laugh, but his eyes are the truest things I ever saw; and he's quite divinely silent!...... We've often talked about love being a spoil-sport; well, that's all tosh, it's the beginning of sport, and the sooner you feel it, my dear, the better for you...... This is my first, and I feel as if it were going to be my last, which is absurd, of course, by all the laws of Nature and morality."¹ The post-Restoration

¹ Galsworthy, To Let, Chap. VII. Pt I.
age doubted the permanence of love, yet tried with avidity to taste its transient sweetness. The restless sense that no dependence was to be placed upon life was responsible for both the doubt and the craving. The same cause operates to an even deeper degree in the twentieth century. That very modern play "The Fanatics" gives expression to much of the restlessness that is at once the torment and the interest of the post-War age. The impossibility of certainty in love is the obsession of the young heroine, who clamours for a "trial-marriage" to obviate the risk. This sort of thing is in the air. The "companionate marriage" recently advocated in America is another example. The other tendency, the "carpe diem" spirit which we noticed as characteristic of the post-Restoration period, also finds expression in "The Fanatics". The scene in which an older woman-friend of the heroine tells the story of her three love-affairs is the very embodiment of this spirit. She loved one of the men and one only; her first lover was simply the result of that desire for experience which is the curse of an over-emotional age, and the other was a boy going back to the Front, who compelled her pity for his desire of experience. Candidly stated, the whole "confession" is a commentary on the feverish and ungoverned spirit of the age, and bears a close resemblance to the attitude of the seventeenth century, as we find it in the Saviles or even Clarendon. It is worth while, too, to notice that certain so-called "modern" tactics
in love are less modern than their exponents suppose. A fairly recent novel portrayed the heroine as contemplating a temporary sojourn with the man of her choice as a means of compelling her parents' consent to their marriage.\(^1\) And Fleur Forsyte had the same idea: "She well knew that some girls would think all this unnecessary, and that all she and Jon need do was to go away together for a week-end and then say to their people: "We are married by Nature, we must now be married by Law."\(^2\) But this is almost exactly what Mary Boyle appears to have done, calmly enough, in the seventeenth century, without considering whether it was "modern" or not, and is of the same order as the elopement of "Mrs Colombine" (p.255). The private marriage of the twentieth century Cissie Prohack, with her jubilant and rather selfish consciousness of modernity, is only the history of Lady Alethea Compton (p.255) over again.

We have seen that, notwithstanding Clarendon's condemnation of the "unnatural antipathy" between parents and children after the Restoration (p.106), there seems to have existed throughout the period 1640-80 a relation of comradeship which is generally held to be of more modern growth. Judging from family correspondence, it would not seem that the Civil War made any great difference in the primary relationships of parent and child. We have seen how family affection survived the strain of political differences in the case of the Verneys, and, for the most part, filial letters after 1660

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\(^1\) Maxwell, *Spinster of our Parish.*

\(^2\) Galsworthy, *To Let,* Chap.VIII. Pt II.
show the same spirit of friendly and affectionate duty as was evident in those written in the earlier period. It might fairly be claimed that in essentials, such relationships alter little. Clarendon's words "Parents had no manner of authority over their children, nor children any obedience or submission to their parents" might be taken as the text for many of the post-war twentieth century disquisitions on absence of parental control and lack of filial duty. But in fact, the relations of friendly equality which exist nowadays more generally than ever before are in themselves an indication that at bottom the relationship is as affectionate as it has ever been. Less outwardly respectful it certainly is. Seventeenth century children did not use their parents' Christian names, but neither did the parents indulge freely in sports and pastimes generally held to be the prerogative of the younger generation. Children are more independent at an earlier age now than in the seventeenth century, or even than in the pre-war years, but this is due primarily to social and economic necessity, and does not in itself involve a change of relationship. A certain loosening of ties has of necessity accompanied the general emotional upheaval, as in the earlier period, and the difficulties of the elder members of the family with Betty Verney or Lady Anne Sunderland's troubles with her son have their counterpart to-day. In both periods children grew up either more or less separated from their parents (in exile in the
seventeenth century; on War service in the twentieth century or under the control of parents harassed and preoccupied with the strain of war conditions and their results, and in both the weaker characters may have been unfortunately warped and misdirected. But in both it may be claimed that family life in general remained healthy and that family relationships retained their characteristically English qualities of comradeship and affection.

We saw that even at a time of Civil War in the seventeenth century, hatred of the opposite side was not a general characteristic. It appeared indeed that while the common soldier maintained an attitude of half-humorous contempt for his adversary, the higher ranks showed a generous detachment of the individual enemy from the cause that he had espoused. And we noticed that after the Restoration the general desire was for forgetfulness of past differences. The treatment accorded to such men as Monk and the esteem in which he seems to have been held shows that his past actions were deliberately forgotten in view of his later services to the cause of monarchy. Even to those who retained their rebellious opinions, oblivion was extended, provided their voices were not heard in treasonable discourse. The seventeenth century shows in germ the recognised English characteristic of swift forgetfulness of causes of strife, and desire for general good fellowship. When Barrie after the War insisted: "Never ascribe to an opponent motives meaner than your own" he was

(1) Courage, Rectorial Address at St Andrews. 1922.
voicing in memorable words the inarticulate feeling of the English people. This dislike of debasing the quality of an opponent was apparent in much of the War literature, and especially the War poetry. A strange poem to appear in wartime is this called "Hate".

"My enemy came nigh, And I Stared fiercely in his face. My lips went writhing back in a grimace, And stern I watched him with a narrow eye. Then, as I turned away, my enemy, That bitter heart and savage, said to me: 'Some day, when this is past, when all the arrows that we have are cast, We may ask each other why we hate, And fail to find a story to relate. It may seem to us then a mystery That we could hate each other.' Thus said he, And did not turn away, Waiting to hear what I might have to say; But I fled quickly, fearing if I stayed I might have kissed him as I would a maid."1

In an official despatch the same spirit illuminates the formal wording: "The enemy fought with the gallantry expected of him. We particularly admired the conduct of those on board a disabled German light-cruiser which passed down the British line shortly after deployment, under a heavy fire, which was returned by the only gun left in action."2 Most noteworthy of all is the fact that by the twentieth century this generosity of mind has become the heritage and the distinguishing mark of the English private soldier. Herein, advancing Civilisation has shown definite progress, and marks a difference between the uneducated and

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1 James Stephens.
2 The Battle of Jutland Bank ed. C. Sanford Terry, p.65. (Jellicoe's Dispatch).
rough-souled ranker of the seventeenth century and the uncultured but fine-spirited twentieth century Tommy. Here is the testimony of one who knew his Tommy well, both from personal experience as a private and from the intimate point of view of a much-loved junior officer: "He surprised us all, as we have said, and has given to the world the amazing picture of a soldier who is infinitely brave without vindictiveness, terrible without hate, all-enduring and yet remaining his simple, kindly, jaunty self. For the Cockney warrior does not hate the Hun. Often and often you will hear him tell his mate that 'the Bosches is just like us, they wants to get 'ome as much as we do; but they can't 'elp theirselves'. At times he has regretful suspicions of the humanity of the Prussians and Bavarians; but they are not long-lived, and even while they endure he consoles himself with the proved good fellowship of the Saxon. Did not such and such a regiment walk out of their trenches and talk to them as man to man? The Cockney reckons that when peace is declared both sides will run out of their trenches and shake hands and be the best of pals."¹ The same writer in a different article gives his own philosophy of war, which may be taken as representative of the finest, though most inarticulate, fighting spirit developed in England: "If we fought from blood-lust or hate, war would be sordid. But if we fight, as only a Christian may, that friendship and peace with our

¹ Donald Hankey, A Student in Arms, p.95. (The Cockney Warrior.)
foes may become possible, then fighting is our duty, and our fasting and dirt, our wounds and our death, are our beauty and God's glory.\textsuperscript{1}

From this study of seventeenth-century mental outlook emerges the impression of an age of swift and sudden development. The Civil War marks a deep cleavage in the century, and the violence of the change makes adjustment difficult. After 1688 the chaotic state of the public and individual mind settled down and a sense of greater stability began to make itself felt, but already before 1680 we have noticed elements which are a link with the mental outlook of the period of placid optimism which was to succeed the stormy seventeenth century.

This study also seems to show that certain national conditions tend to produce particular effects on the outlook of the people as a whole, and that such effects differ less than the lapse of centuries and the progress of civilisation might lead one to suppose. Characteristic racial qualities persist throughout the generations, but a great political or international upheaval lays temporary emphasis on particular features. Under corresponding conditions, these features show but slight variation in essentials, though their outward manifestation changes in accordance

\textsuperscript{(1)} Donald Hankey, A Student in Arms, p.247. (Flowers of Flanders.)
with altered external circumstances.

