THE RELATIONS OF LATIN AND ENGLISH AS LIVING LANGUAGES IN ENGLAND DURING THE AGE OF MILTON

****

~~Omnes~~ trahimur et ducimur ad cognitionis et scientiae cupiditatem, in qua excellere pulchrum putamus; labi autem, errare, nescire, decipi, et malum et turpe ducimus.

~~Cicero, De Officiis, I, 6.~~

stet

A Dissertation

presented to the Faculty of the University of Virginia

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

By Weldon T. Myers.

CONTENTS

THE RELATIONS OF LATIN AND ENGLISH AS LIVING LANGUAGES IN ENGLAND DURING THE AGE OF MILTON.

Introduction.

The more one inquires into the literature and life of England from 1600 to 1660, the more he grows to recognize two paramount subjects exercising the thought of Englishmen of that day. The first had to do with religious and ecclesiastical concerns, the second with classical learning. These two supreme considerations are encountered in the education, in the literature, and in the politics of the times. Their prominence is exemplified in the life and career of many men: of John Milton, for instance, who spent thirty years becoming a scholar, and then turning to politics and controversy lent his great scholarship toward the reform of ecclesiastical government. Thomas Hobbes, the philosopher, pursued somewhat the same course, first devoting himself to a long series of reading in the classics and to the mastery of a Latin style, and then turning to political philosophy and laying down the principles of a Christian commonwealth. King James I exhibited the twofold interest of the times at every juncture; his speeches and writings, if they contained nothing else, had at least the ornament of classical and scriptural quotation. Latin and the Bible, school and church, learning and controversy--these twin ideas move conspicuously in every scene which occupied the attention of Englishmen during the age of Milton.

The interest of this study is with only one of these ideas, that is, classical learning, which in its full scope may be considered under three aspects.

First, the production of great humanistic scholars. The study of books was pursued to an extent almost incredible at the present day. There raged a national epidemic of scholarship under the influence of the narrow humanism which set up classical learning as an end worthy and glorious in itself. Boys at six or seven began the study of Latin and continued until Latin epitaphs were engraved on their tombs.

In any contemporary biographical account, however brief, at least one statement, for praise or blame, had reference to the plenitude or deficiency of a man's proper learning. In Wood's Annals of Oxford, in which wrote sketches of hundreds of University scholars, the one almost universal matter of comment had to do with classical

attainments. It is not the question to what use the attainments were put, or what service they performed: their mere possession is advertised as a high accomplishment and the crown of a successful life.

Second, the employment of Latin in practical living intercourse. It was not at that time altogether a dead language, whose last word had been uttered and stereotyped in old Roman books; but it retained a vital power for daily work, and along with the humble and unlearned vernacular was still an instrument of civilization.

Third, the influence of classical scholarship and Latin prose style on the syntax and style of English prose. The contact of the two languages in the schools, in the study and the writings of literary men, and to some extent in the practical affairs of church and state, produced on the side of English certain reactions traceable in the poetry but more manifest in the prose. These marks were fortunately not inherited in the prose of succeeding generations, since our language later asserted its own native genius and outgrew the severe impositions of a powerful foreign tongue. But in the middle of the seventeenth century it was by no means certain, nor unanimously desirable, that those unnatural influences should pass away. Some of the most important prose writers strove deliberately to improve and upbuild the inferior English by introducing from the admired and masterly Latin the long, eloquent, comprehensive sentence, the involved subordination of clauses, the inverted and emphatic word-order, the introductory and demonstrative use of the relative pronoun, and , finally, "an excessive elaboration of diction, a quaintness," that curiosa felicitas which we admire in certain Latin writers both of prose and verse, such as Sallust, Virgil, Tacitus, but which our barbarian speech never took kindly to." [1]

These three aspects of high classical scholarship,--vast learning, the practical use of Latin, and English prose reaction,-- though closely interrelated, may easily be separated and detached for particular investigation. But with respect to the last, that is, the

[1] Earle, English Prose, p. 451-2.

reactions of English prose style in contact with the Latin language and literature, the investigation of the other two features naturally precedes and prepares the way. In other words, to appreciate the formal effects wrought on English it is necessary first to comprehend the nature and extent of the causes on the side of an intensive Latin scholarship and a wide-spread employment of Latin as a living tongue.

The original intention of this treatise was to make the approach from the English side and to examine the stylistic effects of the one language upon the other as recorded in the English prose literature of the seventeenth century. As investigation proceeded, questions constantly rose with reference to the actual status of the foreign tongue in England: In what esteem was Latin held in comparison with English? To what extent did the composition of prose and poetry continue in a scholar's habits after withdrawal from the University? When the two languages came together in living rivalry, bidding for choice in a piece of writing, what considerations favored the selection of the one or the other by the writer? Was the tongue of Cicero regarded as inherently a finer and more powerful instrument of expression than the language of Shakspeare?

To give satisfactory answer to these and similar questions, it seemed first necessary to understand, in as thorough and far-reaching a manner as possible, the relations existing between Latin and English as languages living and working side by side during that age of profound classical scholarship and relentless classical fashion. The investigation turned, therefore, from the standpoint of English, from the question of effects, to the side of Latin, the question of influences, and to the examination, in all directions, of the uses of the ancient tongue in England during this period, and of its relations to seventeenth century English.

Latin, then, as a living and literary tongue alongside of English during the supreme classical age of Milton is the subject of this treatise. An effort has been made to comprehend all the active uses of the older language in written and spoken discourse, in prose and verse, in England and by Englishmen; to present all the activities wherein Latin stood aloof from and independent of English, and all wherein the two tongues came into mutual contact as rivals,

as co-workers, or as subordinate the one to the other.

In presenting the Latinity of the whole period, the example of Milton as a user of Latin has been called to witness wherever a record or evidence of such use appears. A thorough investigation of his life and literary work has been made for this purpose, and his name finds a place in nearly all the divisions of Latin writing in his time. He has helped to illuminate the whole work, and his classical character has been itself illustrated in the light of that humanistic age.

The age of Milton was selected because it marked the culmination of classical scholarship and produced a prose literature most profoundly affected by Latin models. It is moreover a period of definite limits, which promise some degree of unity to historic inquiries. In a strict sense the literary age of Milton is usually understood as extending from 1625, about the close of the Elizabethan age, to 1660, the year of the Restoration, the beginning of French influence, and the decisive change not only in things political and literary, but in nearly all the forces that affected the life of the English people. In a broader sense, the age of Milton may be taken as coinciding with the years of the poet's life, from 1608 to 1674. In this work no rigid line has been drawn for the beginning of the period, but the year 1615, about the time when Milton's classical education began, has been generally observed as the first limit of investigation. The year 1660, marking so positive a national epoch, has been pretty faithfully respected as the other limit of inquiry.

The treatment has fallen into three main divisions, as follows:

Section I. Latin in the Schools and Universities. This division presents the classical curricula and the various extra-curriculum activities which Latin performed in academic life. The schools cherished an intense and narrow humanism; for long years they brought classical language and ideas to bear on the mind of a youth, and finally sent him forth into the world with an equipment consisting largely of an ability to read, think, and write in the language of Cicero, and to quote from the ancient authors passages to suit every possible occasion. The employment of Latin

in the fashion and business of the world rose out of a thorough-going and long-continued academic training.

Section II. Latin as an International Language. It was the medium of intercourse between England and the continental courts, and also between individual Englishmen and foreigners, Latin being in many cases the only common speech. Moreover, literary productions by Englishmen who sought a foreign audience, to instruct them or to be honored by them, were put in the learned tongue. In this use Latin stood aloof from English, independent and alone, occupying a field to which the vernacular never made any claim or pretense.

Section III. Latin as a substitute for English. Considerations of dignity, learning, decorum, and compliment determined the choice of the ancient and foreign tongue in cases where the native speech should have been more natural and effective. The classical fashion of the age imposed certain burdens which the boldest and most independent never thought of shifting. In this division the classical atmosphere and the various pervasive influences are taken into consideration.

SECTION I

Chapter I.

The early age at which the severe and thorough study of Latin began for the seventeenth century English boy serves to suggest what estimate the time put on its value for the mature man. The grammar schools, which were so named because Latin was taught therein,[1] admitted pupils from eight to twelve years of age, and it was the custom to require some knowledge of Latin grammar from all pupils who were admitted.[2] This requirement threw the study of the ancient language back upon the years of very early childhood; and since the hopes for a boy's intellectual career looked forward chiefly to the one great, all-important subject of the classics, therefore the earlier a child began his rudiments and the more diligently he pursued them, the surer were his chances to attain distinction in the schools and eminence in later life. It is not uncommon in biographical accounts of seventeenth century Englishmen who became great or were so esteemed in scholarship or literature to find record of very early interest in classical studies. For instance, it is an item of the biography of Thomas Hobbes (born 1588), that he was learning Latin and Greek at the age of six, and made such rapid advancement that before fourteen he was able to translate the Medea of Euripides into Latin iambics.[3] The future philosopher, while in his youth a tutor to the Earl of Devonshire, approved his own intellectual training by urging his young pupil into strenuous classical ways, and dictating to him a Latin abstract of Aristotle's Rhetoric. John Evelyn, the diarist, in speaking of his earliest education, notices a sort of belatedness in the start he made. Under the year 1624 he writes: "I was not initiated into any rudiments till I was four years of age;" and later he observes: "It was not till the year 1628" [i.e. till his eighth year] "that I was put to learn my Latin rudiments, and to write of one Citolin, a Frenchman, in Lewes."[4] The boy of whom any special expectation was entertained in the way of learning had to start his Latin almost in infancy,--to lisp in

---

[1] Mark's Educational Theories, p. 95.

[2] Do., 77.

[3] Robertson's Hobbes, p. 4.

[4] Evelyn's Diary, under the years indicated.

in Latin, like a young Roman of the ancient republic.

With this early progress in classical paths, and with a vast background of classical tradition for centuries in English history, religion and literature, giving tone and character to the individual mind from the first steps in education, it was to be expected that marvels of linguistic precocity would arise. Latin had been petted and coddled in the schools, in the law courts, in the church, and in the very conversation of men, for so long that its presence and possession was everywhere, and the child of any hope was born to that language as surely as to his own. An instance of juvenile achievement in school is related with admiration by Thomas Fuller. "I knew a school-boy," he says, "not above twelve years old, and utterly ignorant of all logical terms, who was commanded to English the following distich:

Dat Galenus opes, et Justinianus honores,
Cum genus, et species, cogitur ire pedes.

Only they favored the boy so far, that Galenus did signify the profession of physic, Justinianus of law; on which ground he thus proceeded:

'Galenus, the study of physic, dat giveth, opes wealth; Justinianus, the study of law, dat giveth, honores honours; cum when, genus high birth, et species and beauty [having no other calling (saith the boy) to maintain them], cogitur is compelled, ire pedes to go on foot.'"[1]

It was of course a matter of exultation to parents and master to hear such smooth and perfect scholarship from the lips of one so young. They must have showered commendations upon him and prophecied his fair distinction in the world. We cannot ignore the value also of the moral sentiment in the verses: many a time, on apt occasion thereafter, the boy, grown to manhood and position, may have bestowed a warning precept on youth or adorned an argument in politics or religion, with quotation of the long-known elegiacs.

When among any people a certain fashion of thought and education is persisted in for generations, there will arise not only precocities in youth but also prodigies in later life. The age of Milton in England emphasized religion and learning, and it was an era of

---

[1] Fuller's Worthies, I, p.98.

preachers and scholars, sects and controversies, fanatics and bookworms. But it produced, as its best fruit on the one hand, George Fox, the first of the Quakers, Roger Williams, the advocate of religious liberty, Cromwell, the Puritan warrior and statesman, and John Bunyan, the author of Pilgrim's Progress; on the other hand, Archbishop Usher, author of the long-accepted Biblical chronology, John Selden, the rival and antagonist of Hugo Grotius in learning and controversy, and John Milton, the vanquisher of Claudius Salmasius and author of Paradise Lost. It was the education of the boy that made the man, and Latin was the subject that made the schools.

Let us look now at the curricula of the school which the child entered between eight and twelve years of age, after his elementary instruction in the rudiments of Latin. Eton College may be taken as one example. There is a detailed account given of the studies pursued at Eton in 1560, and the only slight change during succeeding generations was some additional attention paid to Greek.[1] There were seven forms in the school and the books studied were as follows:[2]

"In the first form, Cato and Vives.

"In the second, Terence, Lucian's Dialogues (in Latin), and Aesop's Fables (in Latin).

"In the third, Terence, Aesop's Fables (in Latin), and Selections by Sturmius from Cicero's Epistles.

"In the fourth, Terence, Ovid's Tristia, and the Epigrams of Martial, Catullus, and Sir Thomas More.

"In the fifth, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Horace, Cicero's Epistles, Valerius Maxamus, Lucius Florus, Justin, and "Sysembrotus".

"In the sixth and seventh, Caesar's Commentaries, Cicero de Officiis, and de Amicitia, Virgil, Lucan, and the Greek Grammar."

"It is clear", says Lyte, "that Latin was almost the only subject of study [at Eton], and that no means of inculcating a sound knowledge of it was neglected. The lower boys had to decline and conjugate words, and their seniors had to repeat rules of grammar, for the illustration of which short phrases called 'Vulgaria' were composed and committed to memory. Some sort of Latin composition, however brief, was a necessary portion of the daily work of every Eton

---

[1] Lyte's Eton, p. 209.

[2] Do., 146, ff.

scholar. In the lower form it was confined to the literal translation of an English sentence or passage, while in the fifth form it consisted of a theme on a subject set by the Master. The boys in the sixth and seventh forms used to write verses. ..... The Master and Usher used to read aloud and explain to the boys the passages which were to be learnt by heart."[1]

Such was the curriculum at Eton in 1560, and, with slight change, for the two centuries following. To show further how the young mind was brought up in an intellectual world whose meat and drink were Latin and Greek, the following extended description is given of the seventeenth century work of another of the great English public schools. It is an account of studies at Westminster.

"About a quarter of an hour after 5 in the morning we were called up by one of the Monitors of the chamber; and after Latin prayers we went into the cloysters to wash, and thence in order, two by two, to the schoole, where we were to be by 6 of the clock at furthest. Between 6 and 8 we repeated our grammar parts (out of Lilie for Latin, out of Cambden for Greek); 14 or 15 being selected and called out to stand in a semicircle before the Mr. and the scholars, and there repeat 4 or 5 leaves in either, the Mr. appointing who should begin and who should go on with such and such rules. After this we had two exercises that varied every other morning. The first morning we made verses extempore Latin and Greek, upon two or three themes; and they that made the best (two or three of them) had some money given them by the school-Mr., for the most part. The second morning, one of the form was called out to expound some part of a Latin or Greek author (Cicero, Livie, Isocrates, Homer, Apollinarius, Xenophon, &c.), and they of the two next forms were called to give an account of it some other part of the day; or else they were all of them (or such as were picked out, of whom the Mr. made choice by the fear or confidence discovered in their looks) to repeate and pronounce distinctly without book some piece of an author that had been learned the day before. From 8 to 9 we had time for Beaver, and recollection of ourselves, and preparation for future exercises. Between 9 and 11, those exercises were read which had been enjoined us over night (one day in prose, the next day in verse), which were selected by the Mr.; some to be examined and punished, others to be

[1] Lyte, Eton College, p. 146.

commended and proposed for imitation. Which being done, we had the practice of the Dictamina; one of the ~~fifth~~ 5th form being called out to translate some sentences out of an unexpected author (extempore) into good Latin; and then one of the 6th or 7th form to translate the same (extempore also) into good Greek. Then the Mr. expounded some part of a Latin or Greek author (one day in prose, another in verse) wherein we were to be practised in the afternoon. At dinner and supper times we read some portion of the Latin Bible in a manuscript (to facilitate the reading of such hands): and, the Prebendaries then having their table commonly in the Hall, some of them had oftentimes good remembrances sent unto them from thence, and withal a theme to make or speak some extempore verses upon them. Betwixt 1 and 3, that lesson which out of some author appointed for that day had been by the Mr. expounded unto them (out of Cicero, Virgil, Homer, Euripides, Isocrates, Livie, Sallust, &c.) was to be exactly gone through by construing and other grammatical ways, examining all the Rhetorical figures, and translating it out of verse into prose, or out of prose into verse, out of Greek into Latin, or out of Latin into Greek. Then they were enjoined to commit that to memory against the next morning. Betwixt 3 and 4 we had a little respite; the Mr. walking out and they (in beaver-times) going in order to the Hall, and then fitting themselves for the next task. Between 4 and 5 they repeated a leaf or two of some book of Rhetorical figures, or some choice Proverbs and Sentences, collected by the Mr. for that use. After, they were practised in translating some Dictamina out of Latin or Greek, or sometimes turning Latin or Greek verses into English verse. Then a theme was given them, whereupon to make prose of verses, Latin or Greek, against the next morning. After supper (in summer-time) they were three or four times in a week called to the Mr.'s chamber (especially they of the seventh form), and there instructed out of Hunter's Cosmographie, and practised to describe and find out cities and countries in the maps. Upon Sundays before morning prayers in summer (such as were King's scholars), they came commonly into the school, and there construed some part of the gospel in Greek, or repeated some part of the Greek catechism. In the afternoon they made verses upon the preacher's sermon, or epistle and gospel. The best scholars in the 7th form were appoint-

ed as Tutors to read and expound places of Homer, Virgil, Horace, Euripides, or other Greek and Latin authors, at those times (in the forenoon, or afternoon, or after beaver-times) wherein the scholars were in the school in expectation of the Mr. The scholars were governed by several Monitores (two for the Hall, as many for the Church, the School, the Field, the cloyster-- which last attended them to washing, and were called Monitores immundorum[1]). The Captain of the School was over all these, and therefore called Monitor Monitorum.[2] These Monitors kept them strictly to speaking of Latin, in their several commands; and withal they presented their complaints or Accusations (as we called them) every Friday morning, when the punishments were often redeemed by exercises, or favours shown to boys of extraordinary merit, who had the honour (by the Monitor Monitorum) many times to beg and prevail for such remissions. And so, at other times, other faults were often punished by scholastic tasks, as repeating whole orations out of Tullie, Isocrates, Demosthenes, or speeches out of Virgil, Thucydides, Xenophon, Euripides, &c."[3]

This quotation has been extended to great length because of its frank and full testimony to the Latin drill and routine of the seventeenth century English school. It will be no wonder to anyone, after seeing the relentless pressure of classical training on the school-boy, to find in the life and business the two languages, Latin and English, alive and working side by side, sometimes in rivalry, sometimes in cooperation, and again apart and independently. On looking into the day's program at Eton or Westminster, and observing the mother tongue disgraced and banished, and Latin holding imperial sway, one might expect that Rome was destined to conquer Britain once more, not with her legions but her language, literature and ideas. Fortunately the great body of English children were saved from advancing far in their academic education, and so the vast mother tongue, though invaded and injured, remained invincible.

As at Eton and Westminster, so at St. Paul's, Milton's old school, classical studies formed almost the entire curriculum. Hebrew and the Oriental tongues had gained some slight recognition, out of respect to the sources of the Bible. There were eight forms at St. Paul's. The curriculum extended over from four to six years, the

[1] Monitors of the unbathed.

[2] Monitors of the Monitors.

[3] A passage quoted by Monroe, History Education, pp. 525-6.

age of entrance being from eight to twelve, that of departure from fourteen to eighteen. After the eighth grade, "being commonly by this time made perfect grammarians, good orators and poets, and well instructed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and sometimes in other Oriental tongues," the students passed on to the Universities.[1] So passed Milton to Cambridge in 1624, at the age of sixteen.

It will be proper at this time to glance at a reform scheme for education proposed by a thinker no less original and progressive than Milton himself. Having considered what the young pupil was actually subjected to, we may now notice what relief, if any, was projected for him by a liberal and independent mind. In 1644, twelve years after Milton had emerged from Cambridge and after a long period spent in studious leisure, after a journey to Italy, and later a close acquaintance with Comenius's ideas of educational reform, together with experience of his own in teaching private pupils, the young poet and scholar had formed some clear notions of an ideal education for the ambitious and capable youth of his day, for the young gentlemen whose future would find them legislators and commanders in their country's service. He wrote out his new scheme, with commentaries upon it, and with an introduction setting forth purposes and principles. It is chiefly the aim of Milton's plan that saves it from being the same educational program of Eton or of Cambridge. In form and external aspect it would not threaten to revolutionize education of that day, and in the hands of a shallow master it would easily revert to the narrow humanism of the schools.

Milton would put a complete library of Greek and Latin authors in the hands of his boys, but would encourage them to study the subject, not the language; to study, e.g., agriculture through Cato and Virgil, not Cato and Virgil on agriculture. And so on-- arithmetic, geometry, geography, natural philosophy, astronomy, physic, ethics, economics, politics, the grounds of law, theology, church history, logic, rhetoric, poetics,-- all are to be learned through Latin and Greek, with slight reading in Hebrew, Syrian, Chaldee, and Italian. The subject-matter, not the form and grammar, of the books is to be kept in mind; and the practical nature of each course is to be emphasized by concrete application. For example, the study of agriculture is for improving the tillage of English land, recov-

---

[1] Masson, I, p. 51.

ering bad soil, and remedying "the waste that is made of good." Physic is for knowing the "tempers, the humours, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity," which knowledge "may, at some time or other, save an army." Exercises in composition are not to be bothered with during the course of acquiring knowledge, but postponed till the mind is stored with truth gathered abundantly from every field: language drill and rhetorical exercises find no place in the new plan. Along with studies, attention is systematically given to gymnastics, military drills, and excursions to points of public interest.

All this is very good, and Milton may scorn language for its own sake as "so much miserable Latin and Greek", but as long as he holds those languages as the necessary medium for reaching all knowledge--for gaining "universal insight into all things"-- many a poor eye would fail to struggle through the difficult medium to the precious thing beyond. Milton did not and in his century could not understand that the language-medium should for economy's sake be as clear as possible. If, in the study of Cato, Varro, and Columella, the pupils find the language difficult, "so much the better," he wrote, "it is not a difficulty beyond their years."

This is the doctrine of reform in education for the seventeenth century, and the reform of perhaps the most liberal and progressive thinker of the day. Language is not any longer to be studied for its own sake, and yet many difficult tongues are to be mastered in order to acquire through them the substance of knowledge. For a mind like Milton's, all-comprehemsive and indefatigable, the system might have been tolerable, but for inferior faculties it would have remained, like the courses at Eton, Westminster, and St. Paul's, a long, painful exercise in language. The reformer himself confessed that he had made a bow not "for every man to shoot in, that counts himself a teacher; but [it] will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses." For our purpose Milton's Tract on Education shows the inevitable grip the classical languages held on men's minds in seventeenth century educational systems, and sets in clearer light the activities and impulses in connection with Latin in that industrious and learned age.

In the public schools, it was not only the curriculum and the set tasks and routine that gave the languages their overwhelming advantage over every other object of thought. To point out the right di-

rection of learning, and to give a foretaste of its sweetness, choice Latin inscriptions and mottoes were set up in the schools before the eyes of the young pupils, as finger-boards along the way. Old St. Paul's, which the future reformer attended, and which went down in the fire of 1666, was a model for these guiding mottoes, which he who ran could read. Over the windows, across the face of the building toward the street, were inscribed in large capitals the words: SCHOLA CATECHIZATIONIS PUERORUM IN CHRISTI OPT. MAX. FIDE ET BONIS LITERIS.[1]; and immediately below the door the short invitation: "Ingredere ut proficias."[2] On the windows inside the rooms for the last four forms were painted the less conciliatory words: "Aut doce aut disce aut discede."[3] This threefold classification of duties was sometimes reduced to two by severe masters, in putting the warning to pupils: aut disce aut discede[4]: learn or get out. Latin was thus in the very air breathed. Imagine the young lad of eight or ten arriving for admission at St. Paul's, and on approach finding with his curious and wondering eyes the inscriptions over windows and door, and summoning his little stock of preparatory Latin for a brave scholarly effort to construe their meaning. When once he crossed the threshold, it was to find other inscriptions in the same precious tongue which he was entering to learn.

In classical Eton this teaching on the walls was by no means neglected. Isaac Walton records[5] that when Sir Henry Wotton came as Provost to Eton, "He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence or a genius that prompted them to learning. For whose encouragement he was (besides many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators: persuading them not to neglect rhetoric, because 'Almighty God has left mankind affections

---

[1] School of Catechism for boys in the faith of Christ supremely great and good, and in good literature.

[2] Enter ~~that you may attain~~. and advance.

[3] Either teach or learn or leave the place.

[4] Masson, I, p. 50, describes St. Paul's in Milton's school-days.

[5] Walton, ~~Life of Wotton~~ Lives. pp. 158-9 (Ed, 1852)

to be wrought upon.' And he would often say 'That none despised eloquence but such dull souls as were not capable of it!"

Under such pressure the boy grew up, with Latin in the books he opened for his eyes to pore upon, and Latin on the walls to catch the random glance and fill up, without loss to learning, the would-be idle moment. Latin was in his ears, not only in the regular class drill, but in the incidental talk of his fellow-pupils, or in the short warning of master or usher: aut disce aut discede. Certainly by suggestion and environment Latin was in fair way to become the all-important, all-absorbing object of sense and contemplation. It was both the goal of all endeavor and at the same time the very means toward its own attainment. It followed upon itself, turning the learner's mind round and round in smooth and never-ending circle.

Consideration has been taken of the courses of study in the public schools, of the Latin authors that were read in the original, and of the influences stimulating toward a narrow and intense humanism. For Latin composition we may take a glance at the sort of book esteemed of value for the seventeenth century student. The one before us is entitled "Calliopeia, or A rich Store-house of proper, choice, and elegant Latin words, and phrases, collected (for the most part) out of all Tullies workes: and for the use and benefit of Scholars, digested into an alphabetical order. By Thomas Draxe. Dublin, 1612." Like the door of St.Paul's, this old book could not admit the learner to its inner treasures without giving him a taste of learning on the threshold. The title-page held three quotations from Cicero Ad Brutum, one being a particular rhetorical jewel: Verborum delectus origo eloquentiae.[1] The title-page is followed by a four-page Latin dedication, enthusiastic and eloquent, addressed to Thomas Leigh, Clarissimo, Generosissimo et Magnae Expectationis Adolescentulo," [2] &c. From the dedication one advances to a Carmen Paraeneticum, ad Studiosam Juventutum,[3] in eighteen elegiac verses, -- a typical seventeenth century encouragement to

---

[1] The choice of words is the beginning of eloquence.

[2] A most distinguished and noble youth, of great expectation.

[3] Verses for the encouragement of studious youth.

aspiring youth. A passage from the Carmen explains the plan of the Calliopeia:

Verborum et Phrasium grande volumen habes.
Non hic barbaries, nec verba incondita sedem,
Sed tamtum inveniunt verba venusta locum,
Hinc literas laute scribes, discesque minuto
Tempore, praeclare, Rhetoriceque loqui.[1]

The method thus eulogized follows next, and the body of the book—the grande volumen -- is presented. From a specimen of the two columned pages, the method and order of word-study are self-explaining. The alphabetical arrangement is on the English side.

To abandon, renounce, disclaim		To abate, to lessen, or to diminish
Abjicere		Imminuere
Rejicere		Attenuare
Adversari	quid	Rem minorem facere
Abnegare		De quantitate detrahere
Abrenuntiare		De numero demere.

The follwing specimen, so useful for seventeenth century religious controversy, was hardly derived from "Tullies workes".

The Word of God.
Verbum Dei, Sacra Scriptura,
Oraculum Jehovae, Sacra Biblia,
Vox Dei, Divinus Sermo, Sacra
Dogmata Dei, Lex Dei.

Thomas Drake the author, "a pious man and excellent preacher", contributed a number of other works to learning and religion, some of them in the language which his Calliopeia so earnestly encouraged.

[1] You have here a full volume of words and phrases. No barbarous or uncouth words, but only words of approved elegance, have found a place herein. From this book you will learn in a little while how to write with finish and to speak in a fine rhetorical style.

Chapter II.

If after graduating from the public schools the young man proceeded to the University, he simply kept on in the same direction in which the earlier studies had started him. The system of education at Cambridge in vogue in Milton's day "had been founded very much on the mediaeval notion of what constituted the totum scibile. According to this notion there were 'Seven Liberal Arts', apart from and subordinate to Philosophy proper and Theology--to wit, Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric, forming together what was called the Trivium; and Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music, forming together what was called the Quadrivium. Assuming some rudiments of these arts as having been acquired in school, the Universities undertook the rest; paying most attention however to the Trivium, and to Philosophy as their sequel.[1]"

The regular routine of work at Cambridge consisted of two parts: "the College-studies, or the attendence of the students on the lectures and examinations of the College-tutors or lecturers in Latin, Greek, Logic, Mathematics, Philosophy, etc.; and the University-exercises, or the attendence of the students, together with the students of other Colleges, in the 'public schools' of the University, either to hear the lectures of the University-professors of Greek, Logic, etc. (which, however, was not incumbent on all students), or to hear, and to take part in the public disputations of those students of all the Colleges who were preparing for their degrees.[2]"

The regular language used in all the courses of lectures, by tutors or University professors, in the individual college and in the "public schools" of the University, was Latin. The same language, for the most part, as in Milton's educational scheme, made up the books for a student's private reading. Thus the four years of undergraduate study, and if one continued on for his M.A. degree, three years more of graduate courses, kept the young man's mind occupied with lectures, readings, and various exercises, chiefly in the ancient tongue. No application of the word thorough could be made to anything more appropriately than to the perpetual round of

---

[1] Masson I, 193.

[2] Masson I, 96. — p. 26, in print

Latin activities carried on throughout an academic career.

The ability to write and speak the language was one of the foremost aims of University training, and it was provided in the statutes that candidates for the bachelor's or master's degree should be particularly examined as to their ready skill in treating everyday affairs in Latin.[1] Training in composition and oral discourse was given in the different Colleges, and in the disputations of the "public schools", in which one was required to participate before graduation. During the last year of his undergraduateship the student rose to rank as Sophister, and was entitled to enter the exercises of the public schools and to participate in disputation with other students from the various Colleges.

During this last year and generally in the closing term of the year, the University statutes required each candidate for graduation to keep two "Acts" or "Responsions" in the public schools; preparation for which had been received by similar exercises in the several Colleges. An Act or Responsion was the maintaining, before an audience of Sophisters and Graduates from the various Colleges, some proposition approved by the proctor. It was usually a moral or metaphysical thesis, and was presented in Latin carefully prepared. After the delivery of this Responsion, by a Sophister, three other Sophisters of different Colleges, who were previously appointed for the task, spoke one after the other, in off-hand Latin, attempting by logic and rhetoric to refute the thesis of the Respondent. These attempts at refutation were called Opponencies, and the speakers Opponents. If an Opponent, with the double burden of Latin and logic upon him, stuck in the midst of a syllogism, or of a rhetorical period, the moderator, some Master of Arts, was there to help him out. When all the Opponencies were spoken, the moderator commented on the discussion with appropriate criticism of the disputants, and the Act was over. Two Responsions and two Opponencies were required of every Sophister.[2]

These disputations in Latin not only formed a necessary part of every student's University career but also furnished public enter-

---

[1] Laudian Code of Oxford Statutes, Titulus IX, Sec. II, §1.

[2] Masson I, 100.

tainment on great occasions. The gala-days of the University of Cambridge were Vesperiae Comitiorum and Dies Comitiorum, the eve of Commencement and Commencement Day itself. The essential business of these days was the conferring of the higher degrees on successful candidates--M.A., D.D., M.D., LL.D., and Mus. D. The chief entertainment, however, consisted in public disputations, and in the displays of Latin oratory wherein the graduates had for long years been laboriously trained. The choice of disputants was carefully made to secure the very best, and thereby render the occasion as lively and brilliant as possible. From morning till late in the afternoon of both the Vesperiae Comitiorum and the Dies Comitiorum, crowded audiences were delighted to listen to the learned scholastic debates representing the various faculties of Theology, Philosophy, Civil Law, Medicine, and Music.

In the theological and philosophical faculties, where the candidates were most numerous, the greatest public interest centered on Commencement Day. There were usually two theological disputations, one for the senior divines, with a Respondent selected from the commencing Doctors, and one for the juniors, with the Respondent from those last admitted to the B.D. degree. Opponents were supplied from the same groups. For the philosophical disputation, the disputants were usually selected from the new Bachelors of Arts; but since these Commencement exercises served only as brilliant entertainments, and not as conditions of graduation, it happened that if the Bachelors could not furnish the fit men, both the Respondents and the Opponents might be secured from the Masters of "not more than four years' standing." There was also at these exercises the Prevaricator or Varier, an important figure, the licensed jester for the hour, who accompanied the disputations with Latin witticisms and hits at the dons.[1]

Milton's formal exercises in Latin during his college career were seven in number, and remain in their original form, having been published in 1674 in a volume with his Familiar Epistles.[2] The titles are as follows: (1) Utrum Dies an Nox praestantior sit?[3] (2) De

---

[1] Masson I, 140-4.

[2] Masson I, 205 ff.

[3] Is Day or Night more excellent?

Sphaerarum Concentu;[1] (3) Contra Philosophiam Scholasticam;[2] (4) In rei cuiuslibet interitu non datur resolutio ad materiam primam;[3] (5) Non dantur formae partiales in animali praeter totalem;[4] (6) Exercitationes nonnumquam ludicras Philosophiae studiis non obesse;[5] (7) Beatiores reddit homines Ars quam Ignorantia.[6]

Exercise marked (6), presenting an argument in favor of occasional jolly relaxation, ~~though itself in Latin~~ was followed by a discourse apparently to illustrate the sort of fun just recommended. It was a strained and unnatural effort at vulgar jokes which suited the character of Milton far less than did the loftier strains. The peroration is in English verse, and Milton says as he begins it: "Leaping over the University statutes, as if they were the walls of Romulus, I run from Latin to English." This peroration was first published in 1675 in a new edition of Milton's miscellaneous poems, and headed: "Anno aetatis 19: at a vacation exercise in the College, part Latin, part English." The beginning is an address to his native tongue, rather complimentary for that time and place. The whole exercise shows the struggle which took place in Milton's mind on many occasions in later life when he had to decide between the two languages. The exercise marked (7) above was a long oration, occupying about an hour in speaking. Masson calls it "one of the noblest pieces of Latin prose ever penned by an Englishman."[7]

Other examples of Latin theses defended and opposed in Cambridge disputations may be given. In 1628 the theses of the Divinity Respondents were: (1) Auctoritas Sacrae Scripturae non pendet ab ecclesia;[8] (2) Defectus gratiae non tollit dominium temporale;[9] (3) Seces-

[1] The music of the spheres.
[2] Against the scholastic philosophy.
[3] The perishing of anything does not imply a resolution to original matter.
[4] There are not partial forms in an animal, in addition to the whole.
[5] Occasional indulgence in sportive exercises does not interfere with the studies of philosophy.
[6] Men are made more happy by knowledge than by ignorance.
[7] These exercises are reviewed by Masson, I, 205-230.
[8] The authority of the Sacred Scriptures does not depend on the church.
[9] ~~Falling from~~ Want of grace does not forfeit temporal power.

sio Ecclesiae Anglicanae a Romana non est Scismata;[1] (4) Fides justificans praesupponit veri nominis poenitantiam.[2] The philosophical Respondent maintained the thesis Naturam non pati senium,[3] and was favored by Milton who wrote for him some Latin hexameters on the chosen subject.[4] In the year of Milton's graduation, 1632, there were only two divinity graduates, and there were two divinity acts on Commencement Day, July 3. In the first act, One Dr. Gilbert maintained the theses: (1) Sola Scriptura regula Fidei[5], and (2) Reliquiae peccati manent in renatis etiam post baptismum.[6] In the second act, the Respondent was one Mr. Breton, who maintained: (1) In optimis renatorum operibus datur culpabilis defectus,[7] and (2) Nudus assensus divinitus revelatis non est justificans.[8]

These examples of academic exercises are sufficient to show the nature of the propositions contended for, the topics for which the schools and the times had a preference. Not only was Latin the language used in the disputations, but the ideas themselves were as remote from "men's business and bosoms" as the language was from the homely every-day speech of the people. The only value these exercises possessed was the power of discipline for the perfecting of the Latin tongue. But, in the estimation of most men, that value was sufficient and fulfilled the aim of education. A few, like Bacon, Milton, and Hobbes, ridiculed the schoolmen for their miserable Latin and Greek, and their learned bewilderment in matters incomprehensible and questions of abstruse philosophy.[9]

Responsions and Opponencies, besides furnishing logical and rhetorical training in College and University and forming learned entertainment on Commencement days, served also as a part of programs

---

[1] The separation of the Church of England from Rome was not a schism.
[2] A justifying faith presupposes a genuine repentance.
[3] Nature never grows old.
[4] These theses are mentioned in Masson I, 145-146.
[5] Scripture alone is the rule of faith.
[6] Relics of sin remain in the regenerate even after baptism.
[7] In the best acts of the regenerate there is found some culpable shortcoming.
[8] Bare assent to revelation is not a justifying faith. Masson I, 191-192
[9] For example, Milton's Education, 5th paragraph; Hobbes's Leviathan, chapter VIII, last paragraph.

for amusing distinguished visitors at any time during the year. For instance, in September, 1629, when Lord Holland, recently elected Chancellor, visited Cambridge, he listened to an Act in which the theses were :(1) Productio animae rationalis ~~non~~ est nova creatio;[1] (2) Origo Regimen monarchicum haereditarium praestat electivo.[2] In 1615, on the occasion of James I's second visit to Cambridge, Chappel, Milton's future tutor, was one of the disputants in a public act before the king, treating some point of difference between Protestantism and Papacy. Chappel was famous for his verbal skill, and pushed his opponent so that he is said to have "fainted". James himself boldly took up the controversy and was likewise vanquished.[3]

The Latin lectures(Praelectiones) in the Colleges and University, delivered by Readers (Lectores) and Professors, formed a regular and necessary part of the academic routine, and gave the faculty opportunity to put to practical use the language learned while they were Respondents and Opponents in earlier years. These Praelections after delivery were often turned over to the University printer for publication. A few examples may be mentioned. In 1618 Sebastian Benfield, Margaret Professor in Oxford, published Praelectiones de Perserverantia Sanctorum. In 1621 and again in 1628 Thomas Vicars, who Latinized his name into Vicasus and de Vicariis, published in London Manuductio ad Artem Rhetoricam, ante paucos in privatum quorundam Scholarium Usum concinnata.[5]" "This book is the effect of certain lectures in Queen's college public refectory, when he bore the office of rhetoric reader." John Cleveland, the cavalier poet, fellow in St. John's Cambridge, while rhetoric reader was so distinguished for the purity and terseness of his Latin style that he was ~~frequently~~ usually employed by the society in composing their speeches and epistles.[6]

Dr. Robert Sanderson, whose biography forms one of Walton's "Lives", was made fellow in Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1606, and reader in

---

[1]The production of a rational life is ~~not~~ a new creation.

[2]Streams have their origin in the sea. An hereditary monarchy is superior to an elective as a form of government. Masson I, ~~163~~ 158.

[3]Masson I, 90.

[4]Lectures on the perseverence of the saints. Wood, ~~Fasti~~ II, Part II, ~~Athenae II~~, 488-9.

[5]Guide to the art of rhetoric, arranged some years since for the private use of certain scholars. Wood, ~~Fasti~~ II, Part I, ~~Athenae II~~, 443.

[6]Masson I, 398-9.

logic in 1608; and in 1611 was ordained deacon and priest. His writings and lectures were many and famous: his Logicae Artis Compendium[1] passed through a number of editions, and his De Juramenti Promissorii Obligatione Praelectiones Septem--seven lectures on the obligation of the promissory oath, delivered in the theological school at Oxford in 1646-- were translated into the English Language by Charles I during his confinement in the Isle of Wight, and printed at London, in 1655.[2] In 1647 he delivered ten lectures in the theological school in Oxford on the Obligation of Conscience-- De Obligatione Conscientiae. Sanderson was appointed regius professor of divinity in Oxford in 1642, and these learned works were the fruit of that office.[3] In 1653 was published at Oxford De Cometis, Praelectio Oxonii habita,[4] by Seth Ward, "a most noted mathematician and astronomer of his time," whom we shall meet again as the chastiser of the philosopher Hobbes in a mathematical controversy.

Text-books being chiefly in Latin, the Masters and Fellows kept on the alert for writing, compiling and publishing suitable and timely treatises on the various subjects of study. The above-mentioned Manuductio concinnata of Vicars and the Logicae Artis Compendium of Sanderson were works of this nature. An interesting account is given by Wood[4] of a busy life devoted to the advancement of learning in the Universities. Christopher Angelus, born in Greece and banished for his religion by the Turks, came to England and resided first at Cambridge, and later at Oxford till his death in 1639. He "did very good services among the young scholars in the University that were raw in the Greek tongue," having published in both Greek and Latin a hand-book of Greek institutions, Enchiridion de Institutis Graecorum, at Cambridge in 1619. He was the author of various other serviceable productions in both the learned languages, and at his death left "behind him the character of a pure Grecian and an honest and harmless man."

---

[1] Compendium of logic.

[2] Walton's Lives, 339. (Ed. 1852)

[3] Dict. Nat. Biog. sub Sanderson.

[4] Wood, ~~Athenae~~ Athenae IV, 249-~~IV~~. Comets: a lecture delivered ~~at~~ Oxford.