An interesting suggestion emerges from the comparison of the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries. It appears probable that the effect of such conditions as we have described is most universally operative on the emotional nature. The intellectual and moral outlook may vary more or less according to the stage of culture or experience, but emotional reactions to special circumstances show a similarity unaffected by the passing of the centuries.

CHAPTER

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CHAPTER IV.

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Personal Letters and Private Diaries are invaluable as a source of information on the colloquial language of any given period. Simple, vigorous, and unadorned, they are our nearest code by those who wrote not for fame nor with any suspicion of the prying eyes of posterity, but from the necessity of finding straightforward expression for feelings, opinions, or daily happenings. Modern authority has it that in the early Stuart age "few men and women... sat down to write a letter without the desire of leaving it, when done, a finished production in the way of style." But this legacy of the Elizabethan age had, by 1640, lost much of its force, and indeed as early as 1626 Howell can declare: "we should write as we speak, and that's a true familiar letter which expresseth one's mind, as if he were discoursing with the party to whom he writes in succinct and short terms. The tongue and the pen are both of them interpreters of the mind, but I hold the pen to be the more faithful of the two." Such a statement is not

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altogether consistent with Howell's own practice, which seems to aim rather at literary polish and ornament than at the effect of conversational familiarity. Further testimony to the prevalence of his professed opinion, however, is given a quarter of a century later by Dorothy Osborne, who, humorously condemning a letter of her own, remarks: "there are many pretty things shuffled together which would do better spoken than in a letter, notwithstanding the received opinion that people ought to write as they speak (which in some sense I think is true)." Ten years later a certain Dorothy Turner in a judicious little letter gives expression to a somewhat similar opinion:

"Deare sister,

I take it very kindly as a great evidence of your love to me that you so suddenly answered my unworthy lines. I know not how it is with others but I for my part highly prize those lines that express affection though ther be nothing of news nor Rethorick, such are mine and I hope will find favour with you only on this score of true and hearty love. I have not as yet had any cause from you to doubt the contrary." Dorothy Turner's scope may seem narrow, but she had grasped the secret of all good letter-writing, that it must be based on intimate friendliness or affection between the correspondents. Many of the Letters studied have a wider interest than

(1) Letters of Dorothy Osborne, p.225.
(2) Add. MS. 11314. Letter to Mrs Elizabeth Martyn.
that attaching to the simple expression of "true and hearty
love". Some have a political value; some are interesting
as models of style. But in all, the personal element is
the informing spirit, and gives its character to the whole.
As a late nineteenth century critic has put it: "The basis
of style is intellectual and moral education; its super­
structure is individuality; and neither the one nor the
other is inconsistent with the artlessness which epistolary
success demands."

The Diaries, though slightly more formal in origin
and method, share in this invaluable artlessness. Some,
like those of Pepys or Symonds, are simple jottings of pass­
ing events; some are collected reminiscences, such as those
of Bramston; some pure Autobiography, such as those of
Lady Halkett and the great Chancellor. But even Clarendon's,
probably the least personal of all those studied, in the
sense that it deals with historic events from the point of
view of an active participant in them, has the intimate
touch. He writes to defend his own character and to provide
an interest for himself in the monotony of exile, and he
deals in even greater detail with distinctly private family
matters, with his friendships and his interests, than with
State affairs. The Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe are a personal
biography, addressed to her only surviving son, while the
Diary of Lady Warwick is a purely private record of self­
consciousness or insecurity, while the confusion of metaphor­passant
examination.

(1) W. R. Rannie, Letter-Writing as a Form of Literature, p. 6.
It is this artlessness which gives the Letters and Diaries their linguistic interest. Written with no thought of publication, they suggest certain comparisons with the literary language of the time, and are a valuable basis for a brief study of the colloquial language of the period.

The Letters and Diaries are characterised by love of metaphor. What to the modern mind would appear as affectation, to the seventeenth century mind seems to have been the normal mode of expression. A twist of thought gives to a perfectly simple statement a metaphorical glamour, which is intended to enrich both thought and style. In some cases the process is too deliberate, and an over-elaborate artificiality is the result. Sympathy for a friend in sickness loses its genuine force when thus expressed: "As Cowards my Lord dar not open their Eyes till ye danger be past, I durst not see much as enquire after your Health till I heard of ye Recoverie." Mr T. Rosse sends an absent friend the following description of his life in England: "As to my selfe I live the same hermit's life you left mee in, and exposed to the foxes of the wilderness who are still devouring my little branches, but I endeavour to defend myself with a weapon which they always wanted, which is honesty, an exorcisme against all their devills that befriend them must submitt to." This intricacy of language probably pleased the writer with a sense of ingenuity, while the confusion of metaphor passed

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unnoticed, but the complaint lacks the vigour of spontaneity. Less obtrusive, but illustrative of the same tendency is Francis Cornwallis's protestation to Sir Kenelm Digby that he would ere this have visited him "but that some affaires (the devill my great Enemy will e're be venting his Malevolency) has perpetually intervened, and the greatest Malice he can e're shew (but I hope to fortifie myself by growing daily a better Christian then he takes me to be) will be to sow tares in that friendship (wch I reckon upon, as one of my cheefest happinesses) that I' ve wth you." This sentence is also an example of the seventeenth century love of parenthesis which often results in harshness of style and obscurity of sense, and to these points we shall return. More elaborately-sustained than the metaphor of the last-quoted extract, yet much more effective, is Sir Thomas Player's humorous description of the English Government in 1673: "The truth is, this yeere the Government begins to thrive marvelous well, for it eats and drinks and sleeps as heartily as I have knowne it, nor doth it vex and disquiet itselfe with that foolish, idle, impertinent thing called business." This image evidently pleased the writer, for in his next letter six weeks later he carries it on: "In my last I thinkt I acquented your Exquc that the government of London was asleep, and in a deepe one, for it is not yet awake; the the truth is 'tis soe quiett 'tis pitty to awake it."

(1) Add. MS. 36175.
(3) Ibid, Vol.II. p.16.
Halifax is another exponent of the metaphorical style, which in his hands seldom fails of effectiveness and never degenerates into mere verbal ingenuity. In his "Advice to a Daughter" written with some regard to literary qualities, passages such as the following constantly arrest the attention and drive home his lucid reasoning: "A virtue stuck with bristles is too rough for this age; it must be adorned with some flowers or else it will be unwillingly entertained; so that even where it may be fit to strike, do it like a lady, gently." To ridicule the world "is like throwing snowballs against Bullets." If friends are chosen unwisely, "it is like our houses being in the power of a drunken or careless neighbour; only so much worse as that there will be no Insurance here to make you amends, as there is in the case of fire." The same tendency appears in the private letters of Halifax. Referring to his unpopularity in Parliament in 1681, he tells his brother: "I must venture to go into the storm, and receive the shot once more of an angry House of Commons, unless they should by a miracle grow into a better temper than is naturally expected from them."

This habit of thought and expression is shared by women as well as men. The simple acknowledgement of a service done is phrased by Grace Bokenham thus: "Gladly would I expres more then paper expressions of ary thinne acknowledgements

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(1) Halifax, Advice to a Daughter, p.131.
(2) Ibid, p.127.
(3) Ibid, p.124.
for so ponderous a benefit."¹ Lucy Hutchinson in her grief for her dead husband slips naturally into a metaphorical strain: "if our tears did not put out our eyes we should see him even in heaven, holding forth his flaming lamp of virtuous examples and precepts, to light us through the dark world."² Lady Fanshawe records the death of her husband in language strikingly simple. "On the 15th, being Tuesday, my husband was taken ill with an ague, but turned to a malignant inward fever, of which he lay until the 26th. of the same month, being Sunday, until eleven of the Clock at night, and then departed this life, fifteen days before his intended journey to England."³ But her lament for Charles I, while expressing a sorrow obviously genuine and deep, is phrased in ornate metaphor: "Thus did we part from that glorious sun, that within a few months after was murdered, to the grief of all Christians that were not forsaken by God."⁴

This love of metaphor is shared by the colloquial writer of the period with the more distinctively literary productions. Scattered up and down the pages of all the great works of the time are countless examples of such turns of thought, which enhance both the rhythm of the prose and the vivid apprehension of the thought. A few representative passages may be cited in illustration. Tillotson, preaching