[5] Wood, ~~Athenae, II~~ Fasti, Part II, 633.

reception and entertainment of distinguished personages visiting the University, or on any other solemn occasion.[1]

These orations may have been congratulatory, panegyrical, or funeral, but in any event aimed to be rhetorically entertaining. When any noble or royal visitor arrived, the Orator attempted the utmost of his wit and eloquence. At Christ's College, Cambridge, where Lord Holland visited as Chancellor in 1629, he was entertained with speeches and banquets, and according to the customary arrangements "a set oration in Latin" was made by one of the students. Thebrilliant Jack Cleveland was Orator on this occasion.[2] On one occasion Prince Charles visited Cambridge and was greeted by a speech from the Vice-chancellor and one also from the Public Orator, besides various other learned and honorable attentions. The reception given the young Prince so pleased King James that on passing through Cambridge a few days later he stopped and was himself received with flattering entertainment. He listened to no less than four speeches, one being by Jack Cleveland in about three hundred and seventy-five of the longest and most sounding words the Latin language could afford.[3]

The attempt of James in 1623 to secure an alliance with Spain through the marriage of Prince Charles with the Spanish Infanta, and the trip of the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham to the continent for that purpose, furnished a striking theme for discussion by patriotic and loyal scholars in the Universities. It made no difference that the enterprise turned out to the repulse of the royal suitor and to the shame of England: his going and his coming both furnished rare opportunity for rhetorical exhibition. John King, Public Orator at Oxford, gave forth first his Oratio panegyrica de auspicato Caroli Principis in Regnum Hispanicum Adventu,[4] and followed it with a Gratulatio Oxoniensium pro Carolo reduce.[5] At Cambridge the public Orator George Herbert, future author of "The Temple", was the one to cel-

---

[1] Laudian Code, Tit. XVII, Sec VII.

[2] Masson I, 163.

[3] Cooper's Cambridge, III, 322.

[4] Panegyrican oration on the auspicious arrival of Prince Charles in Spain.

[5] Gratulation of the Oxonians on the Return of Charles. Wood, II, Fasti, Athe- Part II, 632.

ebrate the safe retreat of the Prince from the presence of the unwilling Infanta and the Spanish people. Herbert's oration, full of fine phrases and safe academic generalities, touches very vaguely on the delicate matter in hand. Its title, as published by Herbert suggests the sonorous oratorical style: Oratio qua auspicatissimum serenissimi Principis Caroli reditum ex Hispaniis celebravit Georgius Herbert, Academiae Cantabrigiensis Orator.[1]

A reading of the speech betrays how words were the end and glory of scholastic discourse; how rhetoric was the diligent search for fine verbal combinations, and the neglect of sense and reason for the sake of a classical allusion and quotation. Any subject whatsoever might do for such exercise in the hands of a trained speaker, whether "The most happy return of Prince Charles from Spain", or the theme of Milton's academic argument, "Is day or night more excellent?"

The statutes governing the Universities were in Latin. Cambridge continued under the code of the Reverend Dr. Whitgift, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and others, given to the University in 1570 by the authority of Queen Elizabeth. The statutes cover forty-five pages, and comprise fifty Articles outlining in detail the administration of the institution.[2] The statutes governing Oxford, codified in 1636 under Archbishop Laud's chancellorship and called the Laudian Code, are in twenty-one Articles comprising one hundred and ninety pages.[3]

As the University statutes were in Latin, so also the decrees of the legislative councils were made and recorded in the honored language of law and tradition. The Laudian Code required that even the summoning of Convocation of Masters and Doctors, the highest council of the University, should be done by the bedels according to a regular formula, in a loud voice and in the Latin tongue (clara voce, Latino eloquio). It was further ordered that in the hall of Congregation and Convocation anyone who proposed to speak should use the Latin tongue unless the Vice-chancellor permitted the vernac-

---

[1] Dictionary of Nat. Biog., sub Herbert. { Oration with which George Herbert, orator of the University of Cambridge, celebrated the most happy return of the most serene Prince Charles.

[2] Heywood's Cambridge, I, 1-45.

[3] Laudian Code of Statutes, ed. by John Griffiths. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1888.

[4] Laudian Code, Tit. X, Sec. I.

ular.[1] The dignity and solemnity of the deliberative body were provided for by forbidding the members to make any commotion in the hall, to use vain repetitions, or to indulge in abusive or indecent language.[1]

Registers, licenses, oaths, dispensations, prayers, and resignations, in connection with the University administration, were regularly in Latin, as the language of dignity, tradition, and authority. These forms, together with the lectures, responsions, sermons, orations, and decrees made up the regular educational and administrative business of the institutions. The Latin language constituted the web and woof of serious academic discourse. Even the minor and incidental affairs, in which full liberty was granted for the use of the vernacular, were inclined to seek expression in the favored language of learning. Dramatic representation, occasional poetry, and various oral utterance, are the matters referred to , and these will now be taken up in order.

---

[1] Laudian Code, Tit. XI, § 3.

Chapter III.

Latin shared with English the responsibility and honors of the stage in University performances. In the sixteenth century the older language had most of the burden. In 1592, on December 4, the University of Cambridge addressed an English letter to Lord Burleigh in answer to a request sent them to play a comedy in English before the Queen at Christmas. They declared their willingness to please her Majesty, but having no "Englishe comedies, for that we never used any", they begged either "further limitacion of time for due preparacion and liberty to play in Latyn."[1] The influence of Seneca was yet unbroken in academic drama.

The custom of performing at public schools and Universities was at its height in the great dramatic age of James I and Charles I. In the Universities this custom was observed on notable occasions, especially on a visit from royalty, the plays being sometimes in English, more frequently in Latin, and taken from a small stock in hand or prepared for the occasion.[2] King James, on his first visit to Cambridge, in 1615, listened to the Latin comedy Ignoramus, which occupied six hours in the acting, and was so delighted with it that he made a second visit to the University just to see a second performance.[3] The play was written by George Ruggle, M.A., fellow of Clare Hall, and was published in 1630.[4]

The following account of this interesting comedy is taken from Ward's History of the English Drama:[5]

"Ignoramus is intended as a satire on the barbarous ignorance and the equally barbarous phraseology of a pettifogger who can neither talk Latin, nor French, nor good King's English, but only a vile professional jargon of his own, which goes far to justify an attempt in the course of the play to exorcise him as possessed by evil spirits. He hates the University and all its ways, and is intended as a living example of barbarous Philistinism. His speech is according-

---

[1] Heywood's Cambridge, II, 40.

[2] Masson I, 159. Shakespeare Jahrbuch, XXXIV, p 221. The Encyclopedia Britannica (11th ed. sub Drama) gives English plays decided predominance at Oxford at this time.

[3] Masson I, 158-9.

[4] Dict. Nat. Biog., sub Ruggle.

[5] New and revised ed., vol. III, 186-7.

ly made up of the terms of his profession, which he introduces with extraordinary promptitude to garnish his horrible Latin; 'lingua mea', he says, 'vadit ad verba accustomata: Puto me placitare jam.[1]' The characteristics satirized in Ignoramus are not, however, confined to such comparatively harmless peculiarities of his profession as a barbarous phraseology; for his principles are on a level with his style of speech, and his great desire is 'capere in manum',[2] whomsoever he can, so that a poetic justice is exercised upon him by his finding himself all but 'murderatus', before in the epilogue he finally takes his departure 'boctatus et spuratus' for London." The ridicule on the lawyers aroused their wrath, but all attempts to discredit and suppress the play were in vain.

Another comedy popular in Cambridge was Fraus Honesta,[3] by Philip Stubbe, fellow of Trinity, and was acted in that College first in 1616. In September 1629, this comedy was presented as a special feature in the elaborate entertainment of the new Chancellor, Lord Holland, who visited the University in company with the French Ambassador. Fraus Honesta, after an honorable career on the stage, was published in small duodecimo in 1632. Cooper mentions the acting and publishing of the comedy, and adds: "It is a play of very little merit, and several parts are not very decent."[4] About February 1631, a Latin comedy entitled Senile Odium,[5] written by Peter Hausted, M.A., was performed in Queen's College, Cambridge. It was printed in 1633, and among the commendatory Latin verses prefixed to it were some iambics by Edward King, Milton's acquaintance of Christ's.

Roxana, a Latin tragedy written about 1692 by the poet William Alabaster, fellow in Trinity College, Cambridge, was based on Seneca as a model, and was much admired during the following century. In 1632 a surreptitious edition of the play was published and in the same year the author issued a correct edition, "a plagiarii unguibus vindicata, aucta et agnita ab authore[6]." Fuller called Alabaster

[1] My tongue goes after ~~customized~~ custom-made words; I think I'm making elegant hits.

[2] To "take in."

[3] Fair Fraud. Masson I, 159.

[4] Cooper's Cambridge, III, 105.

[5] Odious Old Age. Masson I, 179.

[6] Rescued from the clutches of the plagiarist, and enlarged and acknowledged by the author. Dict. Nat. Biog. sub Stubbe.

"a most rare poet as any our age or nation hath produced; witness his tragedy of 'Roxana', admirably acted [in Trinity College] and so pathetically, that a gentlewoman present thereat (Reader, I had it from an author whose credit it is sin with me to suspect), at the hearing of the last words thereof, sequar, sequar, so hideously pronounced, fell distracted, and never after fully recovered her senses."[1] The fact that the tragedy is a stiff and lifeless work[2] increases the humor of Fuller's description, but shows at the same time what power the fashion of Latin had on the minds of the age.

Abraham Cowley, who was the author of numerous Latin poems, contributed one notable play to the academic Latin drama. This was the famous Naufragium Joculare,[3] acted February 2, 1638, by the members of his college, Trinity, Cambridge, and published soon after. 'It obtained its celebrity through the boisterous fun of a scene in the first part of the play, in which a drunken company is deluded into the belief that they are suffering shipwreck. The Latinity of this amusing comedy is not always strictly classical; but it abounds in quotations bespeaking the learning as well as the ready wit of its youthful author; and shows that he and his contemporaries at Cambridge well understood the ars jocandi.'[4]

Perhaps no literary production shows more strikingly the linguistic and classical fashion of the times than the Latin comedy entitled Bellum Grammaticale sive Nominum Verborumque Discordia Civilis,[5] which was written by one Spense and acted before Queen Elizabeth in Christ Church, Oxford, in 1592. It was printed and perhaps revived at the University in 1635. "The plot turns on a conflict between the King of Nouns (Poeta) and the King of Verbs (Amo), which sets the entire province of Grammar at odds, lets loose the Grammaticae Pestes, Solecismus, Barbarismus, Traulismus and Cacatonus to range at their own sweet will, and is finally settled by the intervention of Grammar, Priscianus, Linacrus, Despanterius, and Lillius. The application of grammatical definitions, rules and maxims to the supposed action is very clever, though parallels might be easily ad-

---

[1] Fuller's Worthies, III, 185 , Nuttall's ed.
[2] Dict. Nat. Biog., sub Alabaster.
[3] A joke of a shipwreck. Dict. Nat. Biog., sub Cowley.
[4] Ward's English Drama, III, 187.
[5] The grammatical war, or civil strife between nouns and verbs.

no. of fr notes

duced from contemporary dramatic, and probably other, literature. The doubtful position of the Duke Participium, who owes a kind of double allegiance, is specially happy. The sentences ultimately pronounced by the judges quibble after the same delectable fashion."[1]

With the outbreak of the Civil War and the rise of Puritan power the drama in the Universities suffered the same fate as in England at large; but with the Restoration both English and Latin plays returned in full force to the academic stage.[2]

The literary use of Latin in the seventeenth century brought forth its most abundant fruit in academic poetry. The fashion of celebrating notable public events in verse kept the students busy, for the marriages, births, deaths, arrivals, departures, recoveries from illness, among royalty and nobility, which were the proper occasions for verse-making, followed one another at close intervals from season to season. When events to be sung happened at about the same time, as, for example, the death of one king and the accession of another, a volume of poetry may have celebrated both events, and so at times the muses wore the mingled garb of mourning and festivity. The volumes lamenting the deaths of James I, in 1625, and Oliver Cromwell in 1658, contained felicitations for their respective successors: a Luctus followed by a Gratulatio, a Dolor in company with a Solamen.

To such collections of commemorative verse contributions were made not only by students but even by provosts and heads of Colleges, the whole trained capacity of academic scholarship exercising itself in Latin poesy. The number of contributors from the various Colleges to the making of a volume sometimes ran up to many scores. For instance, the Cambridge collection on the birth of Princess Anne in 1637 counted 140 separate names of authors, among them Abraham Cowley and Andrew Marvell.[3] One can imagine the passing of the word from man to man, and from group to group, in hall and court of the great schools, concerning a new ~~versibus~~ poetic effusion event; and student rivalling student for the invention of fine classic phrases, and University challenging University in the expression of a nation's joy or grief. It was a duty that learning owed to its great patrons,

---

[1] Ward's English Drama, III, 187, ~~183~~ and footnote.
[2] Encyc. Brit. 11th ed., sub Drama.
[3] Masson I, ~~511-12~~ 512.

to make on every possible occasion an offering of its finest product to their honor and pleasure.

It will suffice to bring into view a representative number of the most interesting collections of academic Latin poetry, and in doing this we shall follow, for the most part in chronological order, the achievements of the University of Cambridge, understanding at the same time that Oxford was no less zealous in such compositions and publications.

During his life and reign James I had the lion's share of eulogy and flattery from the poets and orators of Cambridge, and in his death he was not neglected. The collection of Greek and Latin verses in praise of the departed sovereign and in congratulation of his successor was entitled: Cantabrigiensium Dolor et Solamen, seu Decessio Beatissimi Regis Jacobi Pacifici et Successio Augustissimi Regis Caroli Magnae Britanniae, Galliae & Hiberniae Monarchae.[1] In this same year the new king was married, and the second volume of congratulatory verse came forth to greet him. It was entitled: "Epithalamium Illustris. & Feliciss. Principum Caroli Regis et H. Mariae Reginae Magnae Britanniae &c. a Musis Cantabrigiensibus decantatum.[2]

The suspense concerning Charles's marriage was thus at last settled. The muses had been disappointed in 1623, when Charles the Prince made his romantic journey with the Duke of Buckingham to woo the Spanish Infanta: he came back without a bride, and all the University poets could do was to publish a collection of thanksgiving verses on his safe return, the grand title being: "Gratulatio Academiae Cantabrigiensis de Serenissimi Principis reditu ex Hispaniis exoptatissimo ; quam Augustissimo Regi Jacobo Celsissimoq. Principi Carolo ardentissimi sui voti testimonium esse voluit."[3]

---

[1]The grief and consolation of the Cantabrigians, or, The departure of of the most blessed King James the Pacific and the succession of the most august King Charles, monarch of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. --Cooper's Cambridge, III, 176.

[2]Hymn on the marriage of the most illustrious and happy sovereigns Charles King and Henrietta Maria Queen of Great Britain, &c., sung by the muses of Cambridge. Cooper's Cambridge, III, 178.

[3]Gratulation of the University of Cambridge on the dearly longed-for return of the most serene Prince Charles from Spain; as an evidence to the most august King James and the most high Prince Charles of the University's most ardent devotion. Cooper's Cambridge, III, 161.

The birth of Prince Charles (the second) on May 29, 1630, would have occasioned joy among the poets had not the plague at that time already enforced vacation at the University. Before the end of April the students broke and fled, and the only academic record left for the future historian was, Grassante peste, nulla publica comitia.[1] It was not till November, 1631, when a new child was born in the royal family, that the muses appropriately remembered the young prince of the preceding year, by celebrating in a single volume the births of both the children. The collection was entitled: Genethliacum Illustrissimorum Principum Caroli et Mariae a Musis Cantabrigiensibus celebratum.[2] Among the contributors were Edward King, and the future wit and historian, Thomas Fuller.

The other children of Charles I and Henrietta Maria were welcomed in order by the faithful bards. The title to the volume commemorating the birth of the Duke of York, afterwards ~~Duke of York~~ James II, on October 14, 1633, was: Ducis Eboracensis Fasciae a Musis Cantabrigiensibus raptim contextae.[3] Edward King was again contributor, and the name of Richard Crashaw, of Pembroke Hall, appeared among the busy muses. These two, and Henry More of Christ's College, assisted in bringing out a volume on the birth of Princess Elizabeth, December, 1635; and again on the birth of Princess Anne, March 17, 1637. These collections celebrating the young princesses were more elaborately entitled than that on the Duke of York, and instead of an apology for hurry there is an expression of the most complete and gallant devotion. The first volume was called: Carmen Natalium ad Cunas illustrissimae Principis Elisabethae decantatum intra Nativitatis Dom. solemnia per humillimas Cantabrigiae Musas.[4] The effusion on the birth of Princess Anne carried the classical enthusiasm to a grand

---

[1] The violence of the plague prevents all public exercises. Masson I, 170.

[2] Birth-day celebration for the most illustrious Prince and Princess Charles and Mary, by the muses of Cambridge. Cooper's Cambridge, III, 244; Masson I, ~~182-3~~ 511.

[3] Wreaths hastily woven by the muses of Cambridge, for the Duke of York. Cooper's Cambridge, III, 263.

[4] Natal song at the cradle of the most illustrious Princess Elizabeth, sung during the birth-day festivities, by the most humble muses of Cambridge. Cooper's Cambridge III, 263.

climax: Συνῳδία sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium concentus et Congratulatio ad serenissimum Britanniarum Regem Carolum de quinta sua sobole clarissima Principi sibi nuper felicissime nata.[1] Nothing could attest more strikingly the University attachments to royalty than these learned exultations, one after the other, on the birth of the King's children. One marks the absence of Milton's name from the collections which applauded anything connected with Charles I, and it is a wonder that he later so greatly honored Edward King, whose regular contributions to these outbursts of loyalty were always extravagant and never very poetic.

In 1640 the last son was born to King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria, that is Prince Henry, afterwards Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Cambridge. The University responded with her usual congratulation; Richard Crashaw and Henry More again contributing, but the ill-fated Edward King's name no longer appearing. In June, 1644, Henrietta, the last child of the King and Queen, was born at Exeter in the midst of war. There was no celebration to be expected any more from Cambridge: early in that year the stern Puritan parliament had sent up a committee to visit and purge the malignant University. The result was the ejection of about half the Fellows, and of eleven out of the sixteen Heads of Houses.[2] Whatever Latin poetical talent remained in Cambridge by June, 1644, when the Queen's daughter was born, had other fields for its exercise than royalist birth-days.

When Cromwell assumed the sovereignty of England, he and his concerns became the objects of celebration at the hands of the poets. His death at last and the succession of his son Richard in 1658 called forth from Cambridge a volume entitled: Musarum Cantabrigiensium Luctus & Gratulatio: Ille in funere Oliverii Angliae Scotiae & Hiberniae Protectoris Haec de Ricardi Successione felicissima ad eundem.[3] There was no doubt some degree of sincerity in those dirges

---

[1] Unison, or Concordant Congratulation of the Muses of Cambridge to the most serene Charles, King of Britain, on the recent most happy birth of his fifth most illustrious child. Cooper's Cambridge III, 286.

[2] Masson III, 92.

[3] Lamentation and rejoicing of the Cambridge muses: the former on the funeral of Oliver Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the latter on the most happy succession of Richard to the same power. Cooper's Cambridge III, 469.

and greetings, for at that time not even the bards could predict what the next two years had in store for the country. But when the Restoration came, the muses of the University rejoiced, and proclaimed that the comimg back of Charles restored them also to their former happy fortunes. Their celebration bore the title: Academiae Cantabrigiensis Σώστρα sive ad Carolum II reducem, de regnis ipsi, musis per ipsum feliciter restitutis Gratulatio.[1] From that time forth loyalty in University verses flourished again as in the palmy days of James I and Charles I.

Perhaps the most interesting volume of academic poetry issued during the century was that on the death of Edward King in 1637. The chief interest rises from the fact that Milton's Lycidas was one of the contributions, though the poet himself had been out of the University for five years. King, who, according to Milton "knew himself to sing and build the lofty rhyme," had between 1631 and 1637 written Latin iambics, elegiacs, or Horatian stanzas for no less than six volumes of college poetry. When the young scholar and poet was lost at sea in 1637, his alma mater published in his memory a little collection of sixty pages. The first thirty-five pages were occupied by three Greek and twenty Latin pieces, prefixed with the title: Justa Edvardo King Naufrago ab amicis moerentibus, amoris et μνείας χάριν.[2] The remainder of the volume, separately paged, bore the title: Obsequies to the Memorie of Edward King, anno Dom. 1638. Milton's poem was the last piece in the volume. Why, one might here inquire, did Milton write Lycidas in English, in honor of Edward King, no very intimate friend; and later chose Latin for Epitaphium Damonis, to celebrate the dearest friendship he ever enjoyed? The probable reason was that in Lycidas he had a present message for the people of England, too urgent and vital to be clothed in academic formality and narrowed to scholarly seclusion; while in Epitaphium Damonis his private sorrow inevitably mingled with all those happy classical associations that had bound the student-life of Milton and Diodati together.

Not all the Latin poetry composed at the Universities appeared in

---

[1] Thankoffering, or greetings of joy to Charles II on his safe return to his kingdom and on his restoring the muses to their former happy state. Cooper's Cambridge, III, 480-1.