¹ Harl. MS. 382, p.148.
² Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p.16.
³ Memoirs, p.216.
⁴ Ibid, p.76.
to the "First General Meeting of the Gentlemen and Others born within the county of York" seeks by homely symbolism to arouse the enthusiasm of his hearers: "We are, I think, one of the last counties of England that have entered into this friendly and charitable kind of Society; Let us make amends for our late setting out by quickening our pace, so that we may overtake and outstrip those who are gone before us: Let not our Charity partake of the Coldness of our Climate, but let us endeavour that it may be equal to the extent of our Country; and as we are incomparably the greatest County of England, let it appear that we are so by the largeness and extent of our Charity." ¹ Baxter drives home the lesson of pious Meditation by an energetic and half-humorous metaphor: "As for you whose hearts God hath weaned from all things here below, I hope you will value this heavenly life, and take one walk every day in the New Jerusalem." ² Baxter's style is indeed pre-eminently rich in such imagery, which occasionally tends rather to overweight his prose. Such a passage is this: "Consideration makes reason strong and active. Before, it was as a standing water, but now as a stream, which violently bears down all before it. Before, it was as the stones in the brook, but now like that out of David's sling, which smites the Goliath of our unbelief in the forehead." ³

In contrast to such elaborated passages is the straightforward use of simile by so different a writer as Dryden. Of

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² Baxter, Saints' Rest, p.236.
³ Ibid, p.223.
Ben Jonson's "Epicoene" he says: "Thus, like a skilful chess-player, by little and little he draws out his men, and makes his pawns of use to his greater persons."\(^1\) As a further illustration of this quality common to stylists of widely divergent tendencies, we may take a great sentence of Milton: "But that a book, in worse condition than a peccant soul, should be to stand before a jury ere it be born to the world, and undergo yet in darkness the judgment of Radamanth and his colleagues, ere it can pass the ferry backward into light; was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity, provoked and troubled at the first entrance of reformation, sought out new Limboes and new Hells wherein they might include our books also within the number of their damned."\(^2\) Finally, from Sir Thomas Browne we get this pleasant jumble of quaint metaphors: "It is an honourable object to see the reasons of other men wear our liveries, and their borrowed understandings do homage to the bounty of ours. . . . . . I make not therefore my head a grave, but a treasury of knowledge: I intend no monopoly, but a community in learning."\(^3\)

This habit of thought shows itself in the striking prevalence of metaphorical phrases, most of which are still in use in our own day, but some of which have undergone modification. It will be convenient to summarise the evidence on this point by tabulating the most striking examples collected.

\(^1\) Dryden, Of Dramatic Poesie, p. 45. (Everyman).
\(^2\) Areopagitica, p. 289.
\(^3\) Religio Medici, p. 159.
A. Phrases identical with those of the present day.

To be even with. "I shall be even with you for your short letter." Dorothy Osborne, p.243. c.1654.

Young men during the Commonwealth were "too impatiant to revenge their death, or to be even with their oppressors." Clarendon, Life (Continuation) p.15. 1672.

The face to. "It will never enter into my head that 'tis possible any woman should love where she is not first loved, and much less that if they should do that, they could have the face to own it." Dorothy Osborne, p.208. c.1654.

Bunyan, "Grace Abounding" p.77.

A feather in one's cap. "A feather in my cap, a warrant to be sworn in ordinary with a Reserve of my Priority and Seniority." Verney Memoirs, Vol.IV. p.7. 1661. (1892)

Feather one's nest. "I perceive, as he told me, were it not that Mr Coventry had already feathered his nest in selling of places, he do like very well." Pepys, 7th June. 1662.

Have by the ears. "I doubt Mun will have him by the ears... and I doubt be the death of him." Verney Memoirs, Vol.I. p.406. 1648.


Oates "thought every body was to take what he said for Gospel." Diary of Henry Sidney, p.37. 1679.

Pepys, May 31st, 1662.
Into the bargain. Carrier "framed a fine lye into the bargain."

Kick at. "I.... proposed Lord Halifax as one of the Lords, whom the King.... indeed kicked at, in our first consultation, more than any of the rest."

Long home. Twysden's shortness of breath reminds him daily 'of my long home'.
MS. Letters, 1665.

Main-chance-
True calcarne.
Howell. p.20. 1625.

Nose out of joint.
Of the new Queen, men say "that the King is pleased enough with her: which, I fear, will put Madam Castlemaine's nose out of joynt."
Pepys, May 31st, 1662.

Peck of troubles. "The poor man is delivered out of a peck of troubles."
Lady Russell, p.42. 1679.

Pull in one's horns. "The Bishop and the Colonel pulled in their horns."
Prideaux Letters, p.74. 1679.

To run down. Oates "flushed with the thoughts of running down the Duke of York".
Heresby, p.207.

Save one's bacon. Highwayman Hals thinks his last reprieve may "still save my bacon".

Smell a rat. "I smell a rat."
Diary of Henry Sidney, p.87. 1679.

Tooth and nail. Edmund Verney is "tooth and rayle for the King's cause".
Will for the deed. "Accept of the will for the deed."
Anne Sunderland, 1679. p.41.

With a vengeance. A process "will make him bring in his mony with a vengeance".
Frideaux Letters, p.5. 1674.

Virtue of necessity. "to suffer patiently what is imposed, making a virtue of necessity."
Dorothy Osborne, p.215. 1664.

B. Phrases which have undergone modification.

True colours. "He had formerly made Secretary Windebank appear in his colours".
Lady Fanshawe, p.61. 1676.

In all conscience. "I think the King neglects the Duke of Monmouth enough of all conscience."
Diary of Henry Sidney, p.207. 1679.

Ears burn. "With reference to Temple’s being the subject of conversation: "Sure, if there be any truth in the old observation, your cheeks glowed notably".
Dorothy Osborne, p.159. 1653.

Play the fool. Ralph has "played the bird called the goose".

Take to one’s heels. Lady Shrewsbury "took her heels".
Savile Correspondence, p.22. 1667.

White-headed Boy. "one of her White boyes".

Under the rose. "Under the rose be it spoken."

"Under the rose I have not faith in Juniper Major."

(1) This symbol is used instead of the word "mon".
Certain now obsolete phrases are used here and there; e.g. a Mr Mills will "take it in snuffe that my wife did not come to his child's christening" [Pepys, 4th Oct. 1661]; of a rumour, "it runs through the gallery etc. (as you say), not a little to your disadvantage." [Letters to Sir J. Williamson, Vol. I. p.155, (1673)].

The very general use of proverbs in familiar correspondence is a remarkable feature of the period. It gives force and point to the letters and probably derives from the same source as the taste for metaphorical expression. Again, the evidence will be summarised, under two headings, the interesting collection of proverbs differing from their modern form being best grouped apart.

A. Proverbs identical with modern form.

Ill news flies fast. "I was afeard of every letter I received, knowing that ill news flies fast from all hands when many have a Concerne." Foxcroft, Vol.I. p.123. 1675.


Out of the frying pan into the fire. "They fell out of the frying pan into the fire." Hodgson, p.136. 1833.


(1) This symbol is used instead of the word "moon".
Roland for an Oliver. "There's a Rowland for your Oliver."

Upon thorns. "Thus upon thorns he stayed."
Lady Fanshawe, p. 74. 1676.

B. Proverbs identical with modern meaning, but differing from modern form.

Birds of a feather "Remember the proverb - such as his flock together, company is, such is the man."
Lady Fanshawe, p. 54. 1676.

Finger in every pie. "an Oar in every Boat."
Slingsby, Father's Legacy. p. 209. 1658.

It's a long lane that has no turning. "He goeth far that never turns."

"Never long that comes at last."
Teonge, p. 265. 1678.

More haste worse speed. "Our haste brought us woe."
Lady Fanshawe, p. 98. 1676.

Out of sight out of mind. "Out of the roade out of the world."

Take time by the forelock. "Now sedition was ripe, and they took occasion by the forelock."
Bramston, p. 71. 1682.

Almost exactly identical with the modern form is the proverb "As long as there is life thars hopes": [Hatton Correspondence, p. 81. 1661].
We must now turn to a consideration of the more general features of the epistolary language of the time.

In the first place, the Letters and Diaries show a marked disregard for logical and even for grammatical construction. This in itself suggests the conclusion already drawn from other evidence, that the writers had no intention of publication. The thought is allowed to run freely on just as it passes through the writer's mind, clause after clause being added haphazard, with no attempt at co-ordination. Writing of this sort is sometimes held to be especially feminine, and we shall see that the women furnish us with many examples, but the other sex is by no means unrepresented, and some of the masculine irregularities excel in obscurity. Mrs Mary Stradling's distresses, though heavy, cannot be held solely responsible for the amusing juxtaposition of her children and her furniture, nor for the elliptical construction of her final clause: "I have but a bare joynture, and that not great nor anything left mee without doors, nor within any kind of furniture, but three sonsnes and five daughteres, altogether unprovided for by their father: how low I have lived to seeke to provide in some measure to keepe them from want after my deceas, were butt to add to y^r trouble."

Lady Mundeford in her horror at the King's execution writes with wild disregard of syntax: "That horrid act of murdering our good King, whos hart cannot but morne that consider his Innocency and ther Cruelty."

Lady Anne Sunderland's syntax

(1) Add. MS. 38175. Correspondence of Sir Kenelm Digby.
(2) Add. MS. 27400.
is equally eccentric. She reassures Evelyn as to "12 pound 2 shilling which I have ready for you and which indeed I went away in such a hurry that though I had told your man to call hear I quite forgott it for which careless trick I pray forgive mee."¹ When giving instructions for her building operations, her excitement causes her to pile clause on clause with no attempt at ordered construction: "if it be posible to make a place for the case of my chaire to stand that may be covered at the top to keep the wett of and to lay any thin wood upon it, if you can compass these things for mee I shall be mighty convenient."² On another occasion she gives instructions for the forwarding of a guest's luggage: "What things he has to send down let him write on them his name"³, a sentence which illustrates both her irregular syntax and her disregard of the natural order of words. Sometimes she writes an elliptical sentence, as when she speaks of her man-servant "having been and still is sick".⁴ This habit she shares with Lady Conway, who writes, for instance: "This project seems to us so feasible and convenient in all respects, and both Deans gratified by it, that we cannot imagine anything should put a stopp to it."⁵ Such defects of composition add greatly to the charming naturalness of the letters. Construction mattered little to Lady Conway, provided she made her meaning

(1) Add. MS. 15889, p.12.
(2) Ibid. p.17.
(3) Ibid. p.49.
(4) Ibid. p.4.
(5) MS Letters of Lady Conway. p.22.
clear, which she generally succeeded in doing, even in such an involved sentence as "My Lady is very well and gone this day to visit my cousin S. no otherwise to any of us that I know if, then usual, which is kind enough." Her disregard of literary style, which to so accomplished a woman must have been more or less familiar, is shown by the impulsive awkwardness of the following statement: "He arrived not here all this day, which because I would not be prevented from giving you an account of——.

In the earnestness of her dying appeal to her brother she sends him books "which I hope, as he shall seriously peruse in the fear of God, may give him satisfaction." Awkwardnesses of construction occasionally mar the clear and flowing prose of Lady Fanshawe, as when she remarks that "meat, and fuel, for half the Court to serve them a month was not to be had in the whole island." Lady Russell's knowledge of grammar entirely deserts her at the close of one of her affectionate outpourings to her absent husband: "Remembering no more tattling, and being nine o'clock, I take my leave." This noble lady's style can be clear and straightforward enough when recounting her own or her children's doings, but is often marred by such complexities as these: "I thought he would never have done to one of the ladies, you shall guess which, but I will personate her at

(1) Add. MS. 23214. p. 37.
(2) Ibid. p. 21.
(3) Ibid. p. 40.
this time whom he led by the hand, and after some impertinent
questions, whether she would be at home, and when he said he
had a favour to ask, but with so much disorder that she quickly
suspecting said, he had made an ill choice to ask any
favour, since she was never fortunate enough to do anybody
a favour in all her life." 1 When she writes to congratulate
young Lady Ogle on her sudden marriage, her misgivings on the
subject bring about inextricable confusion of language. "You
would define as an example of the error" it displeases, but
have my prayers and wishes, dear Lady Ogle, that it may prove
as fortunate to you as ever it did to any, and that you may
know happiness to a good old age: but, Madam, I cannot think
you can be completely so, with a misunderstanding between so
near a relation as a mother." 2 (italics mine). The Duchess
of Newcastle attempts to defend her literary productions in
a sentence the eccentricity of which equals that of her
personal appearance. 3 "As soon as I set them (her thoughts)
down I send them to those that are to transcribe them, and fit
them for the press; whereas, since there have been several,
big necessitated (I confess basely amiss) to scholars and
amongst them such as only could write a good hand, but
either understood orthography, nor had any learning (I being
then in banishment, with your lordship, and not able to main-
tain learned secretaries,) which hath been a great disadvantage
headed of..." but it varied the matter to be successfully acted

(1) Letters of Lady Russell, p.2.
(2) Ibid., p.59.
(3) Charles Lyttelton describes her behaviour on one occasion
as "very pleasant but rather to be seen than told. She
was dressed in a vest, and, instead of courtesies, made
leggs and bows to the ground with her hand and head."
[Hatton Correspondence, p.47]
to my poor works, and the cause that they have been printed so false and so full of errors, for besides that I want also skill in scholarship and true writing, I did many time not peruse the copies that were transcribed, lest they should disturb my following conceptions; by which neglect, as I said, many errors are slipt into my works, which, yet I hope, learned and impartial men will soon rectify, and look more upon the sense than carp at words. It seems hard to use this candid defence as an example of the "errors" it deplores, but the sentence is too characteristic to be omitted. The remarkable Duchess herself, in her haste to secure her original "conceptions" could not have composed a more curious sentence than the following mysterious allusion by Charles Lyttelton to the circumstances of his wife's death: "And there are some (i.e. stories) concerning that poor girl with by the appearance of other transactions you cannot suspect, I have so much reason as I have to hate and will make you doe see too, (but for the present I must be silent) somebody that I have bin necessitated (I confesse basely enough) to acknowledge to the world my self most obliged; and yet I have something to palliate the matter in theyr behalf; if unheard of pride and inhumane discourtesy to a lady of her meritt may be al lowed of, because it wanted the maine to be purposelly acted to her prejudice." At a second or third reading the sense of this passage becomes tolerably clear, but has no reference

(2) *Hattan Correspondence*, p.31.
whatever either to grammar or punctuation. As another in-
stance of masculine disregard of the rules of syntax, we may
take a lengthy sentence of Bramston: "And here let me mention
alsoe what Grimston told me on the bench at Chelmsford, at
a special commission of Oyer and Terminer for tryall of some
soulders, whom had broke into the church at Masterford-
Kelvedon, burnt the rayles about the communion table, stolen
the surplice and the church plate, or some of it, my father
sitting there as judge, and his father, Sir Harbottle, Sir
William Hicks, Sir Thomas Barrington, Sir William Masham,
and I should have sayd first, the Earle of Warwicke, as just-
ices and commissioners, whom all had letters from the Lords
of the Councell, requiringe their attendance, which they lookt
upon as a marke sett upon themselves, because the Lord Mainard,
Sir Benjamin Ayloff, Sir Henry Mildmay of Moulsham, and others
had noe letters, only generall notice; and they at dinner were
very earnest, I remember, with my father to know the reason,
but he sayd they must enquire that of the Lords not of him."
It is small wonder that Bramston himself here feels the neces-
sity of a full stop, and a fresh beginning. "But to goe on
with my storie." 1 Another example of confused writing is the
sentence in which Sir Roger Twysden commiserates his son's
illness, with its alternation of "thou" and "you", and the
tendency to throw the preposition to the end of its clause:-
"I did desire you in sommer to provide wood for winter, wh"
you see how much need thou now hast of, and I pray send me
word in every particular how thou doest, how your wind is,
and what you find most want of."\(^1\) Humphrey Prideaux, an
Oxford don, can perpetrare a statement such as the following:
"Ammianus Marcellinus, which, although to his language is
very barbarous, is however a most excellent writer."\(^2\) James
Vernon gives Sir Joseph Williamson the awkwardly-expressed
information that "the King hath granted them what boys of
his Chappell they shall have occasion for to sing."\(^3\)
Clarendon himself falls into redundant awkwardness: "the
damage by the plague which nobody knew how long it might
continue."\(^4\) And John Strype as a University student sends
his mother letters containing grammatical errors such as the
following: "The season beginning now to hasten towards Winter,
and a coat I shall have great occasion for."\(^5\)

It appears, then, that weak construction and faulty
grammar are common to both men and women writers at this
period. We have seen also a great deal of wordiness on the
part of both sexes, and this is characteristic of epistolary
style even where there is no syntactical offence. Attention
was drawn to the weighty parentheses in a letter of Francis
Cornwallis to Sir Kenelm Digby (p.308), and the same wordy
device is typical of Clarendon, both in his Life and in his

\(^1\) Add. MS. 34161.
\(^2\) Prideaux, Letters to Ellis, p.65.
\(^4\) Clarendon, Life (Continuation), p.288.
\(^5\) Ellis, Letters of Literary Men, p.180.
letters. One illustration, from a letter to Lord Witherington, will suffice: "If you find that his Lordship himself may not be prevailed with to adorn these actions with his own incomparable style (which indeed would render them fit to be bound up with the other commentaries) vouchsafe I beseech your Lordship, that by your means I may be trusted with such counsels and occurrences as you shall judge fit to be submitted to the ill apparel I shall be able to supply them with; which I will take care (how simple soever) shall not defraud them of their due integrity which will be ornament enough." 