[2] ~~Tribute~~ Obsequies to Edward King lost at sea: a memorial of affection from his sorrowing friends. Masson I, ~~511-514~~, 513, ff.

collections. Volumes by single authors were sometimes brought forth, like the Epigrammatum Sacrorum Liber [1] of Richard Crashaw, of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1634. Much of the production never appeared in print at all, and it is impossible to measure the amount of Latin versifying actually achieved by thousands of students whose chief concern was with words and rhetoric. So truly had the ancient language become alive and modern in the Universities that it wound itself in and around all the concerns of life there, and was as much a part of the mental habit as the academic dress was of rites and ceremonies.

Though Milton's name does not appear in the Cambridge collections of verses, his Latin pen was not idle during his University career. There remain of what he produced in those years seven pieces composing the Book of Elegies (Elegiarum Liber), published in 1645 by Humphrey Mosely in London. Since their publication was neither in the University nor during the author's residence there, they may be treated as extra-academic poetry and will receive detailed attention under a subsequent section.

Besides the reading of Latin books in the regular curricula, besides the Latin responsions, opponencies, orations, the graces, the dramas, and poems, there were in the University life various nooks which the language filled, suggestively indicating how the fashion of the time went. It was an early statute of Cambridge that required the students to converse in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, except during hours of relaxation in their rooms.[2] This severe regulation had naturally, without vigilant enforcement, broken with its own strain; but in July, 1649, when the parliamentary committee for regulating the University of Cambridge issued their decrees, they ordered that Latin or Greek should be constantly used in familiar intercourse in the several colleges.[3] ~~How far~~ This new command ~~was observed it is impossible to say, but it~~ probably received fair obedience during the next eleven years of complete Puritan sway.

Public prayers were in Latin as the traditional language of the

1. Dic. Nat. Biog. Sub Crashaw
2. Masson I, 96-7
3. Cooper's Cambridge III, 429.

Christian church. In 1625 when King James died the prayers had to be changed to specify regem Carolum in stead of regem Jacobum. There is a story of a bachelor of Christ's, Cambridge, who in public prayer was so attentive to the proper words that when he came to the psalm phrase "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob", he turned Deus Jacobi to Deus Caroli, and paused horror-struck at his impious blunder.

Conferences of students with tutors were carried on in the learned tongue. It was not necessary in every case that this severe formality prevented hearty and genial intercourse. Joseph Meade, fellow in Christ's during Milton's residence, met his students on equal basis and in friendly communion. His habit, when they came to his room of an evening, was to ask them first the question, Quid dubitas?[1] He would then resolve their doubts (quaeres), and at the close of the conference "by prayer commended them and their studies to God's protection and blessing, and dismissed them to their lodging."

Conferences of any formal nature between students and Heads of Colleges observed the language of dignity and authority. The sanciety of an oath or pledge was more solemn when clothed in Latin. It was told of one Mr. Fawcett, who was charged with having uttered in some public act an opinion contrary to accepted doctrines, that When he went to commence bachelor in Divininty, in June, 1626, the Vice-chancellor, Dr. Gostlin, and his assistants required satisfaction for the church by securing Mr. Fawcett's hand to the following declaration: Sola scripturarum lectio secundum ritum Anglicarum est medium ordinarie sufficiens ad fidem generandam. Huic propositioni lubens et ex animo subscripsi, et revera numquam aliter tenui.[2] The offensive utterances had been made in Latin, and it was fitting to disavow their ill meaning in the same language.

When Anthony Wood, the future historian of his alma mater, entered Oxford in 1647, he found the initiation of Freshmen at Christmas was by setting them down "on a form in the middle of the hall, joining to the declaiming desk," and requiring each in turn to speak

[1] Masson I, 88. What doubts have you met with?

[2] Just the simpler reading of the Scriptures according to the Anglican ritual is ordinarily a sufficient means for the begetting of faith. To this proposition I freely and heartily subscribe, and in very truth I never did believe differently. Heywood's Cambridge II, 348.

If any one, student, fellow, or master, happened to be inspired with any new conceit or combination of Latin words, it was his glory to make his invention known to the admiring academic world. For example, in March, 1623, while King James was at Cambridge hearing speeches and a comedy, an orator made an epigram which Dr. Richardson brought to be read before the King at dinner. Meade tells the story with delight in a letter, and mentions that he had difficulty in getting the last two lines. The epigram was as follows:

Dum petit infantem princeps, Grantamque Jacobus,
Cujusnam major sit dubitatur amor.
Vicit more suo noster, nam millibus infans
Non tot abest quot nos regis ab ingenio.[3]

What could be more suggestive of the classical fashion of the schools than the following account of the reception of King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria at Cambridge March 22, 1631. "The Schollers Bachellors Fellow Commoners Regents & Non Regents were placed in the Streets in like manner as they were when K. James came hither March 1622. They made a great Acclamation as the K. & Q. passed by them, saying, Vivat Rex, Vivat Regina, &c." Whatever Charles I

[1] Wood's Athenae I, p. XIV.
[2] Masson I, 129.
[3] Heywood's Cambridge II, 315. Also Harleian Miscll. I, 163-4, where the epigram is included in a Latin oration and translation given:
"While prince to Spain, and king to Cambridge goes,
The question is, whose love the greater shows:
Ours (like himself) o'ercomes; for his wit's more
Remote from ours, than Spain from Britain's shore."
The reference is to Charles's wooing the Spanish Infanta.

SECTION II

Chapter IV

The one high service which Latin alone was able to perform was correspondence between the English and the foreign courts. The vulgar tongues were not recognized as equal to this great task, being intrinsically inadequate and not sufficiently well-known and honored outside of their respective countries. With one consent the language of learning, which was thoroughly understood in all the cultured nations and supremely respected for its long career of service in the world, maintained its hold upon communication between England and her continental neighbors. The letters passing from King James I, Charles I, and the Commonwealth and Protectorate to foreign courts appear generally in Latin.

The office of translating outgoing papers into Latin and incoming papers into English was assigned to a clerk or undersecretary, some capable and diligent scholar who was willing to give his learning to his country for a small recompense and for the chance of preferment to a more honorable and remunerative position. From 1624 to 1641 the undersecretary of state in this capacity was Georg Rudolph Wecherlin, born in 1584 in Germany and educated at the University of Tübingen, and introduced into England probably in connection with a German ambassador. His skill in various languages, ancient and modern, and his service as private secretary to the Duke of Würtemberg, recommended him for a position in the English state department, and he was accordingly employed in drafting, deciphering, and translating official correspondence. On the breaking out of the Civil War, Wecherlin took sides with Parliament, and in February, 1644, he was made "secretary for foreign tongues" to the joint committee of the two kingdoms, at the annual salary of 288l. 13s. 6½d. Under Charles I he had complained of his poor pay, but his income under Parliament probably satisfied him. He held the post until he was superseded by Milton in 1649, upon the establishment of the republic and the constitution of a council of state. The reason for replacing him was probably due to his advanced age, and to the importance which his office was about to assume under the Commonwealth.[1]

[1] Dict. Nat. Biog. sub Wecherlin, and Masson, passim.

Before entering upon a description of Milton's duties and performances as Foreign Secretary we shall take a glance at several foreign transactions of James I and Charles I. In March 1621, the famous Spanish Match had its beginning in a Latin letter from James of England to the new King Philip IV of Spain. The message contained a proposal for a marriage between Prince Charles, James's son and heir, and Philip's youngest sister, the most illustrious Infanta, the Lady Maria (Illustrissimam Infantem Dominam Mariam);[1] and was carried abroad by Lord Digby, extraordinary ambassador. Later Prince Charles, in company with the Duke of Buckingham, followed with proposals in person, but after much excitement and expectation on the part of the English people he came back without the "most illustrious lady."

Not only was the correspondence on this affair carried on in Latin between James and Philip, but also between English King and Prince and the Roman See. Both Gregory XV and Urban VIII, his successor in 1623, hoped that England might yet be induced to forget the past and return to the Catholic fold, and the possible marriage between the English Prince and a Spanish Princess encouraged that expectation. ~~In April, 1625, Gregory addressed a letter, most diplomatically composed, to young Charles, recommending to him the favorable consideration of the Church.~~[2] ~~In June Charles sent back answer with great courtesy but without any assurance of present or future religious conversion.~~ This effort to conciliate ~~England~~ the English was the last work of Gregory, who died in July of that year; ~~but~~ and his correspondence on the subject was promptly taken up by Urban VIII. These letters between England and Rome were in Latin.[2] Well might the Popes have had reason to think that all mankind's religion should centre at their palace, situated as it was in the eternal city whose language still had power to bind the whole civilized world into one brotherhood.

James I was not a king of power, who made the name of England dreadful among the nations of the world, but he recognized no superior in any form or ceremony wherein learning or language could play a rôle. His addresses to foreign kings may have been insignificant in the messages conveyed, but the style lacked nothing of imposing loftiness. For example, in 1623, when Francis Klein, a German, who had come to England from Denmark as a designer of tapestry,

[1] Rushworth I, 57-8. [2] Rushworth I, 80 ff.

was returning, James gave him a letter to the king of Denmark requesting permission for Klein's early return to England. It was a simple request, but nevertheless a splendid opportunity for a Latin exercise, which began as follows:--

Jacobus, Dei gratia Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae Rex, Fidei Defensor, Serenissimo Principi ac Domino Christiano Quarto, eadem gratia Daniae, Norvegiae, Vandalorum, et Gothorum regi, duci Slesvici, Holsatiae, Stormariae, et Ditmarsiae, comiti in Oldenburg et Delmenhorsh, fratri, compatri, consanguineo, et affini nostro charissimo, salutem et felicitatem, serenissimus princeps, compater, consanguineus, et affinis charissimus.

Cum Franciscus Klein, &c.[1] Then follows the body of the letter occupying somewhat larger space than the greeting itself.

A few years earlier, when the States of the United Provinces called a national synod at Dort for the consideration of religious doctrines, and desired certain foreign princes to send the assistance of their respective divines, King James, being thus solicited, heartily complied; and he fully understood the responsibility resting upon his representatives to the learned assembly. He summoned from the English clergy four scholars, who came to his presence for appointment and instruction, and received at New Market, among other advice and directions, the following in particular:

"Our will and pleasure is, that from this time forward, upon all occasions, you inure yourself to the practice of the Latin tongue, that when there is cause you may deliver your minds with more readiness and felicity."

The divines had leisure for this prescribed practice before the opening of the synod, November 3, 1618. [illegible]nt to Dort and participated in the celebrated dis[illegible] synod closed

They then we...

...scussions. Before the

Bishop ... the English representatives, was compe...

[1] To the most serene prince and ruler Christian IV, King of Denmark, Norway, of the Vandals and Goths, Duke of Sleswick, Holsatia, Stormatia, and Ditmarshe, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorsh, brother, fellow-descendent, dearest relative by blood and marriage, greeting and felicitation from James, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, most serene prince, brother, and dearest relation.

Since Francis Klein, &c. Fuller's Worthies, III, 201-2.

to return home by reason of ill-health, and publicly took his farewell in a Latin speech which showed that he had obeyed the command of his king. When the proceedings terminated in April, 1619, the States-General, in a long Latin letter to "serenissimus Rex", commented on the recent transactions, and commended King James's learned and pious representatives.[1]

Latin was employed not only in letters to particular princes and courts, but also in declarations and manifestoes for the world at large. For instance, in 1644, when Charles I was embarrassed by the imputation of favoring and cherishing Catholics and the Catholic religion, and wished to set himself clear before the whole world, he issued a Latin letter declaring against the false rumor that he had any intention to recede from the orthodox religion and introduce popery into England. The declaration was properly in Latin, to reach all nations equally and to command respect wherever it went. It opened as follows: Carolus singulari Omnipotens Dei Providentia Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae & Hiberniae Rex, Fidei Defensor, &c., Universis & Singulis qui praesens hoc Scriptum seu Protestationem inspexerint, potissimum Reformatae Religionis Cultoribus cujuscunque sint gentis, gradus, aut conditionis, Salutem.[2] The letter was sent forth from Oxford, where the court sat , and was dated May 14, 1644 (pridie Idus Maii). Charles I never showed any fondness for Latin or display of learning, as did his royal father, and it was only when custom and utility demanded it that he preferred the ancient language to the vernacular. This proclamation of 1644 certainly seemed to him and his court to require the most acceptable and far-reaching medium possible.

Foreign relations came into greater prominence in England during the Commonwealth period, especially under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, and it was then that Latin in official correspondence assumed special dignity and power. In 1649, soon after the execution of Charles I, the Council of State for the new government ap-

---

1 Fuller, Church History, II, 308 ff. Nichols' Edition.

2 Charles by the singular providence of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, &c., to one and all who shall read this writing or protestation, and especially to the followers of the reformed religion, of whatsoever nation, rank, or condition they are, Greeting. Rushworth V, 752-4.

pointed a committee "to consider what alliances this crown hath formerly had with Foreign States, and what those States are, and whether it will be fit to continue those alliances, and with how many of the said States, and how far they should be continued, and upon what grounds, and in what manner applications and addresses should be made for the said continuance." The same committee was further instructed "to speak with Mr. Milton, to know whether he will be employed as Secretary for the Foreign Tongues, and to report to the Council."[1]

Milton's name was not unknown among the Parliamentarians. From 1641 he had been busy with his pen in urging reforms in church and government, and his Tenure of Kings and Magistrates had boldly defended the justice and legality of Charles I's trial and execution. His learning, his political views, and active sympathy, conspired to recommend his services as Foreign Secretary, and when he was approached by the proper committee, he assented to the proposal they were instructed to make. On March 15, 1649, the Council of State ordered "That Mr. John Milton be employed as Secretary for Foreign Tongues to this Council, and that he have the same salary which Mr. Wecherlyn formerly had for the same service." Five days later the new secretary was inducted into the office which he was to fill and adorn for the next eleven years.[2]

Milton's duties in his new capacity were implied in his statute title: "Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council." (1) He was to translate into Latin the letters, dispatches, and any other papers addressed by the English Council of State to any foreign prince, minister, or council; and the declarations and manifestoes issued by Parliament and Council for notice to the world at large. (2) He was to put into Latin articles of prospective treaties under discussion in England between English and foreign representatives, or commissioners. (3) He was to translate into English the dispatches in Latin or other languages sent to the Council by foreign sovereigns or ministers. (4) Occasionally he was ordered to be present at conferences with foreign representatives or was himself to confer with them orally; and occasionally to prepare arguments in Latin

1 Masson IV, 79.

2 Masson IV, 82-83.

in defense of the Commonwealth, for ciculation among foreign countries.

Milton's services, it thus appears, were at the direct command of the Council of State, and had to do with any business requiring translation to or from any foreign language, or composition in any foreign language. As a matter of fact the tasks which the Council usually assigned him had to do in some connection or other with Latin. It was, for the most part, his orders to translate an English dispatch into Latin, a Latin dispatch into English, or to compose an original Latin discourse on a given subject and occasion. So largely did his occupation with the one language outweigh that with any other, that he was frequently called simply the Latin Secretary, and this name is regularly used in his biographies.

The employment of a man of independent mind, dignified character, and profound learning to transact the duties of Latin Secretary shows what importance the Council of State attached to their foreign correspondence, and what esteem they felt for Latin as the proper medium. "They stuck," says Phillips, the nephew of Milton, "to the noble and generous resolution not to write to any, or receive answers from them, but in a language the most proper to maintain a correspondence among the learned of all nations in this part of the world, scorning to carry on their affairs in the wheedling, lisping jargon of the (creeping) French, especially having a Minister of State able to cope with the ablest any Prince or State could employ for the Latin tongue."[1]

Neither Parliament nor the Council of State nor Cromwell ever had reason to complain of the industry or ability of the chosen secretary. He appreciated to the uttermost the dignity and importance of his office, and consecrated his great moral and intellectual energy to his appointed tasks. For two years he seems to have been able alone to perform all the translations; but in March, 1652, when his eyes were giving out, Council gave him the assistance of old Mr. Wecherlin, the former Latin Secretary.[2] During the next year, 1653, Wecherlin was succeeded by a younger man, Mr. Philip Meadows, employed by the Council in Latin translations, and to assist in the

---

[1] Quoted by Masson, IV, 86.

[2] Masson IV, ~~476-7~~ 425, 451.

despatch of foreign affairs."[1] Meadows continued in this office till 1656, when he was sent to represent Cromwell at Lisbon. In the following year, 1657, Andrew Marvell was appointed Secretary in Foreign Affairs, apparently as colleague to Milton.[2] From that time on till the eve of the Restoratin, the duties of Latin Secretary were shared by the two poet friends, Milton and Marvell.

For an outgoing letter, addressed by the Council to a foreign state, the order of preparation was as follows. The Council in session, having any foreign communication to make, would put the substance of the matter in the hands of the Foreign Committee. This Committee, at a later meeting of its own, would prepare in English the required letter, and report to Council. If the letter was then approved it would be turned over to Milton or one of his assistants, the usual form of resolution being, "that the paper now read be approved of and sent to Mr. Milton, to be translated into Latin." In some cases the details of the resolution were fuller and more explicit. For example, on March 31, 1652, it was ordered in Council "that the Paper now prepared, to be given in answer to the Spanish Ambassador, be approved, translated, signed, and sent unto him; that Mr. Milton do translate the said Paper out of English into Latin, to be sent along as a copy."[3] Sometimes the translator was not specified by name, but then the regular Secretary was probably understood. On August 10, 1653, for example, it was ordered in the Council of the Barebones Parliament "that the answer to the Paper of the Lord Lagerfeldt, Public Minister of the Queen of Sweden, of the 3rd of August, now read in the Council, be translated into Latin, and be delivered unto the said Lord Lagerfeldt by the committee of the Council tomorrow in the afternoon."[4]

If the exact words of a foreign dispatch were not approved or determined by Council, before putting it into the hands of the translator, then after translation the message would be returned for the reconsideration of that body. The form of resolution for such proceeding is found in the order of January 2, 1652, "that Mr. Milton do prepare a Letter in Latin, of the Substance of What was now here

---

[1] Masson IV, 524, 526.
[2] Masson V, 374-5, 402.
[3] Masson IV, ~~424-6~~ 426
[4] Masson IV, 524.

read in English, to be sent to the Duke of Tuscany: to be brought to the Council to be there read for the approbation of the Council."[1] The letter was prepared accordingly, and approved on January 20. Milton was sometimes[2] asked to be present at a conference of the Foreign Committee with a foreign ambassador, either to act as interpreter, or perhaps sometimes to gather the substance of a paper which he was to write out in Latin.

When a letter was atlast ready for delivery to a foreign ambassador present in England, or for despatch to a foreign court, it was signed either by the President of the Council[3] or by the Speaker in the name of Parliament, or, after the Protectorate was established, by Cromwell himself.[3] When a paper was to be ratified by Parliament, it passed with its translation first through the hands of the Foreign Committee, the Latin Secretary, and the Council, in regular order. An example of this procedure is indicated in the resolution by Council, February 11, 1652, "That the copy of the Safeguard this day read, to be granted to the Count of Oldenburg, be approved of ; That the copy of the said Safeguard be translated into Latin by Mr. Milton;" and that it "be humbly reported to the Parliament for their approbation if they shall think fit."[4]

An incoming communication from a foreign court or ambassador was delivered to the Council directly or to them through Parliament, or under the Protectorate to Cromwell. In any case it was ordered to be translated, regularly by the Latin Secretary, and if special consideration was required or answer returned , the matter was turned over to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. An example of an order directing such procedure is found in the Council resolution of January 23, 1652, "That Mr. Milton do make a translation of the Paper this day sent in to the Council from the Lords Ambassadors of the High and Mighty Lords the States General of the United Provinces; which the Committee for Foreign Affairs are to take into consideration, and prepare an answer thereto, to be reported to the Council."[5] The Secretary for Foreign Tongues, with England and English

1 Masson IV, 422.
2 Masson IV, 236.
3 Masson IV, 232; V, 184.
4 Masson IV, 423; ~~V, 184~~.
5 Masson IV, 422.

on the one hand and Europe and Latin on the other, stood an honorable and important figure in the Commonwealth. To Milton the task of translating into English must have been most like drudgery, and the dignity of his office must have appeared chiefly when he had to voice in classical Latin a message of his country to the foreign world.

Declarations and manifestoes, addressed not to any particular nation, but to the outside world in general, came to the Latin Secretary for translation. It was sometimes considered necessary to put the declaration into certain of the subordinate and vulgar tongues to reach particular nations more intimately, but the supreme and universal Latin could never be omitted. In June, 1651, for instance, when Parliament voted a declaration of reasons for the proposed expedition into Scotland, Council ordered the declaration to "be translated into Latin by Mr. Milton, into Dutch by Mr. Haak, and into French by Monsieur Augier."[1] Again, on July 7, 1652, when Parliament adopted a declaration of the causes of the war against the Dutch, which declaration had been prepared by the Council of State, Council ordered a translation to be made into Latin, French, and Dutch.[2] In 1655, when Cromwell had determined on a war with Spain, he issued an elaborate manifesto in Latin, demonstrating to the world at large the just cause of the English Commonwealth against the Spanish people: "Scriptum Domini Protectoris, ex consensu atque sententia concilii sui editum, in quo hujus Reipublicae causa contra Hispanos justa esse demonstratur."[3] This was written by Milton and is included in his prose works.