Even in an account of plain facts this love of parenthesis is apparent. "This afternoone a very sober marchant was with me and told me that with this fleet was arrived the Humphrey and Elizabeth (a ship of 40 guns sent out by the East India Company in November last with recruits for the fort at [St.] Helena) and the Suratte marchant man of 26 guns from the East Indies, that the captain of the former advises that he, togethther with the said Suratte marchant, were at St Helena when three Dutch men-of-war, fitted out at the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch, arrived there, and that they were in fight with them one whole day till evening, when the Dutch (while our ships expected to engage them againe the next morning) gott to the other side of the island and in the night landed 700 men, who without any difficulty made themselves masters of the fort; upon which the Humphry and

(1) Socones, Four Centuries of English Letters, p.100.
Elizabeth together with the Suratte took their course to Brazil, where they hired a small vessel to go out and meet our East India ships, that are coming home to give them notice of what had happened, and so proceeded homeward.

This extract, while illustrating the weakness of parenthesis illustrates too the lucidity attainable even in so long a sentence. The faults of these writers are much more tiresome than I suppose; as one which has a great counterbalanced by their corresponding virtues. Bramston may be guilty of a hopelessly involved and lengthy sentence, but when he wishes to give a clear and succinct narrative, he can do it in these terms: "From him I came to Mr. Farnabie, whoe taught school in a garden house in Goldsmys' alley, a fine airy place; he had joyned two or three gardens and houses together, and had a great manie boarders and towne schollers, seue manie that he had 2, somtyme three, ushers besides himselfe. I boarded with him, though my father lived then in Philip lane, very near the schools. With him I stayed more than two, nay, full three yeares. At partinge, he shewed me my first and last themes, and sayd, 'Thus you came, and thus you goe; God speed you!'" There could not be a more lucid and straightforward statement of the facts.

The length of a sentence did not necessarily impede a seventeenth century writer from marshalling its component parts into a logical whole. Temple can produce a perfectly clear

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statement of considerable length, by the use of judicious balance and emphasis. On his part in the Triple Alliance treaty, he writes to Halifax: "The reflections I make upon what you say, and what I hear from other hands of the same kind, carry me only to consider how much by chance, and how unequally, persons and things are judged at a distance, and make me apprehend, from so much more applause than is my due upon this occasion, that upon the next I may meet with as much more blame than I deserve; as one seldom has a great run of cards which is not followed by an ill one, at least gamblers that are no luckier than I." 1 Algernon Sidney, writing in some emotion and considerable bitterness, produces prose as admirably knit as Hamlet's famous letter to Horatio.

"My Lord,

I have bin long doubtfull of my condition in England, wavering betwixt the opinions expressed by some of my friends, in their letters, and my owne. The letters of the tow last posts have put me out of that uncertainty, and shew me plainely what I am to expect....... I choose this voluntary exile, as the least evill condition that is within my reach. It is bitter, but not soe much soe, as the others that are in my prospect. I am in an ill condition to make a long journey; if I came into England, and stayed a moneth

(1) Socones, *Four Centuries of English Letters*, p.127.
or tow, I should be in a worse, and perhaps not able to
come away, when I desire it. I have not yet resolved
court upon the place of my residence; but I dislike all the
westdrunken countries of Germany, and the north, and am
cut not much inclined to France. I think I shall choose
Italy. of all sorts, forty thousand. The King, though
good. We have many examples of this type of close-knit, nervous
prose, showing that the letter-writers of the period, for all
their frequent slovenliness of style, were of the generation
of Dryden. Tillotson, asked for advice as to whether a
person may change his living, gives his opinion in highly
business-like terms. The Prince
of "Honord Sir," made much of. The King gave him a great
deal of money, I am sorry that I did not know of your being
in town that I might have paid my respects to you at
your lodgings. It is upon Mr Brabant's request that I
now give you this trouble..... I know that our Law
sees a man's Living his wife, but there is no arguing
from similitudes, if the reason be not equal in both
cases, which I confess I do not see."^2
Marvell compresses an account of the royal financial trans-
actions into a series of brief sentences, almost telegraphic
in their emphasis: "The King had occasion for sixty thousand
pounds. Sent to borrow it of the city. Sterlin, Robinson,
and all the rest of that faction, were at it many a week,

(2) Ellis, Letters of Literary Men, p.192-3.
and could not get above ten thousand. The fanatics, under persecution, served his Majesty. The other part, both in court and city, would have prevented it. But the King protested money would be acceptable. So the King patched up, out of the Chamber, and other ways, twenty thousand pounds. The fanatics, of all sorts, forty thousand. The King, though against many of his Council, would have the Parliament sit this twenty-fourth of October. He, and the Keeper spoke of nothing but to have money. Some one million three hundred thousand pounds, to pay off the debt at interest; and eight hundred thousands for a brave navy next Spring. There is like to be a terrible riot of Conventicles. The Prince of Orange here is made much of. The King owes him a great deal of money. The Paper is full.

Such vigour, without its exaggerated brevity, is characteristic also of Teonge, whose Diary is full of graphic little pictures such as the following: "Now very often the seas break over our waste, and come in at our scuttles, and do us some small injury. Now our tables and chairs are lashed fast to the boards; our dishes held on the table, and our bottles of wine held in our hands." Delightful in its plain vigour is the complacent remark of Sir Francis Chaplin on a troublesome opponent's fate: "In the city they sum time since chose one Mead, a Quaker, Sheriff, who with his party did intend to give the City a great trouble, but...

(1) Scoones, Four Centuries of English Letters, p.111-2.
(2) Diary, p.27.
we put on a good resolution and turned him off and sent him to Newgate for his rudness to the Court, and now the gentleman is a little tamer."¹ No letters of the period can exceed those of Prideaux for forcefulness of language towards those whom he dislikes or despises. Pembroke is "the fittest college in town for brutes";² a foolish friend "is furiously about to print"³ a seaman's journal; and he disrespectfully remarks of his Principal who has been complaining of the collectors of chimney money, "the old fool hath been forced to pay the money".⁴ A similar energy of phrase was employed by Sir Nicholas Armourer when, disregarding the important mission on which his correspondent was engaged, he urged him "for God's sake make hast home with peace or without. I know Cullen (Cologne) is a damned place in winter for folks of your humor."⁵

The sense of the emphatic possibilities of a well-turned prose sentence sometimes shows itself in a pleasant neatness of phrase, such as that employed by Sir Thomas Player when he humorously laments "to add to our sorrows, I heare your Excellencye hath sent for winter shoeses, by which wee apprehend your stay abroad to be longer then is wish't by your servants here."⁶ Without the humour, but with equal neatness, and perfect sense of emphasis Jeremy Taylor exhorts his

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¹ Letters to Sir J. Williamson, Vol.II. p.18.
² Letters of Prideaux, p.3.
⁴ Ibid, p.52.
⁵ Letters to Sir J. Williamson, Vol.II. p.27.
bereaved friend John Evelyn: "Sir, if you do not look to it, time will snatch your honour from you, and reproach you for not effecting that by Christian philosophy which time will do alone." In certain writers this neatness assumes almost epigrammatic force. Tillotson admonishes Shrewsbury, in whose conversion to Protestantism he has had a share, "I am sure you cannot more effectually condemn your own act, than by being a worse man after your profession to have embrac'd a better religion." And Halifax, to whom the epigrammatic style surely came naturally, can produce a sentence worthy of Bacon: "Generosity wrong placed becometh a Vice."  