The language served not only to embody the final draught of a state letter or a declaration for foreign intelligence, but was employed in the articles of a treaty and on occasion as the medium of oral discussion. In May, 1652, after the battle between the Dutch and English fleets off Dover, negotiations were opened for a treaty of peace between the contending countries. The Dutch Ambassadors, coming to London, were received in high state by Parliament, and for many weeks there were interviews and papers between them and the

---

[1] Masson IV, 228.

[2] Masson IV, 447.

[3] Declaration of the Lord Protector, issued by the consent and advice of his Council, in which the cause of this republic against the Spanish people is demonstrated to be just. Masson V, 46.

Council of State, Latin being the language employed. The Dutch were at a disadvantage to the English in naval warfare, but not in Latin speech to any people. The negotiations coming to nought at last, Cromwell issued the declaration of war mentioned above.

Another instance of the employment of Latin in treaty conferences was when the Swedish Ambassador Count Bundt came to London in 1655. At a public reception given by Cromwell, the Ambassador made a speech in Swedish, which was immediately translated by his secretary into Latin. Cromwell replied in English which the Ambassador sufficiently understood. This situation, with three languages used in courtesies between two men, is a curious one. Later when the treaty was under discussion between representatives of the two countries, the Swede begged "to be excused if he should mistake anything of the sense of them [the articles], they being in English, which he could not so well understand as if they had been in Latin, which they must be put into in conclusion." He was advised that, while the articles were brought in in English to save time, they should be put in Latin "when his Excellency should desire." Such desire being indicated, the Ambassador a few days later had to complain that the translation was delayed because it had been intrusted to a blind man. The discussion of the proposed treaty was conducted partly in Latin, certain of the conferees probably choosing to use English or Swedish just as was done in the reception of the visitors by Cromwell. But Latin, embodying the articles themselves, seems to have played the the most important and distinguished part.[1]

Milton's long and busy career as Secretary for Foreign Tongues, from 1649 to 1660, resulted in the composition of one hundred and forty-nine Latin letter which are included in his prose works. He addressed during this time a score or more of the different powers and principalities of Europe. The substance of the letters belonged to the Council of State, the Committee for Foreign Affairs, or to Cromwell; the language was Milton's,--diffuse, involved, sonorous, withal dignified and commanding, and worthy of the high spirit and proud scholarship of its industrious author.[2]

---

[1] Masson V, 252-3.

[2] These letters are all reviewed by Masson in his Life of Milton, in connection with the public circumstances under which they were written. Volumes IV and V cover the period of Milton's secretaryship.

The most notable business that ever fell to Milton's hand for communication was Cromwell's prompt and vigorous action, in 1653, concerning the Vaudois massacre. The slaughter occurred April 17. On May 17, and for many days thereafter, the Council of Cromwell was absorbed in consideration of the appalling event. Letters were dispatched to the Duke of Savoy, to France, Sweden, to the States General of the United Provinces, to the Swiss Cantons, to Denmark, and to Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania, all in Milton's Latin. A special ambassador to Savoy, Mr. Samuel Morland, delivered Cromwell's letter of remonstrance, and addressed to the Duke a speech, also in Latin, whose meaning and warning were understood and heeded. When one thinks of this great triumph of England's international influence, one should remember that it was in Latin that the mighty will of Cromwell was heralded abroad, -- in that very language which had once carried the decrees of imperial Rome far and wide to the obedient nations.[1]

[1] An account of the massacre and Cromwell's action is given in Masson V, ~~40-42~~. 38 ff.

Chapter V

The employment of Latin by an English sovereign or council of state in communicating with a continental power was not an artificial scheme built up without a broad foundation in the conditions of the age. Men in private capacity, without regard to anything except the present need, used Latin in corresponding with foreigners, there being oftentimes no other language sufficiently familiar and therefore no alternative even were one desired. The knowledge of modern languages, save one's own native speech, was not esteemed a very valuable acquisition, nor an essential mark of learning and culture. Milton, in a letter to Bradshaw, former president of the regicide court, introduced Andrew Marvell, February 21, 1653, and indicated the notion of the day that scholarship depended not on the modern but solely on the ancient languages. "He hath spent," said the letter, "four years abroad in Holland, France, Italy, and Spain, to very good purpose, as I believe, and the gaining of these four languages: besides, he is a scholar, and well read in the Latin and Greek authors."[1]

To know Dutch, French, Italian, and Spanish was no doubt an unusual accomplishment, and in some cases greatly worth while, but to be 'a scholar, well read in the Latin and Greek authors,' was an indispensable one for any man of ambition and self-esteem. "The wheedling jargon of the French," as Phillips called it, and the other vulgar tongues could be neglected without disgrace. Hobbes, who thought through many of the shams of his time, protested in vain against the monopoly of the ancient languages in the education of Englishmen. Latin and Greek, he wrote in his Behemoth, were once profitable and necessary for detecting Roman fraud and ejecting Romish power; now, when the Scriptures were translated into English, he saw no great need for the classical languages, but held far more desirable a knowledge of modern neighboring tongues--French, Dutch, and Italian.[2]

This notion of Hobbes's was centuries ahead of his time. He himself paid the highest honors to Latin by writing in that language

[1] Masson IV, 478-9.
[2] Behemoth, Moleswnrth's ed. of Works, VI, 276.

his philosophical works, some of his controversial papers, and last of all his versified autobiography. The power of Latin was too great in that century for any one man, however logical and influential, to disdain and escape it. When it came to corresponding with a foreigner, an Englishman could be sure of one thing, and that was the propriety of using Latin. Only a perfect mastery of the foreigner's tongue would permit its use; respect and courtesy for one's correspondent would rule out English. Utility, pride, custom, dignity, and honor all dictated the one universal language. Accordingly the private citizen, like the official Secretary for Foreign Tongues, adorned his correspondence with the sonorous vowels and balanced sentences of Cicero, as nearly as he could attain to that great model.

Sir Henry Wotton, a man of typical culture for Englishmen of his time, who served his state in numerous foreign embassies and closed his days as Provost of Etom College, left behind a lot of letters addressed to his fellow-countrymen, and in small part to friends abroad. An examination of his correspondence from the year 1615 on shows that all his English letters were addressed to natives of England, the three to the Queen of Bohemia being no exception since she was the daughter of King James I. All of Sir Henry's Latin letters after the same date, six in number, were written to foreigners, save one sent from Vienna home to King James. That royal devotee of learning would no doubt have preferred it in Latin under any circumstances, and especially since the

writer was then a-
broad and ambassador at the same time. As Ambassador to Venice, Sir Henry wrote four Italian letters to Doge Pruili. On the whole, Wotton may be taken as typical in his use of languages in correspondence: choosing English for Englishmen and Latin for aliens with exceptions only in view of special circumstances.[1]

Since only the learned could meet the linguistic requirements of international correspondence, the topics treated were accordingly of a dignity worthy for the most part of the language enployed. Science and philosophy had their share of attention in that philosophic if not scientific age. ~~All~~ The letters, for instance, of Dr. William Harvey were mostly in Latin, and many of them (though the whole number was not large) discussed with his brother physicians in Germany and other parts of Europe the physiological questions which he had done

[1] Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton, by L. P. Smith, Appendix I, D.

so much toward answering. His startling theory of the circulation of the blood was, like many another momentous scientific discovery, not immediately accepted by all men, not even by all the learned; and Harvey's correspondence labored to remove prejudice among his foreign friends, and to make acceptable what he knew to be the truth.[1]

Another favorite theme for private correspondence, as for every other literary essay in seventeenth century England, was religion and the church. When men of different nationalities wrote letters to each other on this subject, there was double reason for seeking the dignity and form of no vulgar tongue. In 1640, when Bishop Joseph Hall corresponded[2] with John Durie ~~of France~~ on the proposed problem of a universal Protestant union, which Samuel Hartlib, Milton's friend, was endeavoring to introduce to the minds of Englishmen, the language of the two learned scholars and divines could have been none other than Latin. The same is true of Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, who about 1649 and onwards wrote occasionally from Glasgow to Clarissimo et Doctissimo Viro D. Gisberto Vostio, Sacrae Theologiae in Academiae Ultrajectina Professori,[3] concerning current religious disputes, seeking that scholar's opinions and begging his prayers for the troubled church of England.

Milton's private letters, which were mostly in Latin, seem to have been devoted chiefly to complimentary passages and to general literary observations. In this epistolary Latin of his, as in fact in so much of the Latin of the times whether prose or poetry, the reader feels that a rhetorical exercise is in progress, and that here, as in the schools and universities, words rather than ideas are the object of search and refinement. These letters of Milton's which are still preserved, thirty-one in number, are scattered from the seventeenth to the sixty-sixth or last year of his life. Nineteen were written to men whose native language was not English: two to Italians, ten to Germans, two to a Greek, ~~###~~ two to Frenchmen, one to a native of Friesland, and two to "the illustrious Lord Henry de Bras", otherwise unknown. The fact that ~~###~~ each of his correspondents was a man of learning and ability determined Milton's choice of Latin, even though English was in some cases familiar to both. A

---

[1] Willis's Harvey: ~~the~~ Chapter ~~on Correspondence~~ II, Section XIV.
[2] Masson III, 217; ~~Dict. Nat. Biog., sub Hall and Durie.~~
[3] Baillie's Letters, Vol. III, 103-4.

number of his letters were written during his University days, when the ancient language yet claimed his enthusiasm and energy.

Latin was so confessedly the appropriate language of correspondence between foreigners, that only a special reason would suggest the using of any other. In one of his letters to Henry Oldenburg, Aulic Counsellor to the Senate of Bremen, Milton offered a thoughtful courtesy to his German friend: "I had more than once", he wrote, "an intention of substituting our English for your Latin, that you, who have studied our language with more accuracy and success than any foreigner with whom I am acquainted, might lose no opportunity of writing it, which I think you would do with equal elegance and correctness. But in this respect you shall act as you feel inclined."[1] It does not appear that Oldenburg ever took advantage of Milton's generous proposal.

Many points of biographical value lie imbedded in Milton's correspondence with his foreign friends. Perhaps the most interesting are the references to his blindness. Letter numbered XV, to Leonard Philaras the Athenian who had visited him in London, was taken up entirely with a description of the gradual coming on of darkness till both the poet's eyes were obscured. Again, in the last of the Familiar Letters, writing to Peter Heimbach he closed with an apology for any errors in diction or pronunciation. Such errors were to be imputed, he said, to "the boy who wrote this, who is quite ignorant of Latin, and to whom I was, with no little vexation, obliged to dictate not the words, but, one by one, the letters of which they were composed."

Not only in familiar correspondence but in conversation and in poetic compliments, Latin was the medium between different nationalities. To the famous singer, Leonora Baroni, whom Milton heard at Rome, he made three Latin epigrams,[2] probably not being sure of the Italian idiom for such a delicate business. At Naples, in 1639, Milton sent the poet Manso, who had entertained him, a Latin tribute in hexameters, which were published in 1645 in England; an eloquent, impassioned poem, in which he referred to his high epic plan to call back into verse the native English kings, "Arthur and

[1] Familiar Letter XIV.

[2] Massom I, 635-6.

the knights of the unconquered table."[1] Manso returned the compliment with gift of two richly wrought cups, and a Latin elegiac couplet, calling Milton Anglic and almost angelic, saving his creed.[1]

It has been previously shown that in diplomatic discussions between English and foreign embassies, Latin was sometimes used; and it has been pointed out how in the Universities Latin was the language for every kind of communication, oral and written. In private conversation it was common for Latin to be used by learned foreigners of different nationalities. Evelyn tells in his diary, May 6, 1656, of a young Frenchman whom he persuaded to accept the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and who was seeking sacred orders. "I brought Monsieur le Franc, " says Evelyn, "a young French Sorbonnist, a proselyte, to converse with Dr. Taylor;[2] they fell to a dispute on original sinn, in Latine, upon a booke newly published by the Doctor, who was much satisfied with the young man." The satisfaction probably had as much to do with scholarly abilities as a proper acceptance of the necessary doctrines.

---

[1] Masson I, 646-8.

[2] Bishop Jeremy Taylor.

Chapter VI

We have shown that the voice of the English state, addressing any particular foreign state, or the world in general by universal proclamation, used the Latin language and thereby insured intelligibility, dignity, and honor. Private correspondence was guided by the same conditions and purposes. We come now to another international use of Latin: the use by individual Englishmen speaking or writing in their capacity as defenders of their country or as scientists and teachers with a message of concern to all thinking and learned men among all nations.

In the writing of books it was very clear to Englishmen what the advantages would be in using Latin and what sort of audience the learned language would appeal to. The first question, and one that largely determined in an author's mind whether he should compose his work in English or Latin, was the range of his appeal: would he address a more crowded audience of only Englishmen, or the learned heads loosely but widely scattered throughout the European world. A strictly domestic concern, an English family affair so to speak, would naturally be discussed in the vernacular. Such a question, for example, would be Church Reformation or the Liberty of the Press in England, in the treatment of which Milton deliberately chose the language of the country addressed and primarily concerned. But when he was to defend the English people not against any part of themselves but against a hostile foreign world, he wrote in Latin his Defensio Pro Populo Anglicano,[1] teaching a continental audience concerning a matter in which they particularly needed instruction. Milton's choice of English or Latin for his prose pamphlets struck with fine wisdom the reasonable distinction between the uses of the two languages for Englishmen of that day.

The policy he seems to have adopted was to employ English whenever the English people were chiefly concerned in the perusal of his discourse, and not to be tempted by the applause which eloquence in the honored Latin might win for him abroad. In "The Reason of

---

[1] Defense of the People of England, 1650.

Church Government", published in 1641, he declared that "if I were certain to write as men buy leases, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had than to God's glory, by the honour and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latins, I applied myself to that resolution, which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end, (that were a toilsome vanity,) but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout the island in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a Christain, might do for mine; not caring to be once named abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with these British islands as my world; whose fortune hath hitherto been, that if the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great by their eloquent writers, England hath had her noble achievements made small by the unskilful handling of monks and mechanics."[1] In this characteristic passage Milton's reference was no doubt to his plans for poetry rather than prose, in the honoring and teaching of his country; but the same determination guided him in all his writings, to use the mother tongue if his message was not exclusively or pre-eminently for foreign readers.

In the "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce", written in 1643, addressing Parliament and the Ecclesiastical Assembly, he drew again the distinction which guided him in the choice of language. "I seek not," he said, "to seduce the simple and illiterate; my errand is to find out the choicest and the learnedest, who have this high gift of wisdom to answer solidly, or to be convinced. I crave it from the piety, the learning, and the prudence which is housed in this place. It might perhaps have been more fitly written in another tongue: and I had done so, but that the esteem I have of my country's judgment, and the love I bear to my native language to serve it first

1. Bohn, II, 478. Milton's Prose Works

with what I endeavor, make me speak it thus, ere I assay the verdict of outlandish readers."[1]

As late as 1659, when he addressed Parliament with "A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes," Milton still held firmly to the early reasons for choosing English when Latin was not a necessity. "I have prepared, supreme council!" he began, "against the much-expected time of your sitting, this treatise; which, though to to all Christain magistrates equally belonging, and therefore to have been written in the common language of Christendom, natural duty and affection hath confined, and dedicated first to my own nation; and in a season wherein the timely reading thereof, to the easier accomplishment of your great work, may save you much labor and interruption."[2] We may feel sure, from these statements, that if Milton was consistent, he used Latin only when he had no other choice, only when the supreme purpose of his writing was an errand not to Englishmen but to the people of Europe at large. And so his treatises on Church Reformation, on Divorce, on the Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, on Education; his Eikonoklastes, his Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, and his Histories of Britain and Muscovia, were addressed to his countrymen in their native speech. On the other hand all his defenses of the People of England and of himself, being answers against foreigners who attacked him or his country in Latin, were themselves written in that tongue. The De Doctrina Christiana, his longest work, was likewise in Latin, being, according to the Dedication, "the address of John Milton to all the Churches of Christ, and to all who profess the Christain faith throughout the world."

The vast audience which one, writing from England in the universal language, might have pictured for himself, is splendidly described by Milton in the first pages of his Second Defense of the People of England, published in 1654. Flushed with the triumph of his first defense against the great Salmasius, he was borne up on the wings of his magnificent theme before the upturned faces of the whole civilized world. "I am far from wishing," he exclaim-

1 Milton's Prose Works, Bohn, Miscellanies, III, 179.
2 Milton's Prose Works, Bohn, Miscellanies, II, 520-1.

ed , "to make any vain or arrogant comparisons, or to speak ostentatiously of myself; but, in a cause so great and glorious, and particularly on an occasion when I am called by the general suffrage to defend the very defenders of that cause, I can hardly refrain from assuming a more lofty and swelling tone than the simplicity of an exordium may seem to justify: and much as I may be surpassed in the powers of eloquence and copiousness of diction, by the illustrious orators of antiquity, yet the subject of which I treat was never surpassed in any age, in dignity, or in interest. It has excited such general and such ardent expectation, that I imagine myself not in the forum or on the rostra, surrounded only by the people of Athens or of Rome, but about to address in this, as I did in my former Defense, the whole collective body of people, cities, states, and councils of the wise and eminent, through the wide expanse of anxious and listening Europe. I seem to survey, as from a towering height, the far extended tracts of sea and land, and innumerable crowds of spectators, betraying in their looks the liveliest interest, and sensations the most congenial with my own. Here I behold the stout and manly prowess of the Germans disdaining servitude; there the generous and lively impetuousity of the French; on this side, the calm and stately valour of the Spaniard; on that, the composed and wary magnanimity of the Italian.....Surrounded by congregated multitudes, I now imagine that, from the columns of Hercules to the Indian Ocean, I behold the nations of the earth recovering that liberty which they so long had lost; and that the people of this island are transporting to other countries a plant of more beneficial qualities, and more noble growth, than that which Triptolemus is reported to have carried from region to region; that they are disseminating the blessings of civilization and freedom among cities, kingdoms, and nations."[1]

To sum up Milton's conception of the proper use of Latin by individual Englishmen, it was, in his own phrases, to "essay the verdict of outlandish readers," to write treatises "to all Christian magistrates equally belonging," to address "all the Churches of Christ, and all who profess the Christain faith throughout the

~~Milton's Works, miscellanies, I, 219-20.~~ [1] ~~Translated by Robert Fellowes.~~

1. Milton's Prose Works, I, 219-220

world,", and "the whole collective body of people, cities, states, and councils of the wise and eminent, through the wide expanse of anxious and listening Europe." For anyone of these things to be done, Latin had to be employed. The same clear recognition of the act of Sir Francis Bacon in putting into range of language appears in the Latin such works as he meant should live;[1] and in that of Thomas Hobbes, in translating, in 1668, his original English Leviathan which his own scrupulous countrymen were threatening to suppress.[2] "My fame," said the philosopher, after the translation, in reply to criticism and abuse, "has long ago flown abroad, not to be recalled." Comenius, in his educational reform, insisted on the thorough mastering of Latin, not as a part of learning or wisdom, but as a means of communicating and receiving knowledge, as an introduction to the wise use of books. These four great contemporaries, three Englishmen and one a citizen of the world, not only agreed in their opinion of the right province of Latin, but showed in practice their faith in the language.

Milton, in comparing the famous success of his Latin Defenses with the poor reception of his English Reform pamphlets, was naturally inclined to be proud of the former and to put more trust accordingly in learning and the learned. In his Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, written in 1660, he referred to his having defended the heroic cause of the English people "to all Christendom against the tongue of a famous and thought-invincible adversary;" and having left "a written monument likely to outlive detraction."[3] Though in all his addresses to his people he had sincerely hoped to improve and honor his native language, yet his messages at home had rewarded him only with disappointment. His feeling of the contrast between his English and his Latin successes is indicated in a reply, in 1655, to Leo de Aitzema, agent at the Hague for Hamburg and the Hanse Towns, who wrote to Milton about having his Divorce book translated into Dutch. Both the inquiry and the answer were in Latin. Milton said, among other things: "As regards

---

[1] Spedding, Preface, XI.

[2] Robertson's Hobbes, 200-1.

[3] Lockwood, 153.

the Book on Divorce which you tell me you have given to some one to be turned into Dutch, I had rather you had given it to be turned into Latin. For my experience in these books has now been that the vulgar still receive according to their wont opinions not already common." No use, in other words, to put reform treatises in the vulgar tongues for common people to read; any effect to be produced with new ideas must be among the learned reading Latin.

Milton was not the only Englishman who took note of the fame his Latin arguments had found abroad, but not every one regarded that fame with pride and congratulation. In 1660, while the Restoration was close upon England, there appeared in London a pamphlet, though anonymous, known to have been by Roger L' Estrange, entitled, "No Blind Guides: in answer to a seditious pamphlet of J. Milton's entitled 'Brief Notes on a late Sermon, &c.' Addressed to the Author. 'If the Blind lead the Blinde, both shall fall into the ditch'." One passage, referring to Milton's Defense of the People of England, exclaimed: "Tis there (as I remember) that you commonplace yourself into set forms of railing, two pages thick; and lest your infamy should not extend itself enough within the course and usage of your mother tongue, the thing is dressed up in a travelling garb and language, to blast the English nation to the Universe, and give every man a horror of mankind when he considers you are of the race."[2]

One other contemporary opinion of the European appeal of the language may yet be quoted. Peter Du Moulin was an ardent Episcopalian and follower of Charles I, and lent his learning, which was of some pretense, to the royalists. He made a solemn vow, in answer to the King's invitation to represent his cause abroad, "that, as far Latin and French could go in the world, I would make the justice of the king's and church's cause to be known, especially to the Protestants of France and the Low Countries."[3] He made good his vow, and sent forth in Latin the scurrilous pamphlet entitled "Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Coelum."[4] By this work he extolled the martyred king, and defamed Milton as far as Latin "could go in the world."

1 ~~Masson I, 171-2.~~ 1. Familiar Letter, XVI.

2 Masson V, 689-690.

3 ~~Do. 217.~~ Masson V. 217-218. also

4 Cry of the King's Blood to Heaven.

Dict. Nat. Biog. sub Moulin.

This extensive foreign audience it was that first encouraged an English scholar to employ the universally intelligible language when his message was to all mankind. As a further advantage in its favor, Latin seemed the most permanent of languages, having survived by a thousand years the downfall of its native city; and the most honorable, having a long and noble record of service to human civilization. Wide range of appeal, first, then permanence and honor, recommended the ancient above any modern tongue. In a later section further notice will be taken of the superior dignity and power of Latin.

The English state viewed with anxiety the birth of Latin books hostile to ~~their~~ its acts and policies. To protect against foreign literary invasion and to meet attack with similar force became a part of the duties of the Council of State and the Foreign Committee. This was especially true during the the precarious years following the execution of Charles, when the whole world seemed to surround the Puritan island and rage against the doings of the bold republicans. When it became known among the victorious revolutionists in England that the royalists had hired the eloquent French Latinist Salmasius to proclaim the defense of the Stuarts over Europe, it was ordered in Council November 29, 1649, to take measures for intercepting the book expected from Holland. Without power to reach beyond the Channel and annihilate the enemy there, Council had means at least of preventing an invasion of the English land. The hostile and dangerous book was Defensio Regia pro Carolo I. Ad Serenissimum Magnae Britanniae Regem Carolo II; filium natu majorem, heredem et successorem legitimum.[1] It was a duodecimo of 444 pages, truly formidable in size. The measures of protection proposed by Council were to intercept the book at the custom-house. But this mere keeping it out of England was not sufficient. An antidote had to be sent abroad to counteract the effects there. Accordingly on January 8, 1650, it was ordered that "Mr. Milton do prepare something in answer to the Book of Salmasius, and when he hath done it to bring it to the Council." "Do prepare," though the normal style of such resolutions, may be read to suggest the anxious appeal of the councillors in this

[1] Masson IV, 150. Defense of Charles I. To Charles II, most serene King of Great Britain, his elder son, and legitimate heir and Successor.

dread emergency. "Prepare something"-- the vagueness suggests helplessness, and trust in the resources of the eloquent Secretary. In February, that is, the very next month, Council employed Milton for another year, at his former salary, and on the same day "a letter was despatched by the Council of State to the Commissioners of Customs, informing them that copies of Salmasius's Defensio Regia were on their way from Holland to several booksellers in England, and instructing them to order the subordinate officers of Customs to see to the discovery and seizure of all such copies, that the importers might be proceeded against!"[1] At last, after anxious waiting and watching the Council were informed that the undoing of Salmasius was at hand, and they ordered, December 23, 1650, "that Mr. Milton do print the treatise he hath written in answer to a late Book written by Salmasius against the Proceedings of the Commonwealth."[2] This was the first Defense of the People of England, which vanquished Salmasius, made Milton's name a wonder throughout Europe, and which he later proudly declared would "outlive detraction!"

Just ten years later, at the Restoration which meant also destruction, this famous Defense together with its fellow-offender, the Eikonoklastes, ~~was ordered by~~ Commons ordered to be collected and burned; and proceedings started against the wicked author. "This week, according to a former proclamation," say the newspapers of September 3-10, 1660, "several copies of those infamous books made by John Milton and John Goodwin and in justification of the horrid murder of our late glorious sovereign King Charles the First were solemnly burned at the session house in the Old Bailey by the hand of the common hangman."[3] The serious attention paid by the State for the composition, printing, and publication of these treatises and later, by an adverse sovereign, for the collection and destruction of them, shows the vigorous practical life Latin enjoyed as a national and international force.

Milton's were not the only books in Latin authorized by a vigilant Council in those anxious days after January, 1649. On October 17 of that year, it was ordered that five hundred copies of Mr. Hall

---

Defense of King Charles I. To the most serene Charles II, King of Great Britain, his elder son, lawful heir and successor. Masson IV, 150.

[1] Masson IV, 224.

[2] Do. 230.

[3] ~~Do. V, 195~~. Masson VI, ~~193~~ 193.

his answer to Mr. Prynne be printed in Latin, and the charge of it be defrayed by the Council."[1] Again, October 15, 1650, it was ordered "that Mr. Needham do put into Latin the Treatise which he hath written in answer to a Spanish piece written in defense of the murder of Mr. Ascham,"[2] the ambassador of the Commonwealth to Spain, assassinated there by royalists while engaged in the performance of his mission. In no direction did the Commonwealth keep stricter watch than toward the continent, to help their own cause and hinder their enemies' in the Latin controversy that was waging around the name of Charles I.

The use of Latin as a modern living language had not been perfected nor extended in England as on the continent. Scholarship had attained its height in Holland and France in such world-celebrities as Salmasius, Grotius, Vossius, etc., with whom no name in England could compare until the Latin prose of Milton made its way in triumph over the continent. Then the learned Englishman became an object of admiration abroad, where learning was more appreciated than in the narrow island, and he was importuned to go into France and Italy, and was sought after by foreign visitors to the day of his death, not because of his fame as poet but as Latin antagonist of Salmasius.[3] Englishmen themselves conceded their inferiority in scholarship, that is, for the most part, in knowledge and fluency in Latin.

Of Robert Fludd, who made his name de Fluctibus, a physician practicing in London and fellow of the College of Physicians, Wood wrote: "He was esteemed by many scholars as a most noted philosopher, an eminent physician, and one strangely profound in obscure matters. ---His books which are mostly in Latin are many and mystical: and as he wrote by clouding his high matter with dark language, which is accounted by some[4] no better than canting, or the phrase of a mountebank; so he spoke to his patients, amusing them with I know not what, till by his elevated expressions he operated into them a faith-natural, which consequently contributed to the well working of physic. They are looked upon as slight things among the English

---

[1] Bishop John Hall. Masson IV, 147.
[2] Masson IV, 229.
[3] Masson V, 404.
[4] E.g., the philosopher Hobbes.

notwithstanding by some valued, particularly by Mr. Selden, who had the author of them in high esteem. The foreigners prize and behold them as rarities, not that they are more judicious than the English, but more inquisitive in such difficulties, which hath been the reason why some of them have been printed more than once." [1]

Of Joseph Allein's Theologiae Philosophicae, sive Philosophiae Theologicae Specimen[2], written in 1661, Wood said that it had been "licensed for the press, but being Latin and Greek, and such books having too few buyers in England, none are yet found that will be at the charge of printing the said book." In 1676, when David Skinner drafted a Latin prospectus of his forthcoming edition of Milton's Latin State Letters, he began: "Be it known to all the world, whether in the Universities or in London, as well as to booksellers, if there are any with more than usual knowledge of Latin, and also to all foreigners whatsoever,"-- seeming unconsciously to have divided the world who cared for his Latin book into two classes, the "learned of England" and "all foreigners whatsoever." [3] The parliamentary party in England was in particular charged with want of learning, and it was a surprise that such a Latinist as Milton should have risen from that number. The following compliment was paid to the associates of Cromwell by the author of the Regii Sanguinis Clamor, published in 1652: "The Parricides were alarmed at the fame of the great work of Salmasius--not at the reading of it; for what one here or there among these scoundrels understands Latin?"[4]

A curious comment on the scholarship of the day, showing that eloquence was in words rather than ideas, and that a greater virtue lay in Latin itself than in the arguments it conveyed, is found in the controversies between Milton and his opponents when they turn aside from facts and proofs and persuasion, to attack each other's vocabulary and syntax. In the preface to the first Defense, in 1650, Milton rejoiced to find flaws in the grammarian's grammar. "I have a horrible massage to bring of you," he cried, addressing Sal-

1 Wood, ~~Fasti, Part II~~ Athenae II, 618-622. A list of Fludd's works is given by Wood.
2 Specimens of Philosophical Theology, or Theological Philosophy.
3 Wood, Athenae, III, 822.
3 Masson VI, 796.
4 Masson IV, 455.

masius, "which I am mistaken if it strike not a more heinous wound into the ears of all grammarians and critics, provided they have any learning and delicacy in them, to wit, your crowding so many barbarous expressions together in one period in the person of ~~as~~ (Aristarchus) a grammarian; and that so great a critic as you, hired at the king's charge to write a defence of the king his father, should not only set so fulsome a preface before it, much like those lamentable ditties that used to be sung at funerals, and which can move compassion in none but a coxcomb; but in the very first sentence should provoke your readers to laughter with so many barbarisms all at once. 'Persona regis', you cry. Where do you find any such Latin? or are you telling us some tale or other of a Perkin Warbec, who, taking upon him the person of a king, has, forsooth, committed some horrible parricide in England? which expression, though dropping carelessly from your pen, has more truth in it than you are aware of. For a tyrant is but like a king upon a stage, a man in a vizor, and acting the part of a king in a play: he is not really a king. But as for these gallicisms, that are so frequent in your book, I won't lash you for them myself, for I am not at leisure; but shall deliver you over to your fellow-grammarians, to be laughed to scorn and whipped by them!"[1]

But Milton could not yield his high advantage, and anon spoke again of Salmasius's "parricidal barbarisms" and "miserable bald Latin," with other insinuations against the style and learning of the protagonist for royalty; whom he ~~called~~ abused as a grammarinn, the shame of grammarians, the perpetrator of solecisms, as "altogether ignorant both of Latin and common sense." At one place Milton shouted an apostrophe to the English fugitives: "So many bishops, doctors, lawyers, who pretend that all learning and ingenuous literature is fled out of England with yourselves, was there not one of you that could defend the king's cause, and your own, and that in good Latin also, to be submitted to the judgment of other nations, but that this brainsick, beggarly Frenchman must be hired to undertake the defence of a poor indigent king, surrounded with so many infant priests and doctors?"[2]

1. ~~Bohn, Miscellanies~~ Milton's Prose Works, I, 8-10.
2. ~~Bohn, Miscellanies~~ Milton's Prose Works, I, 204.

In the second Defense a similar attack was made upon the language of the Regii Sangunis Clamor. "You would suppose," wrote Milton, referring to the author of the Clamor, supposed to be Alexander Morus, "that his language was rather Oscan than Latin; or that he was croaking like the frog of a slimy pool. Then to show you how much he is a master of iambics, he makes two false quantities in a single word; making one syllable long where it ought to be short, and another short where it ought to be long:-

'Hi trucidato rege per horrendum nefas.' "[1]

John Phillips, Milton's nephew and pupil, followed his uncle and master in style of controversy. In 1652 he published in London Responsio ad Apologiam Anonymi cujusdam Tenebrionis pro Rege et Populo Anglicano Infantissimam.[2] He called his antagonist "unlearned, insipid, a plunderer in Latin, arrogant and languid; yet the further we proceed the more inane and lean you always turn out, and, with the exception of some commonplace adages and distichs, which you had learnt by heart, I believe, when a school-boy, and which, to prevent your readers from denying you some little sort of half-scholarship, you labor to insert by hook or crook, you seem to have exhausted all the rest of your very small provision of arguments, sense and Latin."--"In the last chapter," says Masson, commenting on Phillips's piece, "there is a biting return to the subject of the horribly bad Latin of the Apologist, with a collection of some of his more glaring solecisms by way of specimen. 'Tam castus, ut exemplum praebuit! 'Totiens purgatum ut nil praeter nomen manere potuit.' 'Tanto acumine ut maxima pars mundi mirantur et silent.'[3] Milton providently assisted Phillips in revising the language of the pamphlet, since his own named was defended in it, and his reputation abroad was at stake.

---

[1] These having committed the horrible crime of slaying a king. This fragment is from certain Latin verses in Regii Sanguinis Clamor. The mistaken vowels are the u and i in trucidato. Milton's Prose Works, I, 242.

[2] Reply to the most silly apology of some anonymous rascal for the king and people of England. Masson IV, 470.

[3] Masson IV, 475. The fault with all these examples is the use of the indicative instead of subjunctive after ut.

We have passed in review the contemporary estimates put on Latin for international communication, and the advantages involved for Englishmen in its use in books intended for foreign readers. If we look into the nature of these literary productions, we find them divided into the broad classes of political and legal, scientific, biographical and historical, and religious writings. On such subjects Englishmen often had a message for all mankind and therefore wrote it in the language which the world could read.

Political writings were for the most part controversial, and it was during the political disturbances between 1649 and 1660 that the chief argumentative contests were waged between Englishmen at home and English or foreigners on the continent. Thr literature on the execution of Charles I was abundant in both languages, and translations frequently passed from the one to the other. The first notable work to appear on this tremendous question was the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ in English in 1649; a work regarded as being so powerful and affecting that in the same year it was translated into Latin by Dr. John Earle at the command of Charles II. Its full title in translation was Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, vel Imago Regis Caroli in illis suis Aerumnis et Solitudine,[1] and publication took place at the Hague. The book was thus busy at its task in two language, reaching all the learned abroad, all the people of England high and low. In refutation of the Εἰκὼν Milton brought forth in English Εἰκονοκλάστης, or Image-Breaker, which was likewise put into Latin to carry the war into Europe against the translated form of the enemy's book. The translation was the work of Lewis Du Moulin, brother of the royalist Peter Du Moulin, and History Professor at Oxford. A French translation of the same book was made by Mr. Durie, at the order of the Council of State, to counteract a French version of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ prepared by the order of Charles II.[2]

By November 1, 1649, the distinguished French scholar, Claudius Salmasius, had brought out on the continent for Charles II a Defensio Regia,[3] a ponderous work assailing in vehement Latin the English regicides and glorifying the

[1] Masson IV, 151: Eikon Basilike, or Image of King Charles in those lonely miseries of his.
[2] These facts are gathered from Masson IV, 151, 315, 446, and V, 216.
[3] Masson IV, 166. Defense of the King.

regicides and glorifying the martyred king. The English government, being anxiously on the alert for such manoeuvres, directed the Secretary for Foreign Tongues to bring up the opposite side, and accordingly about March 1651 there appeared in London Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam.[1] The Council was pleased by the Defense and voted copious thanks to the defender on June 16, 1651. This same year there was issued at Antwerp, by a refugee English clergyman a duodecimo volume of 195 pages, with the title: Pro Rege et Populo Anglicano Apologia, contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Angli) Defensionem Destructivam Regis et Populi Anglicani.[2] Here is the remarkable spectacle of an Englishman in exile in Holland publishing to Europeans a Latin argument against another Latin pamphlet by an Englishman safe at home, on a subject of English concern. The author of the Apologia was later found to be John Rowland, an English pastor. His work was an important one, though in very bad Latin. An answer to it was prepared, on the permission of Milton, by his nephew John Phillips with a book of 258 pages, published in 1652 and entitled : Joannis Philippi Angli Responsio ad Apologiam anonymi Cujusdam Tenebrionis. Mention of this work was made above (page 63) where attention was called to Phillips's attack on his opponent's Latin.

In this same year, 1652, there sounded from the other side of England, that is to say, from Ireland, a shot in the battle of words around the name of Charles. It was a pamphlet entitled: CharlesI, Britanniarum Rex, a securi et calamo Miltonii vindicatus.[3] The unknown author brought what learning he could muster to the side of his king. "Salmasius," he said in his Dedication to Charles II, "seems to me to have kept silence too much under his attacks from Milton, though he is generally sharp and sedulous in avenging calumnies. Unequal to the task though I am, I have taken ~~xxxx~~ his side, and instituted as it were a preliminary skirmish, till he shall collect

---

[1] Defense of the people of England, by John Milton, Englishman, against the Defense of the King by Claude the Anonymous, alias Salmasius. Masson IV, ~~321-2~~. 312.

[2] Apology for the King and People of England, in answer to John the Busybody's (alias John Milton the Englishman's) Defense of the King and English People to their ruin. Masson IV, 347.

[3] Charles I, King of the British Isles, vindicated from the axe and pen of Milton. Masson IV, 436 and footnote.

Honoratissimo, Georgio Berkleio,
Militi de Balneo, Baroni de
Berkley, Mowbrey, Segrave, &
de Bruse, Domino suo multis
nominibus Observando.

Ord. of Anat. of Mel.

Knights of the Bath

Baron Berkley, Mowbray,
Segrave and Bruce —

his forces away from the field, and bring on the real battle." But Salmasius was past fighting and was no more heard from during his life.

Another pamphlet for the year 1652 was issued at The Hague anonymously and entitled: Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Coelum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos.[1] The book eulogized Salmasius and "other well-affectioned and learned men", Milton not being of the number. Against this new attack, as earlier against the Defensio Regis of Salmasius himself, the Council of State had recourse to the approved polemic strength of their Latin Secretary, and ordered him to prepare a reply. For six months the great protagonist of liberty was off duty as translating secretary, evidently employed on the answer to Regii Sanguinis Clamor; which answer appeared in London May 30, 1654, as Joannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda: contra Infamem Libellum Anonymum cui titulus 'Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Coelum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos'." 2 This, like others of these pieces of political controversy, was a sort of state paper, ordered by the government and written by a paid author. Milton, in this second Defense, assumed Alexander Morus to be the author of the anonymous pamphlet, while Peter Du Moulin, the real author, was pleased for the present to keep his name concealed. Morus was indeed partly in guilt, being responsible for the dedicatory epistle to Charles II and for editing the entire publication, but he was not willing to bear the whole brunt of Milton's irresistible wrath. He first bought up all the copies of the Defensio Secunda that he could, and at last published a vindication of himself, entitled: Alexandri Mori, Ecclesiastae, Sacrarumque Litterarum Professoris, Fides Publica, contra Calumnias Joannis Miltoni, Scurrae.[3] This apology of Morus was brought out at the Hague, in 1654, and curiously enough, by the perversity of the printer, was bound up in the same volume with Milton's Defensio Secunda which Morus had

---

1 Cry of the King's blood to heaven against the English Parricides. Masson IV, 453.

2 Second defense of the people of England, by John Milton, Englishman: in reply to an anonymous and infamous pamphlet entitled, "Cry of the King's Blood to Heaven against the English Parricides." Masson IV, ~~150-1~~ 580-1.

3 A public testimony of Alexander Morus, churchman, and professor of Sacred Literature, in reply to the calumnies of John Milton, buffoon. Masson V, 150-1.

done his best to remove from the sight of men. The first issue of the Fides Publica being incomplete, the finished edition was brought out the following year, 1655, unembarrassed by the association of Milton's offensive work.[1] On August 8 of this year Milton published a rejoinder to the original Fides Publica, with an appended notice of the supplement and with the title: Joannis Miltoni, Angli, Pro Se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum, Ecclesiasten, Libelli Famosi, cui titulus 'Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Coelum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos,' authorem recte dictum."[2] This was Milton's farewell to Morus, and concludes his efforts to destroy the "Cry of the King's Blood", of 1652, and all connected with it. We may now go back to the year 1653, and consider other participants in the international war of words and learning.

This year witnessed the arrival of three more allies for Salmasius, in the form of Latin pamphlets. Two of these were published together under the title: Caspari Ziegleri Lipsiensis circa Regicidium Anglorum Exercitationes. Accedit Jacobi Schalleri Dissertatio ad loca quaedam Miltoni.[3] The volume contained 262 pages. The authors were men of unwarlike occupation, Ziegler being a German jurist, Schaller a Doctor of Theology and Professor of Practical Philosophy; but they were excited by the stir which Milton's anti-Salmasian pamphlets had produced among the learned of Europe. The third publication of the year was entitled: Polemica, sive Supplementum ad Apologiam Anonymam pro Rege et Populo Anglicano adversus Jo. Miltoni Defensionem Populi Anglicani, &c. Per Jo. Rowlandum, Pastorem Anglicum, 1655.[4] This John Rowland had written the anonymous pamphlet against Milton, to which John Phillips had replied;[5] and in this later publication he both confessed his name and acknowledged with some emphasis the former work, bad Latin and all.

---

[1] Masson V, 192.