On the whole it may be claimed that the Letters and Diaries share in the virtues of the literary prose of the period, and that the latter does not, generally speaking, partake of the faults of the former. This is natural enough, since, as we have seen, those faults are generally due to the unstudied familiarity of the correspondence. Prose intended for publication avoided grammatical faults, aimed at effective construction and attempted a certain polish. Milton's lengthy sentences are proverbial, but his knowledge of Latin syntax sustains the line of thought even in the following ponderous example: "And for the usual method of teaching arts, I deem it to be an old error of universities, not yet well recovered from the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages, that instead of beginning with arts most easy, (and those to be such as are

(1) Scoones, p.106.
(2) Ibid, p.132
(3) Advice to a Daughter, p.94.
itself, which could produce the clear straightforwardness of obvious to the sense,) they present their young unmatriculated
novices at first coming with the most intellective abstrac-
tions of logic and metaphysics; so that they having but newly
left those grammatic flats and shallows where they stuck un-
reasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction,
and now on the sudden transported under another climate to be
tossed and turmoiled with their unballasted wits in fathomless
and unquiet deeps of controversy, do for the most part grow
into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked and deluded all
this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they
expected worthy and delightful knowledge; till poverty or
youthful years call them importunately their several ways, and
hasten them with the sway of friends either to an ambitious
and mercenary; or ignorantly zealous divinity; some allure
to the trade of law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent
and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity, which
Tillotson, preaching a great sermon on Socinians, XII, 1,
was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing
thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing
fees; others betake them to state affairs, with souls so un-
principled in virtue and true generous breeding, that flattery
and court shifts and tyrannous aphorisms appear to them the
highest points of wisdom; instilling their barren hearts with
a conscientious slavery; if, as I rather think, it be not
feigned.¹ Such writing as this is typical neither of English
prose in general nor of the prose of the mid-seventeenth century

(1) Of Education. Milton's Prose Works (ed. Burnet. 1809),
p.264-5.
itself, which could produce the clear straightforwardness of Dryden. There could hardly be a greater contrast than the passage of Milton just quoted, and the direct brevity of the following sentence: "Neander was pursuing this discourse so eagerly that Eugenius had called to him twice or thrice ere he took notice that the barge stood still, and that they were at the foot of Somerset-stairs, where they had appointed it to land." Yet that Milton himself could write as plain a sentence, and on a subject less purely matter-of-fact, is proved by many examples such as this: "He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true wayfaring Christian."2

The clearness, which we noticed as a counterbalancing virtue of the prose of Letters and Diaries, is apparent in the works of writers widely different in other characteristics. Tillotson, preaching a great sermon on Ecclesiastes, XII, 1, expounds his reasoning thus: "The Text contains a Duty, which is to 'remember our Creator'; and a Limitation of it more especially to one particular Age and Time of our Life; 'in the days of our Youth': Not to exclude any other Age, but to lay a particular Emphasis and Weight upon this: 'Remember thy Creator in the days of thy Youth', that is, more especially in this Age of thy Life. To intimate to us, both that this is the fittest Season, and that we cannot begin this work too soon."3

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(1) Dryden, Of Dramatic Poesie, p.59.
(2) Milton, Areopagitica, p.294.
Baxter similarly exhorts his readers in the simplest language and the plainest terms: "I beseech thee, Reader, as thou hast the hope of a Christian, or the reason of a man, judge thyself, as one that must shortly be judged of God, and faithfully answer these questions."\(^1\) This quality of directness is shared by learned and uncultured alike. Bunyan can write prose as lucidly-constructed as that of Dryden. "By these things I was driven to my wits-end, not knowing what to say, or how to answer these temptations: indeed, I little thought that Satan had thus assaulted me, but that rather it was my own prudence thus to start the question; for that the elect only obtained eternal life; that I without Scruple did heartily close withal; but that myself was one of them, there lay the question."\(^2\)

Bunyan may compare, too, in vigour with some of the letter and diary writers, who, as we saw, could express themselves with energy and in language as forcible as it was simple. Hear Bunyan describing his imagined consent to the unforgivable sin: "Now was the battle won, and down fell I, as a bird that is shot from the top of a tree, into great guilt and fearful despair. Thus getting out of my bed, I went moping into the field."\(^3\) The homeliness of the latter part of this passage is characteristic of Bunyan, and natural to his position in life, nor does it spoil the quality of his prose. Simplicity only enhances the beauty of such a sentence as this: "I thought

\(^{(1)}\) Baxter, Saints' Everlasting Rest, p.52.
\(^{(2)}\) Bunyan, Grace Abounding, p.55.
\(^{(3)}\) Ibid, p.64.
I could have spoken of His love, and have told of His mercy to me, even to the very crows that sat upon the ploughed land before me."

Artless simplicity often of necessity gives place to instinctive artistry in prose, and here the colloquial and literary writers part company. Personal and intimate intercourse cannot with appropriateness bear the ordered balance of literary passages such as these: "I will produce before you Father Ben, dressed in all the ornaments and colours of the ancients; you will need no other guide to our party, if you follow him; and whether you consider the bad plays of our age, or regard the good plays of the last; both the best and worst of the modern poets will equally instruct you to admire the ancients." 2 "I am in the dark to all the world, and my nearest friends behold me but in a cloud: those that know me but superficially, think less of me than I do of myself; those of my near acquaintance think more." 3 Sometimes great writers make conscious use of rhetorical ornament, and thus their style differs still more widely from the epistolary language which we have been considering. Browne can push a paradox to its limit of refinement: "I was not only before myself, but Adam, that is, in the idea of God, and the decree of that synod held from all eternity: and in this sense, I say, the world was before the creation, and at an end before it had a beginning; and thus, was I dead before I was alive: though my grave be

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(1) Bunyan, Grace Abounding, p. 46.
(2) Dryden, Of Dramatic Poesie, p. 15.
(3) Browne, Religio Medici, p. 105.
England, my dying place was Paradise; and Eve miscarried of me, before she conceived of Cain.⁴ Such a use of paradox would be quite out of place in a Letter or Diary, and we have noticed little evidence of the use of rhetorical ornament of any kind in such productions. Baxter relishes the rhetorical question, and delights in antithesis, both of which are exemplified in the following passage: "Shall Saunders embrace the stake, and cry, 'Welcome, cross'? And shall not I more delightfully embrace my blessedness, and cry, 'Welcome, crown'? Shall Bradford kiss the faggot? And shall not I kiss the Saviour? Shall another poor martyr rejoice to have her foot in the same hole of the stocks, in which Mr Philpot's had been before her? And shall not I rejoice, that my soul shall live in the same place of glory, where Christ and his Apostles are gone before me? Shall fire and faggot, prisons and banishment, cruel mockings and scourgings be more welcome to others, than Christ and glory to me? God forbid."³ The cumulative effect of the mounting harmonies in this passage would be out of place in a personal Letter or Diary. The natural vivid utterance of a friendly composition cannot and should not partake of such glory of eloquence, or of the sonorous splendour of Browne's metaphysical dreaming: "When the consumable and volatile pieces of our bodies shall be refined into a more impenetrable and fixed temper, like gold, though they suffer from the actions of flames, they shall never perish, but lie immortal in the arms of fire."⁵

(1) Browne, Religio Medici, p.147. (3) Browne, Religio Medici, p.130. (2) Baxter, Saints' Everlasting Rest, p.254
It has been thought of interest to collect certain miscellaneous phrases used in the Letters and Diaries, for comparison and contrast with those in use in the twentieth century. These will be arranged under three headings.

A. Common Phrases identical with those of the present day.

all over. "I am so very much indisposed all over." Lady Conway (MS) p.25. 1644.

and all. "Let it be plainly and sincerely what he intends and all." Dorothy Osborne, p.269. 1654.

desperately ill. Soldiers looked so "desperately ill." Lady Halkett. p.62. 1674.

to inquire (in case "I would have come myself to have inquired" of illness). when Evelyn was ill.
Lady Anne Sunderland, p.59. 1679.

for fear. "I long to have him gone home to you for fear you want him." Lady Anne Sunderland, p.35. 1679.

get off. King "was willing the count (Koningsmark) should get off." (after his murder of Thynne).
Reresby, p.227.

to go on (= behave). "And so he goeth one to all his antes (aunts)."

To be good at something. "For History (especially the French)....., he is very good at it." Verney Memoirs, Vol.III. p.79 (1892)
1652.

Height of ambition. "The height of my ambition is to have a bricke pent hous." Lady Anne Sunderland, p.15. 1677.
To let one have something.

"I'll let you have".
Lady Anne Sunderland, p.17, 1677.

A line or two (letters)

Lady Sussex asks Sir Ralph for "a lyne or to" when he has time.

Put in good humour.

"Pray put the surveigher in good humor".
Lady Anne Sunderland, p.40. 1679.

Such a hurry.

"I was in such a hurry I dated my letter this morning wrong."
Lady Anne Sunderland, p.12. 1676.

To send word.

A lady "sent me word at past twelve she could not call me till 2."
Lady Anne Sunderland, p.6. 1676.

To stick to.

"When all others had yielded themselves to Augustus, he only stuck to him."
Sir John Slingsby, Memoirs, p.73.

She wishes Commons "would stick to the weightier concerns of our laws and religion."
Lady Anne Sunderland, p.27. 1678.

A sentence curiously modern in tone must be quoted in full: "The few hours we have been parted seem too many to me, to let this first post-night pass, with out giving my dear man a little talk."
Lady Russell, p.13. 1675.

B. Common Phrases that have undergone modification.

considering...... "He is but a little hurt that is in considering what great danger he was in."
Lady Anne Sunderland, p.80. 1679.

fits and starts. "By fits and spurts."
for certain.  "Newes that Aragon was revolted from Spain of certaine."  
Rous, p.121.  1640.

Cp. "The newes is certaine for Portugal revolted."  
Ibid. p.113.  1640.

keep one's feet.  "They were so shaken they could scarce hold their feet" (in earthquake).  
Lady Halkett.  p.44.  c.1674.

trust God.  "He..... bade me trust God with him, as he did me."  
Lady Fanshawe. p.103.  c.1670.

C. Phrases now obsolete.

huffed and shuffled.  "Him they huffed and shuffled about, but (as is said) hurt not otherwise."  
Rous, p.122.  1642.

scandalise one's person.  Mildmay maintained that he brought accusation "not out of any particular unkindness to the petitioner, neither had he any designe to scandalise his person, but according to his dutie and loyalty to your Majestie."  
Bramston, p.133.  1683.

to snaffle the forlorn.  The foot "snaffled our forlorn, and put them to retreat."  
Hodgson, p.122.  1683.

upon the matter  Frequently used by Clarendon, e.g., Dutch: "were sensible enough that they had been upon the matter betrayed into the definition "taking the thing as a whole").  
(Continuation) p.331.

(2) That of Lady Fanshawe or Mrs Hutchinson.
The Letters and Diaries suggest that in the matter of spelling the sexes were less evenly matched in the seventeenth century than they are to-day. It is true that certain women spell fairly correctly, while certain men spell incredibly badly, but the masculine average is much higher than the feminine, and the men are decidedly more consistent. This admission need not commit us to an acknowledgement of Macaulay's contention that seventeenth century women entirely neglected education. "Ladies highly born, highly bred, and naturally quick witted, were", he declares, "unable to write a line in their mother tongue without solecisms and faults of spelling such as a charity girl would now be ashamed to commit." Even if this sweeping condemnation be granted, it is no definite proof of neglected education. We have accounts of the education of girls of the time, which suggest that great attention was paid to those branches which were held most necessary and suitable for a maiden of gentle birth. Spelling was of less importance than a knowledge of French, of music and of needlework. In these modern days, good spelling is a commercial asset, but in the seventeenth century women did not need commercial assets, and their spelling was good enough for their purposes. Temple probably liked Dorothy Osborne's letters none the less for an occasional quaintness of orthography, and the highly-educated Lady

(2) That of Lady Fanshawe or Mrs Hutchinson.
Conway could mis-spoil her words with no sense of shame.

A collection of some of these spellings may, however, prove of interest.

The MS Diary of Lady Warwick is an invaluable source of comparison between the spelling of a man and a woman, for her five large volumes were after her death annotated and revised by her domestic chaplain. He scribbles his notes in the margin, or in a blank space at the end of a paragraph or even between her lines, and painstakingly crosses out her misspelt words, writing in the correct spelling above. We can thus compare the contemporary spellings of a high-born woman and a man of much lower rank, though probably of some education in virtue of his position. The result is startlingly in favour of the man. The simplest method of arrangement will be to list a selection of representative words in two parallel columns, Lady Warwick's spellings in the first and Mr Woodroffe's corrections in the second.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lady Warwick's Spellings</th>
<th>Woodroffe's Corrections</th>
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<tr>
<td>haithnieng</td>
<td>heightning</td>
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<td>sofuringes</td>
<td>sufferings</td>
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<td>compleasanic</td>
<td>complacency</td>
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<td>cored</td>
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<td>hopeful aire</td>
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<td>crianieng</td>
<td>Christning</td>
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<td>aproouch</td>
<td>approach</td>
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<td>intaingegelling</td>
<td>entanglements</td>
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<tr>
<td>intaiengullments</td>
<td>(here the word is corrected in itself)</td>
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<tr>
<td>sanctified</td>
<td>intanglements</td>
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<tr>
<td>necessary</td>
<td>sanctified</td>
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<tr>
<td>reputianes</td>
<td>necessary</td>
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<tr>
<td>askorenor</td>
<td>tianes crossed out and a scorrer</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-tations written above</td>
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We may note Lady Warwick's erratic methods. "Intaingegelling" and "intaiengullments" is a case in point, both very peculiar spellings and neither consistent with the other. She can run two words together, as in "ascorenor", and she can spell proper names with or without a capital letter, just as the fancy takes her. The chaplain’s orthography, on the other hand, is extremely good, and his corrections in nearly every case take the form that the word would take in orthodox twentieth century spelling. Some of his omissions are curious, and can only be accounted for by the heaviness of the task he had set himself in revising his patroness’s inconsistencies. He does not correct, among others, "quiknieng", "mersyes", or "spesall" though in "espesall" the final syllable is crossed out and "cial" written above.
This source for comparison of spellings is peculiarly valuable, but interesting material can be found elsewhere. The erratic nature of women's spelling can be illustrated by Lady Halkett, who, for instance, quotes a letter from Mr "Seymour", spelling the name correctly, and just above refers to him as "Seemer". Dame Margaret Herbert writes to Sir Ralph Verney about some "amell" (enamel) in two separate letters, although before her second she has received a letter from him in which he spells the word correctly. It seems that women did not as a rule take the trouble to consider such questions, or even to notice a divergence between their own practice and that of their correspondents. Yet they can be consistent in their faults. Lady Warwick, for instance, generally spells final "-ings" as "-iengs", though she occasionally uses the variant "-eings", and in the singular keeps to the normal -ing. Lady Halkett almost invariably doubles final t; repentt; itt; preventt; quiett; wentt; impatientt; and sometimes doubles t when medial; suspicion (but op. occasion); writtes; cittisen. Lady Sussex affects the spelling o for initial s and writes suffer; cuch, breeech. Lady Brilia Harle's spelling is, like that of Lady Warwick, a law unto herself alone, and in her case there is no Mr Woodroffe to provide a wholesome contrast. Her spellings can only be judged by a representative list:

(1) Letters of Lady Brilia Harle, p. 141.
She spells the proper name Wright sometimes correctly and sometimes Hwit, and writes the following curious sentence, the proper names being obviously identical: "Mr Husbands is married, and a most abundant loving cuppell they say they are; and old Mrs Hubblins is gone to live with her daughter."

The only masculine writer who can at all compete with such erratic orthography is a correspondent of Sir Joseph Williamson, Sir Nicholas Armourer. Even he has not so many

(1) Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, p.141.
nor such varied inconsistencies to his credit. He favours
doubled consonants; wiffe; house; doggs; watters; saffest;
supply; pessse; peopell; beleffe (belief). Two of his
sentences are curious enough for full quotation:

"Here is an office stays for you, and Teague tells mee a
wiffe too in the Mall, and he lickes (likes) her verie well
ay Taite and has writ to thee (thea) about it."

"Dick Talbot and Father Patrick are both marched off, but
have left the gallery too crowded with their excellent country-
men, that I am forced to goe riddelling through what such
shovells off those vipers doe heare God knows" (i.e. though
what such shoals of those vipers do here).¹

Attempts at phonetic spelling are made occasionally
by both men and women. Such are:— "quier" and "quire"
(Symonds); "boarson", alternating with "boatswaine" (Toonge);
"oxon" (Pepys); "hickup" (Pepys); "husfrey" (= housewifery)
(Anne Montague); "inditement" (Rous); "loare" (= lower)
(Toonge); "Norfuck" (Edmund Verney); "quintisenc" (Grace
Bokenham); "shier" and "shiare" (Thomas Browne); "tordis"
(= towards) (Cary Gardiner, op. "antorde" [Lady Warwick]);
"triyumfe" (Lady Brilliana Harley); "woch" (= watch) (Peg
Elmes) op. wacth (Lady Brilliana Harley).

¹ (1) Letters to Sir Joseph Williamson, Vol.II. p.27.
A collection of varied Place and Proper Name spellings may be added.