[2] The English John Milton's Defense for Himself, in reply to Alexander Morus, Churchman, rightly called the author of the notorious book entitled "Cry of the King's Blood to Heaven against the English Parricides." Masson V, 198.

[3] Exercitations of Casper Ziegler of Leipsic concerning the Regicide of the English: To which is added Jacobus Schaller's Dissertation on some passages of Milton. Leyden, 1655. Massaon IV, 554-5.

[4] Polemica, or Supplement to the Anonymous Apology for the King and People of England against John Milton's Defense of the English People, &c. By John Rowland, English Pastor, 1655. Masson IV, 556.

[5] See above, page 65.

It was as late as September 1660, after the Restoration and after all need for argument had ended, that the rebuttal of Salmasius against Milton's first Defense of 1651 was heard--a feeble and broken voice from the grave. The title of the publication was Claudii Salmasi ad Johannem Miltonum Responsio, opus postumum.[1] It consisted of a dedication to Charles II by Claudius Salmasius, son of the deceased author, a preface of 50 pages; two completed chapters, and part of a third ending abruptly. The chief point of interest in the work is the ~~fact~~ evidence that Milton's picking at Salmasius's Latin grammar had vexed the old scholar sorely: he retaliated by ridiculing Milton's Latin poetry for its bad quantities and misused words.

So ends the famous political controversy, waged with all the learning the age could afford. The return of Charles II effectively gave the palm to his defenders, and delivered Milton's publications to the bonfire.

The controversy about the overthrow of the English monarchy may suffice to illustrate the Latin political literature of the time. Legal treatises will find their best exemplification in the works of the the great lawyer and scholar, John Selden (1584-1654). His history of England from the earliest times down to the Norman Invasion, written in 1607, with the title Analecton Anglo-Britannicon, was followed in 1610 by a discussion of the laws and customs of the Britons, Saxons, and Normans, the title of the work being: Jani Anglorum Facies altera.[2] His Mare Clausum (The Closed Sea), published in 1636, was a defense of the English claim of maritime property against the Mare Liberum (The Free Sea) of Hugo Grotius, which contended, on behalf of the Dutch, that the high seas were open to all. "Charles I was so pleased by Selden's performance that, by an order of the privy council, it was directed that one copy should be kept in the archives of the council, another in the court of exchequer."[3] The work continued to be regarded as the most telling argument for English maritime dominion, and in 1653 the Council of the

---

1. Reply of Claudius Salmasius to John Milton: a postumous work. Masson, VI, 203-210.
2. The other face of the Janus of the English.
3. Dict. Nat. Biog. sub Selden.

Commonwealth ordered "that the sum of £200 be paid out of the exigent moneys of the Council to Mr. Marchamont Needham, in consideration of his great labour and pains in the translating of Mr. Selden's book entitled Mare Clausum."[1] This case well illustrates the linguistic comlplexities of the time: an English council of State pays a year's wages to an Englishman for translating into the vernacular another Englishman's Latin book written in defense of national claims in reply to a foreigner's argument in Latin: a long way around the circle before the mind of Selden came to be delivered to his countrymen at large.

In 1647 Selden edited the early English law treatise Fleta, with a prefixed dissertation of great learning.[2] In 1653 he assisted Sir Roger Twysden in editing ten hitherto unpublished works on English history, which they published under the title: Decem Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores.[3] To this Selden prefixed a criticism on the ten Historians, calling it Judicium de Decem Historiae Anglicanae Scriptoribus.[4] His last work, Vindiciae (Vindications), was published in 1653 as a personal defense against an attack upon his Mare Clausum by a Dutch jurist Graswinckel. These last two works, though not in themselves legal treatises, grew out of his legal inquiries and writings.

Selden directed his attention not only to English Law and History, but also to Oriental investigations which resulted in the publication of numerous Latin works. His De Diis Syriis,[5] 1617, "established his fame as an oriental scholar among the learned in all parts of Europe."[5] His expositions of Jewish laws were contained in a series of works which enjoyed great celebrity abroad: De Successionibus in bona defunctorum ad leges Ebraeorum,[6] 1631; De Successione in Pontificatum Ebraeorum,[7] 1636; De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum,[8] 1640; De Anno Civili et Calendario Veteris Ecclesiae seu Reipublicae Judaicae,[9] 1644; Uxor Ebraica seu de Nuptiis

[1] Masson IV, 450.
[2] Dict. Nat. Biog. sub Selden.
[3] Ten writers of English History.
[4] Critique on the Ten Writers of English History.
[5] The Syrians Gods. Encyc. Britan. 11th ed. sub Selden.
[6] On the Succession to the property of deceased persons according to the laws of the Hebrews.
[7] On the Succession to the High Priesthood among the Hebrews.
[8] On the Law of Nature and of Nations according to the Discipline of the Hebrews.
[9] On the civil year and calendar of the ancient church or Jewish commonwealth.

et Divortiis Veterum Ebraeorum libri tres,[1] 1646; De Synedriis Veterum,[2] 1650. These learned treatises, bringing to Europeans in many cases their first detailed acquaintance with oriental civilization and antiquities, exemplify the important part which Latin played in seventeenth century scholarship.

The scientific literature of that day may be understood to comprehend natural philosophy, medicine, mathematics, logic and philosophy proper, and philology. Didactic treatises on these subjects, coming chiefly from the Universities, and addressed to scholarship wherever it could be found at home or abroad, naturally sought expression in the honored and far-reaching Latin. English philosophers and investigators met with less patronage for their books among their countrymen than among the advanced thinkers and savants of the continent, and therefore looked for fame and encouragement where it was more certainly to be foumd. Thomas Hobbes, for example, received his first instigation toward philosophy while traveling abroad, and his first important philosophical work, de Cive (The Citizen), was published abroad in Latin.

The number of writers producing what we have called scientific works and using Latin as the medium of their teaching were legion, and it is impossible to present a survey of the field. To do so would be to review the literary history of the scientific thought of the century. It will suffice to consider a representive scientific writer, as we have in the case of a legal writer, and to see to what extent they used Latin in preference to or along with English in treating scientific questions. For this purpose we shall first review the works of the philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679).

The standard edition of his works is that of Sir W. Molesworth, in sixteen volumes, including everything he wrote: poetry, history, philosophy, controversy, and translation. Of these sixteen volumes, five, or nearly one third, are in Latin. Those in this language, which are of scientific nature, are as follows: (1) Objectiones ad Cartesii Meditationes,[3] 1641; (2) De Cive, or Elementa Philosophiae de Cive,[4] 1642; (3) part of a preface to Mersenne's Ballistica,[5] 1644;

[1] The Hebrew Wife, or marriage and divorce among the ancient Hebrews; in 3 books.

[2] On the Councils of the Ancient Hebrews. — Dict. Nat. Biog. Sub. Selden.

[3] Objections to the Meditations of Decartes.

[4] On the Citizen, or, Elements of Philosophy concerning the Citizen.

[5] Mersenne, a French philosopher, and correspondent of Hobbes's.

(4) Tractatus Opticus,[1] 1644; (5) Elementorum Philosophiae sectio prima. De Corpore,[2] 1655; (6) Elementorum Philosophiae, sectio secunda. De Homine,[3] 1650; (7) Examinatio et emendatio Mathematicae Hodiernae, qualis explicatur in libris Johannis Wallisii.. distributa in sex dialogos[4] 1660; (8) Dialogus Physicus de Natura Aeris,[5] 1661; (9) Problemata Physica,[6] 1662; (10) De Principiis et Ratiocinatione Geometrarum,[7] 1666; (11) Quadratura Circuli; Cubatio Sphaerae; Duplicatio Cubi,[8] 1669; (12) Rosetum Geometricum,[9] 1671; (13) Lux Mathematica: excusa Collisionibus Johannis Wallisii et Thomae Hobbesii,[10] 1672; (14) Principia et Problemata aliquot Geometrica, ante desperata nunc breviter explicata,[11] 1674.

These are the philosophical works written originally in Latin. Those in English will be presented for comparison in a corresponding list, also in order of publication. (1) Human Nature, or the Fundamental Elements of Policy, 1650; (2) De Corpore Politico,[12] 1650; (3) Leviathan; or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil, 1651; (4) Of Liberty and Necessity, 1654; (5) Questions concerning Liberty, Necessity, and Chance, in reply to Bramhall's "Defence of the true Liberty of Human Actios", 1656; (6) Στίγμαι Ἀνωμετρίας, Ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς, Ἀντιπολιτείας καὶ Θεολογίας, or Marks of the Absurd Geometry, Rural Language, Scottish Church Politics, and Barbarisms of John Wallis, 1657; (7) Considerations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion of Thomas Hobbes, 1662, in answer to Wallis's "Hobbius Heauton-timoroumenos"; (8) Three papers presented to the Royal Society against Dr. Wallis, with

---

[1] A treatise on optics.
[2] Elements of philosophy, section I, on Body.
[3] Elements of philosophy, section II, on Man.
[4] Examination and correction of the present-day mathematics, such as is set forth in the books of John Wallis, divided into six dialogues
[5] Dialogue in Physics, on the nature of Air.
[6] Problems in Physics.
[7] The principles and ~~rationale~~ reasoning of Geometry.
[8] Squaring of the circle; Cubing of the sphere; Doubling of the Cube.
[9] Geometric rosary.
[10] The light of Mathematics: struck forth by the collisions of John Wallis and Thomas Hobbes.
[11] Several principles and problems of Geometry, hitherto despaired of, but now briefly explained.
[12] On the Body Politic.

considerations on Dr. Wallis's Answer to them, 1671; (9) Decameron Physiologicum, or Ten Dialogues of Natural Philosophy, 1678; (10) Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Law of England, 1681.

It will be seen from these two lists that a larger number of the philosophical works of Hobbes were originally written in Latin, and the difference becomes more apparent when it is considered that most of the English papers were controversial, only the first three mentioned being complete and substantial productions. The great scheme to which the philosopher devoted his best thought and which was to comprehend the entire range and order of his philosophy, was consigned to the language of learning, and all the rest of his writings may be said to have been side-issues with him. That great scheme comprehended three Subjects: (1) Body, (2) Man, (3) Citizen, or Commonwealth, and the three works treating them were De Corpore, De Homine, and De Cive, all in Latin. These were not published in the order named and as originally designed, because the political disturbances in England and the violence of Long Parliament required immediate discussion and correction, and called forth first, 1642, De Cive, which logically should have been last in the large philosophic plan. The fact that Hobbes chose Latin for these works, as the language of philosophical expression, is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that no one of his day saw more clearly the perverse teaching of the schools, and the nonsense and absurdities of mere words; no one more relentlessly exposed the false tyranny of Latin and Greek in the modern world. He perceived and satirized the vanity of language for its own sake; and by writing his main philosophical works in Latin, he thereby declared the fitness of that tongue as an instrument of philosophic expression and as a vehicle of philosophic doctrine.

His great work, Leviathan, comprehending his three-fold plan of philosophy, was indeed in English, but it was an adaption of previous Latin writings to the immediate needs of Englishmen, who when it was published in 1651 agreed on anything but a clear, systematic conception of government. The publication of the other English treatises, Human Nature and De Corpore Politico, was likewise called forth by the the immediate political situation of unhappy England.

It is to be noted, from the above Latin list, that Hobbes preferred ~~accordingly~~ the learned tongue not only for his philosophy, but also for the more strictly scientific works: Tractatus Opticus, De Natura Aeris, Problemata Physica; and for his mathematical studies: De Principiis et Rationcinatione Geometrarum, Quadratura Circuli, Rosetum Geometricum, Principia et Problemata Geometrica. For controversy with his fellow Englishman, Professor Wallis, on mathematical questions, he employed sometimes the one language, sometimes the other. For religious discussion and contriversy, and for historical discourse, which in his treatment were directed chiefly to his countrymen, he held to his native speech. His own logical view of the proper choice and use of language was expressed in his treatise on Human Nature, Chapter XIII, §10:

"Forasmuch as whosoever speaketh to another intendeth thereby to make him understand what he saith, if he speak to him in a language which he that heareth understandeth not, or use any word in other sense than he believeth is the sense of him that heareth, he intendeth also not to make him understand what he saith; which is a contradiction of himself. It is therefore always to be supposed, that he which intendeth not to deceive, alloweth the private interpretation of his speech to him to whom it is addressed."

To pass now to medical treatises, we find they were regularly published in Latin. It was "an age when every physician wrote and conversed in Latin with ease at least, if not with elegance!"[1] The medical writings of Dr. William Harvey (1578-1658), the discoverer of the ciculation of the blood, may be taken as typical of the period in point of linguistic custom. His works, published during his life, were all in Latin, as follows: Exercitatio Anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinis,[2] 1628; Exercitationes duae anatomicae de circulatione sanguinis, ad Johannem Riolanum, filium, Parisiensem,[3] 1649; Exercitationes de generatione animalium, quibus accedunt quaedam de partu, de membranis ac humoribus uteri, et de conceptione,[4]

---

[1] Willis's Harvey, 314.

[2] Anatomical exercise on the motion of the heart and blood.

[3] Two anatomical exercises on the circulation of the blood, to Jean Riolan, the younger, of Paris. These exercises were letters replying to Riolan's attack on Harvey's theory.

[4] Exersises on the generation of animals, to which are added several on child-birth, on the membranes and humors of the uterus, and on conception-

1651; and Anatomia Thomae Parr,[1] 1669, postumous.

In addition to these published treatises there remain the manuscript notes from which Harvey delivered his lectures at the College of Physicians. In those lecutres he first made public mention of his ideas of the circulation of the blood, and the notes from which he spoke were in Latin, covering ninety-six pages, with many intercalated English words and sentences.[2]

Harvey's "lectures show their author to have been widely read. He had studied Aristotleand Galen evidently in Latin editions, and had a profound respect for Aristotle and a professional respect without much personal admiration for Galen. He quotes Aristotle oftener than any other author, and after Aristotle Galen...Of the Latin poets he cared most for Virgil, and knew Plautus and Horace, and of the prose writers Caesar, Cicero, and Vitruvius. He had read St.Augustine, and was well versed in the Bible."[1] Of Harvey Aubrey wrote that "he understood Greek and Latin pretty well, but was no critique, and wrote very bad Latin." But Willis contends that Aubrey mistook Harvey's bad hand-writing for indifferent style, and concludes that his "Latin is generally easy, never inelegant, and not infrequently copious and imaginative; he never seems to be fettered by the language he is using."[3]

Philology and criticism, issuing chiefly from the Universities, and intended only for scholarly reading, would have been in Latin even if no expectation of foreign notice had been cherished. As representative of this field of knowledge and writing, Thomas Farnaby (1575-1647) may be considered, being the chief classical scholar and the chief schoolmaster of his time. He opened a school in London, and his pupils, forthe most part sons of noblemen, and "other generous youths", soon numbered three hundred. Himself with three usherss conducted the school. "Before 1629 Farnaby's fame as a schoolmaster and classical scholar was known to all the scholarsof Europe, and from 1630 to 1642 he was in repeated correspondence with G.J.Vossius..... His reputation as a classical schol-

[1]The anatomy of Thomas Parr.
[2]Dict. Nat. Biog. , sub Harvey.
[3]Willis's Harvey, 312-314.

ar led to a commission from the king to prepare a new Latin grammar to replace the one already in use in the public schools." He completed the work in 1641, and petitioned the House of Lords to grant him the monopoly promised it by Charlss I. In spite of his reputation for scholarship and his peaceful vocation, Farnaby was ruined by the Civil War, and died before it was brought to an end.

Farnaby's scholarly labors fall into two classes: first, his editions and annotations of the classics; second, his rhetorical and grammatical works. The former, which attained extraordinary popularity throughout the seventeenth century, supplied to the students of Roman literature elaborate notes and such philological information and criticism as the age delighted in. Following is a list of the classics he edited and annotated; though many editions of each were issued, only the date of the first is given. (1)Juvenal's and Persius's Satires, 1612; (2) Seneca's Tragedies, 1613; (3) Martial's Epigrams, 1615; (4) Lucan's Pharsalia, 1618; (5) Virgil's Works, 1634; (6) Ovid's Metamorphoses, 1637; (7) Terence's Comedies, 1651. These eight Roman authors, necessary in themselves for the culture of the seventeenth century Englishman, became all the more excellent and popular when adorned with the profuse and learned Latin notes of Thomas Farnaby.

The rhetorical and grammatical works of this great scholar were as follows: (1) Index Rhetoricus Scholis et Institutioni teneriores aetatis accommodatus,[1] 1625; (2) Phrases Oratoriae elegentiores et Poeticae,[2] 1628; Ἡ τῆς Ἀνθολογίας Ἀνθολογία, Florilegium Epigrammatum Graecorum eorumque Latino versu a variis redditorum,[3] 1629; (4) Systema Grammaticum,[4] 1641; (5) Phrasiologia Anglo-Latina[5] (not dated); (6) Tabulae Graecae Linguae[6] (not dated); (7) Syntaxis[7] (not dated).

These seven works by the industrious scholar, together with the eight annotated classics mentioned before, constitute the product of his genius--the contribution he made to his age for the better under-

[1] Rhetorical Catalogue prepared for schools and for pupils of tenderer age.
[2] Choice phrases of oratory and poetry.
[3] The Anthology of the Anthology, a Choice collection of Greek epigrams, with their rendering into Latin verse by various hands.
[4] Systematic Grammar. This was the work prepared on the order of Charles I.
[5] Anglo-Latin phraseology.
[6] Tables of the Greek language.
[7] Syntax.

standing and more skilful employment of the Latin tongue. These fourteen publications, by one celebrated scholar, show how philology and criticism were themselves written in the language which it was their business to elucidate and teach.[1]

In religious affairs England was an object of particular interest to foreign nations, being only by a century separated from papal Rome and not as yet regarded by all as irreconcilably separated. In disputes between English and foreign divines, as between English and foreign politicians, Latin had no rival. And it was with peculiar traditional fitness that religious expositions wore the Latin dress, the sacred decoration of the church for more than a thousand years and the glory of the great schools which were the nurseries of religion. An interesting international politico-religious controversy was carried on concerning the oath of allegiance demanded by James I of his Catholic subjects. The king himself had written in English the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance. This was translated into elegant Latin by Henry Savile, and, according to Wood, "flying in that dress as far as Rome, was by the Pope and the conclave sent to Francis Suarez at Salamanca, with a command to answer it. When he had perfected the work, which he called Defensio Fidei Catholicae &c. cum Responsione ad Apologiam pro Juramento Fidelitatis &c.[2], it was transmitted to Rome for a view of the inquisitors, who blotted out what they pleased, and added whatsoever might advance the Pope's power." For this and his many other loyal achievements, Savile was not to be without his reward, rendered in the language which was the voice of honor as well as of power. When the news of his death reached Oxford, "the Vice-chancellor and doctors ordered a speech to be publicly spoken by the Academians in memory of so worthy a benefactor and scholar as Sir Henry was. Which being accordingly done by Tho. Goffe of ~~the~~ Ch. Ch. the speech was shortly afterward made public, with many copies of verses made by the poets of the Universities, added to it, with this title, Ultima Linea Savilii."[3]

[1] The career of Farnaby is gathered from Dict. Nat. Biog., sub Farnaby.

[2] Defense of the Catholic Faith, etc., together with a reply to The Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, etc.

[3] The Last Line of Savile. Wood, ~~Ath. Oxon.~~ Athenae, Part I, 314-15. ~~See~~ Also Dict. Nat. Biog., sub Goffe.

Another example of ecclesiastical zeal was Richard Mocket, Warden of All Souls in Oxford, and domestic chaplain to George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury. To him has been ascribed the tract "upholding the obligation of the oath of allegiance, and entitled 'God and the King'....The work was 'Imprinted by his Majesties special privilege and command,' in London in 1615, in both Latin and English; London, 1616, in Latin only; Edinburgh, 1617, in one or both languages. The book was commanded to be taught in all schools and Universities, and by all ministers of the Church, and to be purchased by all householders in England and Scotland." The success of this work was not duplicated by another book of Mocket's, ~~published~~ in 1616, when he published in London a volume containing, in Latin, Bishop Jewel's Apology, the Church Catechism, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy of the Church of England, and the Book of Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. To these he joined an original treatise entitled Doctrina et Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae,[1] "which was a general view of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the English church, mainly prepared for the information of foreigners. The book offended the king, and by public edict was condemned and burnt in 1617."[1] These two Latin works of Mocket, the one by its popular reception, the other by its official condemnation and suppression, typify the immediate power that Latin was understood to wield in current ecclesiastical and religious discussions.

Just as it was the custom among the schools to edit the classics with Latin notes, so the learned divines prepared Latin commentaries on the books of Scripture, paying particular attention to all passages on which different churches placed contradictory interpretations. It was the opportunity for the scholar not only to unfold the dark meaning of Bible verses, but especially to exercise himself in the Latin and logic which he had industriously learned in the University. For example, Robert Abbot, Bishop of Salisbury, wrote a Latin commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, "with large sermons upon every verse, in which he handled, as his text gave him occasion, all the controverted points of religion at this day."[2] Such long-drawn-out interpretations and minute distinctions made by scholars on the

---

[1] Doctrine and Polity of the Church of England. Dict. Nat. Biog., sub Mocket. Also Wood, ~~Athenae~~ Fasti, Part II, 232, and Fuller, Church Hist. ~~V, 298-9.~~ III, 298-9, Nichols's Edition.