Anwicke (Alnwick)  Lady Halkett
Balcarese (Balcarres)  Lady Halkett
Belmerinoth (Balmerino)  Lady Halkett
Bullingbroke  Baxter
(Brun Island (Burntisland)  Lady Halkett
(Brun  Lady Halkett
Carlile
Scheseheere (Cheshire)  Lady Brilliana Harley
Crismus  Dorothy Leake
Christmas)
Sisseter (Cirenceester?)  John Verney
Coddison
Cudsden
Detfort
Detfort (twice)
Detford
Deep (Dieppe)  Henry Verney
Diepe
Edenborough
Glamis
"Guybralter, alis Gibbitore")
Gibbletore (Gibraltar)  Ralph Verney
Lady Anne Sunderland
Rous  Lady Conway
Mary Verney
Lady Halkett
Teonge
Cylomposon written in margin

Flimworth  
(Prince)  
Plymouth  
Portsmouth  
Portsmouth  
Rouen  
Rutland  
Tewsbury  
Weemess  
Westmester  

Lady Halkett
Teonce
Lady Halkett
Lady Halkett
Lady Halkett
Lady Halkett
Lady Halkett
Lady Halkett
Lady Halkett
Lady Halkett
Clarendon
Evelyn
Sir Thomas Browne
Lady Twysden
Edward Browne
Lord Spencer
Symonds
Lady Conway
Lady Twysden

There is a good deal of variety in the addition of e to words with final or medial u, and the reverse process. E.g. Badmington (Symonds); busking (Lord Windsor); companions (Anne Montagu); drunken (Prideaux);
Certain eccentricities of spelling can be grouped under recognized laws. There are, for instance, some instances of metathesis, e.g., brithday (Anne Montague); Yatch alternating with yacht (Henry Savile); heigth (Lady Conway, but op. straight in same letter). There are also curious examples of the transference of final n in "an" to the following noun if the latter's initial letter be a vowel; e.g. a negg (Pen Denton); a nass (a Verney servant); "a nupper coat" (a Verney servant); a meude and a nothar (Lady Denton); a mother (Peg Elmes); a nagge (= an ague) (Mrs Isham). A tendency to syncopate final and medial e. appears with some frequency; e.g., botils (Lady Anne Sunderland); coachs (plural) (Lady Conway); imbodry and embrodred (Evelyn); letres (Prideaux); pettoat (Anne Montague); troublsome and troublsomest (Lady Anne Sunderland). Certain words show a great number of variant forms; Daughter; dafter (Grace Bokenham, op. her "thof" for "though"); dafter (Mrs Sherard); daufter (Cary Gardiner). Lieutenant; lieftenant (Rous); lieutenant (Lady Halkett); Leiftenant (Symonds); leiftenant (D'Ewes); leiutenant (Toonge). Soldier; soldjer (Symonds); soulder (Lady Brilliana Harley); solger (Bremston); soelger (Edward Browne); soulder (Lady Twysden). There is a good deal of variety in the addition of g to words with final or medial n, and the reverse process. E. g., Badmington (Symonds); dumking (Lord Windsor); compangione (Anne Montague); drunkeing (Prideaux);
Finally, there is a collection of what may be described as "freak" spellings:

- aggravacoin
- agmarine
- booke
- caressing
- ecleipes
- escocheon
- hernois (twice)
- sumuliet
- purselane
- portmantele (op. portmanteau in letter of his father).
- Valans
- valline
- yecalk

Note: "a" for "he" is used always in Henry Verney's letters; "a" for "have" once in a letter of Peg Elmes; "um" for "them" twice in a letter of Sir Charles Lyttelton.
Close study of the Letters and Diaries of the period 1640-80 has yielded some examples of words used at a date earlier than the first examples recorded in the *N.E.D.*, and a few instances of words unrecorded in a special sense. These have been collected, and will be tabulated here.

**Chocked up**

"'Tis now half chocked up with rubbish".

*Evelyn's Diary*, 7th Feb. 1644.

Not recorded in this form with this meaning. For *choke up*: "to block up a channel", *N.E.D.* gives 1673, as first instance.

**COLOGUE.**

"You might compliment and cologue my lord duke out of proposing" a candidate for Retford. - *Henry Savile*, p. 25. 1670.

First recorded instance ("to prevail upon or coax") is 1676.

**Devotee.**

Edmund Verney styles himself his cousin's "devotee" (in italics).


*N.E.D.* has "devote and devotee were used indifferently from c. 1675 to 1725". First instance in sense of votary (not religious) is 1657.

Cp. "Dr. Taylor (whose devote you must know I am) Dorothy Osborne, p. 212. c. 1654.

**Disgruntle.**

Death of a horse "doth much disgruntle me"


First recorded instance is 1652.
Garinosity. "garinosity between the Presbyterians and Independents".
Charles I. 1646. A impressive mass, and when
(Marginal note gives "hatred or animosity")
No recorded instance.
Picket
"I •••. mind not every little pickeut of hers"
1659.
No recorded instance.
Purloin.
"Some odd fellows.... purloined them"
(chilclren).
1643.
Only one instance (or 1489) in this sense
(i.e. with a person as object).
Squelch.
The story "being noised abroad, squelched
the Coll.'s (colonel's) pretensions."
Frideaux, p. 79. 1679.
No recorded instance of this figurative use
earlier than 1564.
Testicated.
"My head is so testicated with the times".
Lady Hobart: Verney Memoirs, Vol. III.
Not given in N. E. D.
The remarkable amount of private correspondence in this period was emphasised in the Introduction. The collected series of letters alone are an impressive mass, and when taken in consideration with the hundreds of separate letters are an imposing addition to the general output of the century. Individual correspondence bears out the impression of an age of constant communication. Lady Conway speaks of a weekly post between Kensington and Dublin; Temple and Dorothy Osborne make every use of the weekly carrier for the transmission of their letters; Ralph Verney writes to his son in Holland twice in one week. The length of the epistles is in proportion to their frequency. The modern "note" is scarcely represented. Our seventeenth century ancestors wrote as they thought, with abounding interest in all sides of life and a presupposition of the same interest in their correspondents. They wrote not so much to convey information as to keep in mental touch. The books they were reading (so sure a touchstone of the changing outlook of separated friends) find an important place in their letters; record of their daily pursuits gives a vivid picture of surroundings and occupations; intimate homely details build up the personality of the writer. The letters are long, as a letter should be, if it is designed as a means of intercourse between friends. Lady Anne Sunderland sometimes apologises for giving Evelyn the trouble of reading her long epistles, but makes them none the shorter for that.
The candid detail of the letters has a historical as well as a personal value. The casual comments of contemporaries on events of which their descendants alone can see the full significance, have a unique interest. Such judgments, by their very partiality and lack of detachment, give the background without which a reasoned consideration of historic events is impossible. Isolated facts, such as the execution of Charles I or the Restoration of Charles II, have no significance unless considered in relation to the people whose mental attitude brought them about or suffered them. Some at least of the thinkers of our period realised this, for, says Howell, "It is well known that letters can treasure up and transmit matters of state to posterity with as much faith, and be as authentic registers, and safe repositories of truth as any story whatsoever." Lady Hobart's panic-stricken outpourings at the time of the Great Fire leave an unforgettable impression of its actual horrors, while Slingby's vivid personal narrative of battles and skirmishes of the Civil War give a deeper insight into its futilities and gallantries than all the ordered facts of history books.

The same kind of interest attaches to the Diaries, which, as we have said, are for the most part intimate records of personal experience. Leisurably unfolding of matter interesting to the writer, candid expression of opinion, and delight in vivid and varied detail give to the Diaries as


(2) Randal, Novato, etc., as a form of literature, p.18.
to the Letters a value both psychological and historical. Finally, what of the Letters simply as Letters? Here there can be no two opinions. In all the mass of correspondence examined for the purposes of this study, there is hardly one letter which could be called dull. Racy, humorous, affectionate, gossipping epistles, each bears the stamp of character, and has therefore its own peculiar flavour. The writers are actuated by a desire for personal intercourse, and with a lack of shyness which contrasts with modern reserve, throw themselves into their letters, thus producing, without art or effort, models of what the perfect letter should be. They fulfil in every detail the requirements of a modern critic, who declares: "Successful letter-writing seems to presuppose certain things, chief among which are frank friendship persisting through separation; variety of interests; interest in the lighter aspects of things; literary use of the vernacular; humour; and lack of reserve." Before we leave them, one word must be said about the women. The requirements noted above are perhaps especially suited to the feminine temperament; however that may be, it is acknowledged that of seventeenth century letter-writers Dorothy Osborne stands supreme. In her all the necessary qualities seem to meet. Yet she does not stand alone, and one of the striking features of our period is the great mass of feminine correspondence, all of a very high level of excellence. The

(1) Rennie, Letter-Writing as a Form of Literature, p.18.
affectionate straightforwardness of Lady Brilliana Harley’s letters to her son; the wide interests of Lady Anne Sunderland; the generous friendships of Saccharissa; the sprightly confessions of Elizabeth Bodvile; these and many other examples stand as witness to the variety and charm of the women letter-writers of the period. And, as their masculine complement, we have the brilliant good-humour of Henry Savile; the sound sense of Halifax; or the loveable conscientiousness of Sir Ralph Verney. As we reach the end of our study of seventeenth century Letters and Diaries, we feel moved to echo the words of a modern writer: "The really good letter, which is generally the production of a woman’s pen, is a positive sweetener of existence."

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