[2] Wood, ~~Athenae II~~ Fasti, Part II, 226.

pretense of their University training in the languages met the bitterest rebuke of the philosopher Thomas Hobbes. He said that the faithful reading of the Scriptures was least of all to be trusted to those who, because they knew Greek or Latin, or both languages, and loved knowledge, "consequently take delight in finding out the meaning of the most hard texts, or in thinking they have found it, in case it be new and not found out by others. These are therefore, " he continues, "they, that pretermitting the easy places which teach them their duty, fall to scanning only of the mysteries of religion... These and the like points are the study of the curious, and the cause of all our late mischief [the Civil War], and the cause that makes the plainer sort of men, whom the Scripture had taught belief in Christ, love towards God, obedience to the King, and sobriety of behavior, forget it all, and place their religion in the disputable doctrines of these your wise men."[1]

The Sabbath question was one of those endlessly disputed matters for the learned, and the cause of perpetual dissension in the church. The literature of the Sabbath Question is the subject of a work in two volumes published in Edinburgh in 1865, by Robert Cox. A glance into these volumes shows what prominent part Latin played in the seventeenth century on the celebrated question. The number of works published between 1615 and 1660 on the question were, according to Cox, seventy-two. Of these six were published in England in Latin, ten abroad in Latin; the remainder, fifty-six, being in English, were published in England. The proportion of Latin books to the total output was slightly over 22%; the Latin proportion of total publications in England was nearly 10%. The question was not only one for the exercise of learning, but in good measure for that ambitious learning which found satisfactory expression only in dignified and far-reaching Latin.

Nothing could illustrate the combined religious and linguistic enthusiasm of the times better than the publication, in 1657, of the famous Polyglott Bible, under the editorial diredtion of Dr. Brian Walton, with the assistance of many eminent scholars from both Universities. "This most worthy persom, Dr. B. Walton," says Wood,[2] "be-

[1] Behemoth, 231-2, Molesworth, VI.

[2] Fasti, Part II, 82.

ing most eminent for his learning, especially in the Holy Scriptures and Eastern languages, did undertake and happily perform the publishing of the Biblia Polyglotta ~~published~~ printed in Lond. in six volumes in folio, an. 1657, wherein the sacred text was, by his singular care and foresight, printed, not only in the vulgar Latin, but also in the Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, Aethiopic, Persic, and Greek Languages, each having its peculiar Latin translation joined therewith; and an Apparatus fitted for each, for the better understanding of those tongues." This whole work represents the intense interest of the times in language, and especially the ~~absolute~~ predominance of Latin wherever learning, religion, and authority were concerned.

Biography and history, if widely ambitious or proud of their academic authorship, spoke Latin. For example, "The History of the Reign of Henry VII", the first work done by Sir Francis Bacon after his retirement in to private life, though originally, in 1622, in English, was later turned into Latin under the author's supervision.[1] Henry Savile, already mentioned as translator of JamesI's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, wrote Vita Thomae Bradwardini Archiep. olim Cantuariensis.[2] About 1647, there was published at Paris in Latin the famous history of Montrose's exploits in Scotland, with the title: De Rebus sub imperio illustrissimi Jacobi Montisorarum Marchionis Praeclare gestis Commentarii,[3] the author being George Wishart, chaplain to Montrose. In 1657 Dr. William Rawley, friend and secretary of Sir Francis Bacon during the last year of his life, brought out a memoir, in English, of the philosopher and published an ~~English~~ Latin translation of it in the next year. It remains the most important and authentic witness we possess of Bacon.[4] At Paris in 1649 George Bate, a most noted physician of the time, "chief physician", says Wood,[5] "to Oliver while he was general, and afterwards when protector, and [who] did not stick (tho' he pretended to be a concealed royalist) to flatter him in a high degree", pub-

---

[1] Spedding VI, 7.

[2] Wood, ~~Athenae~~ Fasti, Part II, 314. Life of Thomas Bradwardine, formerly Archb. of Canterbury.

[3] Commentaries on the glorious ddeds of the Marquis of Montrose during the reign of the most illustrious James.

[4] Spedding, Preface IX.

[5] Wood, ~~Athenae~~ Athenae III, 898.

lished Elenchus motuum nuperorum in Anglia, simul ac Juris regii ac Parliamentarii brevis Narratio.[1] The first part of the Elenchus was translated into English by an unknown hand and printed in 1652 in London. The second part was printed in Latin in 1661 in London, in 1662 in Amsterdam, and in the following year in London again together with the first part. A slight third part was composed later. It was a book much praised, on a subject which England would never lose interest in, whether the story were told in her own or another language.

The voluminous writings of the learned Archbishop of Armagh, James Usher (1581-1656), contained important historical works in Latin, which language he employed for no display or reputation but for the practical instruction of mankind. "His learning was for use; and his topics were suggested by the controversies of his age, which he resolved to probe to their roots in the ground of history." His first printed work, in 1613, was Gravissimae Questionis de Christianarum Ecclesiarum, in Occidentis praesertim partibus, ab Apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usque aetatem, continua successione et statu, Historica Explicatio.[2] This work was designed to carry out the unfinished argument of John Jewel, who in 1562 published his Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana[3] to prove to continental scholars and churchmen that the Anglican doctrines and practice were in conformity with those of the primitive church. Another learned treatise in ecclesiastical history by Usher was the Britanniarun Ecclesiarum Historia of 1639; and the most important of all his productions was published within the years 1650-4: Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti.[5] This work set forth the scheme of Biblical chronology since known as Usher's, which was introduced by some unknown authority into the margin of reference editions of the Authorized Version.[6] Usher published many other works of religion and controver-

---

[1] Review of the recent commotions in England, together with an Account of the royal and parliamentary rights.

[2] Historical Treatment of the important question of the continuous Succession and the state of the Christian churches, especially in the West, from apostolic times down to the present.

[3] Apology for the church of England.

[4] History of the Churches of Britain.

[5] Annals of the Old and the New Testament.

[6] Usher's writings are mentioned in full and partly discussed in Dict. Nat. Biog. and Encyc. Brit. 11th ed. sub Usher.

sy, in both Latin and English, but his most learned and influential productions went abroad to teach in the universal tongue. It was fitting that a Latin sentence should have been his first inspiration toward historical research, -- one of Cicero's stimulating utterances: "Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum."[1]

[1] Not to know what happened before you were born is to be always a child. Masson I, 408.

Chapter VII

The use of Latin in the Universities was for exercise and preparation; in the court, for international correspondence and state-papers, it was a necessity. Between these two limits--academic preparation on the one hand and international communication on the other-- lies the great field of practical and literary intercourse among Englishmen themselves, and the language for this purpose, one would say, was naturally and appropriately the language of the people. But the truth is that even in strictly domestic or internal affairs Latin had a share in the speech of Englishmen. There were two strong resons why the ancient language thus infringed on the native modern. First, the educated Englishman had behind him a school-career of long years which had drilled into his system the vocabulary, syntax, and ideas of the old language; and the pride and pleasure growing out of the habit of Latin academic exercises encouraged the continuance of the habit into later life. Along with this habit and training there was developed an esteem for Latin as possessing in itself a superior power and virtue for expression and a superior dignity which every self-respecting scholar would do well on occasion to appropriate. In the second place, the long history of the language, with its inestimable service to literature, to the state, and especially to the church, rendered it an object of veneration; and contemporary civilization, at home and abroad, was all intertwined and overgrown with the language, laws, and ideals of the ancient Romans. Scholarship, which was a precious word to seventeenth century Englishmen, meant excellence in the classic tongues, and recognized Cicero as the great model for literary style.

It was therefore natural that for purposes of dignity, formal respectability, external propriety, Latin was employed in some cases where English would otherwise seem the normal and most convenient means of communication. The influence of the Latin fashion extended beyond the necessities of international communication, and included occasions when English, but for that fashion, would inevitably have been used. Such occasions were the writing of letters, the publication of books, especially books of poetry, and speech-making. In these fields, both

languages held claims to the same territory. Though English generally prevailed, yet custom, dignity, scholarly propriety, and individual taste often led to the employment of Latin.

In the matter of private correspondence between Englishmen, even learned Englishmen, the vernacular was regularly employed. The older language was sometimes chosen by students, who were under the unbroken spell of the classics and were drawn to Latin in letter-writing for the sake of exercise in composition or for display of newly acquired scholarship. Sometimes maturer scholars used Latin in latters of extreme formality, or on themes closely associated with learning and dignified, academic traditions, or wherever the writer supposed that Latin would flatter and conciliate his worthy correspondent.

For example, in 1634 one Dr. Barron of Aberdeen ventured to address Archbishop Laud, then at the height of his power, in regard to "ye pacifying of ye five articles." The tone is one of extreme humility; the letter opening with an abject apology for intrusion on the time and attention of his most reverend excellency--amplissime et reverendissime Praesul. The serious occasion of the letter, its exceeding formality, and its origin in classic Aberdeen, all conspired to put it in the most ceremonious and fashionable dress.[1]

Attention has previously been called to the letters of Sir Henry Wotton and to the fact that he used Latin to address Englishmen only in exceptional cases. One of these exceptions occurred when he was abroad as ambassador and wrote home to his chief and king. James I piqued himself on his polite learning, and Sir Henry, like all other Englishmen of the day, knew well enough what kind of flattery pleased the pedantic old monarch.[2]

Dr. William Harvey, who employed Latin regularly in his lectures and scientific writings, and in his correspondence with foreigners, did not turn to English even when addressing his own countrymen. To Dr. Baldwin Hamey, an able English physician and an intimate friend, Harvey wrote a letter of professional character, using Latin out of respect to the learning and science which both were able to boast. The letter is brief, but the salutation lacks nothing of superlative

[1] Masson I, 568, ft. note.

[2] See above, page 48.

dignity, being as follows: Vir doctissime, humanissime, mihi carissime![1]

Open letters between Englishmen, especially in learned controversy, were more likely to be in Latin, since the display of eloquence and learning counted as much as sense and argument. For instance, when John Camden published his famous Britannia, Brooke published a review of it with the title, "A Discovery of Certain Errors in the Much-commended Britannia." To this Camden replied in an angry Latin letter, addressed not to the offender but Ad Lectorem (To the Reader), referring to Brooke only as Quidam (A certain fellow), or Iste (He). Brooke, feeling keenly both the contempt and the Latin superiority of his great opponent, cried out in reply:: "He considers me as an Individuum vagum [a mere generality], and makes me but a Quidam in his pamphlet, standing before him as a school-boy, while he whips me. Why does he reply in Latin to an English accusation? He would disguise himself in his school-rhetoric; wherein, like the cuttle-fish, being stricken, he thinks to hide and shift himself away in the ink of his rhetoric."[2]

When in 1655 the philosopher Hobbes turned to mathematical inquiries, he was met and confuted by Dr. Wallis, the Savilian Professor of Mathematics at Oxford, with a Latin review of Hobbes's Geometry: Elenchus Geometriae Hobbianae.[3] Hobbes, thinking his scientific reputation at stake, turned his work into English, with the sarcastic addition of "Six Lessons to the Professors of Mathematics in Oxford." Wallis replied also in English with a piece entitled, "Due Correction of Mr. Hobbes, or School discipline for not saying his Lessons Right," and twitted him with having fallen back on the vulgar English. "What moved you," questioned Wallis, "to say your lessons in English, when the books against which you do chiefly intend them were written in Latin? Was it chiefly for the perfecting your natural rhetoric whenever you thought it convenient to repair to Billingsgate? You found that the oyster-women could not teach you to rail in Latin. Now you can, upon all occasion, or without occasion, give the

---

[1] Most learned, humane, and dear Sir! The English sounds thin and almost ridiculous in comparison with the rhythmical amplitude of the original. For the entire letter, see Willis's Harvey, 296-7.
[2] Disraeli's Calamities and Quarrels of Authors, 495.
[3] Review of the Geometry of Hobbes.

titles of fool, beast, ass, dog, &c., which I take to be but barking; and they are no better than a man might have at Billingsgate for a box o' the ear."[1]

Milton's private correspondents were few, his letters short and nearly always in Latin. In a foregoing chapter account has been taken of his Latin letters to foreigners; we here consider those addressed to Englishmen. Of the thirty-one Familiar Letters, twelve were written to his country-men: two to his former tutor, Thomas Young; three to Alexander Gill, former usher at St. Paul's; two to Charles Diodati, old school-mate of St. Paul's; one to Richard Heath, his former pupil; four to Richard Jones, also a former pupil. These letters, like the rest of Milton's, were fluent, rhetorical exercises. The poet seems to have regarded epistolary communications as opportunity for literary display, for Latin eloquence; and his biographer only now and then finds in them any notable matter of fact. Those to young Gill turn chiefly on the Latin poetry which the ambitious schodar had been sending, or on the Latin and Greek verses Milton sent him in return. To Young nothing is said except words of praise for his old teacher, or of thanks for a recent letter. To Diodati there are some eloquent and highly rhetorical declarations of friendship, and accounts of ambitious literary plans. These letters to Young, Gill, and Diodati are all dated before 1637; those to Heath and Jones belong to the busy and serious period of the Latin Secretaryship, and are briefer, plainer, and more matter of fact. In a letter to Heath dated December 13, 1652, Milton observed the unfitness of Latin for anything like regular and sincere correspondence. "Your future communications," he said, "may, if you please, be in our own language, lest (though you are no mean proficient in Latin composition) the labor of writing should make each of us more averse to write; and that we may freely disclose every sensation of our hearts without being impeded by the shackles of a foreign language."[2] Correspondence in Latin between Englishmen could not help but thrust forward the language-consciousness, and impede spontaneity and naturalness. Letter writing in the foreign tongue had no place except in strict formality or

---

[1] Disraeli's Calamities and Quarrels of Authors, 464-6, and fr. note.

[2] Familiar Letter XIII.

fashionable dignity. From his various correspondents Milton received letters in the same language he employed, and from Diodati even Greek letters, two of which are extant.[1]

In the matter of institutional correspondence, it seems to have been the custom for official letters issued from the Universities by the Vice-chancellor or the Heads of Colleges to be in Latin. Communications addressed to Parliament, or the Chancellor, or to the Archbishop, presenting petitions, answering inquiries, or maintaining points in controversy, knew no language but the learned one. The voice of the Universities was not the voice of the people, and to have used English in formal utterance would have been to confess ignorance, indolence, or unacademic ideals. The force of a letter or an argument lay not so much in the propriety of thought and justice of a claim as in the complimentary form and eloquent periods in which it was couched.

In making answer to addresses from the Universities, the King, or Parliament, or Chancellor, or Archbishop, chose sometimes the one language, sometimes the other, not always regarding it necessary to maintain the standard set by the schools. Charles I was always indifferent to Latin forms when his own personal use of them was concerned. James I, on the contrary, never lost an occasion to show his zeal for learning and academic standards. Sir Francis Bacon, as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, when he usually put his communications in Latin, used a salutation somewhat as follows: "Almae Matri et inclytae academiae Cantabrigiensi",[2] his subscription being: "Amicus vester maxime fidelis et benevolus."[3] His letters when in English were brief, as if the press of business prevented close personal attention to his writing.

Official letter-writing for the Universities was included in the functions of the Public Orator. In 1619 George Herbert was chosen Orator for the University of Oxford. "The first notable occasion," says Walton,[4] "of shewing his fitness for this employment .. was

---

[1] Masson I, 117.
[2] To my Alma Mater, the renowned University of Cambridge. II, 265; 279; 2
[3] Your friend in all loyalty and goodwill. Heywood's Cambridge,
[4] Walton's Lives, 266-7. (Ed. 1852)

manifested in a letter to King James, upon the occasion of his sending that University his book called 'Basilikon Doron'[1]; and their orator was to acknowledge this great honor, and return their gratitude to his Majesty for such a condescendion; at the close of which letter he writ,

Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hospes!
Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca liber.[2]

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, and was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the King that he inquired the Orator's name, and then asked William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him? whose answer was 'That he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he loved him more for his learning and virtue, than for that he was of his name and family.' At which answer the King smiled, and asked the Earl leave that he might love him too, for he took him to be the jewel of that University." No wonder if Latin was held in high esteem and ambitiously studied by young men, when a King's acquaintance was the reward.

In view of his success in donating the Basilicon Doron to Oxford, James decided to present the collected edition of his works to the University of Cambridge. The thanks he received were contained in a long and highly complimentary Latin letter, beginning:

Serenissime Domine Noster,
Jacobe Invictissime,[3]

and ending:

Humillimi Servi subditique vester
Procancellarius Reliquusque Senatus Cantabrigiensis.[4]

Such terms were the highest tribute to the King's power and greatness, and he relished them exceedingly.

Petitions for particular favors, even in lengthy and laborious forms, did not always prove successful with the easily flattered

---

[1] The King's Gift.
[2] Stranger, why do you mention the Vatican or Bodleian?
We have a library in one single book.
[3] Our most serene master, invincible James.
[4] Your most humble servants and subjects,
Vice-chancellor and Senate of Cambridge.
Cooper's Cambridge III, 135.

monarch. A long Latin petition from Cambridge to James in 1617, praying for a new charter, received answer with due respect in the same language, but the request was not granted. Petitions to Parliament, though in English, sought favor by the attendance of a Latin letter. In 1642, for example, Cambridge sent to Parliament an English petition, imploring the protection of cathedral churches and lands. The petition was accompanied and recommended by a letter in Latin, apologizing for the use of a different language in the petition. Sed quia, the letter explained, Lingua ~~Latina~~ nativa dolores et desideria sua foelicius exprimit, annexam Literis Petitionem benevolis Auribus excipietis.[1] The iconoclastic Puritan Parliament, which seemed to be unfavorable to learning in their attack on the Church, would probably understand a petition better in English than in Latin.

Sometimes the formality of the learned style was dropped in serious and urgent correspondence. A notable instance is in the controversy, in 1635, about the claim of Archbishop Laud to the right of visitation to the University of Cambridge. The Archbishop addressed the Vice-chancellor, using English, the Vice-chancellor answered in the same language, sending a collection of reasons, also in English, why the University should be regarded outside the Metropolitan Jurisdiction. When no agreement could be reached between them, Laud sent to King Charles a petition in English concerning his claim; and the King at last put an end to the controversy by issuing a decree in formal Latin, deciding in favor of the Archbishop.[2]

This is one of the few instances of Charles's use of Latin outside of legal forms, and even this may be placed in that class. Like him, the Duke of Buckingham, as Chancellor of Cambridge, felt more easy in using the vernacular. Even on the solemn occasion in 1626 when Charles acknowledged and approved the choice of Buckingham as Chancellor, and when the Duke himself acknowledged the election, both wrote plain English. The Duke's salutation sounds even

---

[1] But because the vernacular expresses more fitly our sorrows and desires, you will receive with generous attention the accompanying petition. Heywood's Cambridge, II, 439-40. Rushworth IV, 272.

[2] Heywood's Cambridge, II, 424-7.

to our ears, accustomed to the grand sonorous form of that day, exceedingly democratic and unceremonious: "Mr. Vice-Chancellor & Gentlemen the Senate of the University of Cambridge."[1] There is some suspicion that the Duke was deficient in learning, for Joseph Meade, fellow in the University, in one of his letters cast reflection on him for sitting in the Chancellor's, on his first visit and venturing only the two words, placet and admittatur.[2]

But the University was not to be shaken from her ancient dignity and self-possession by the carelessness of King and Duke. She replied to their English with Latin letters of considerable length and abundant superlatives. On July 7, 1628, when Buckingham was about to lead the unpopular expedition for the relief of Rochelle, and just before his assassination, his University saluted him with a letter, long drawn out in Latin, praising his past benevolences, grieving for his absence, and beseeching a continuance of his favors.[4] After the Duke's death, the Earl of Holland succeeded to the Chancellorship, and the superlatives of salutation and compliment were directed against him: Honoratissime domine, dignissime cancellarie.[5]

Royal writs, commissions, and proclamations, though directed to Englishmen, carried the traditional stamp of authority by being in Latin. The majesty of the law preferred a conservative dress. There is no absolute rule for the use of language in these forms, but custom favored Latin. Duing the conflict between Charles I and Parliament, the party which clung to the past and stood on the law employed the old language more regularly in legal documents than did the new and progressive party which little reverenced tradition and appealed directly to the people. In 1642, just before the outbreak of the Civil War, Charles issued commissions for the levying of soldiers in the various shires, and the Parliament in opposition passed its ordinance of the militia and sent out officers with authority to raise troops. The King's commissions followed the legal custom of being in Latin; Parliament, having no such precedent, gave its orders and authority in its own language. Clarendon, in the sixth book of his History, tells how the parliamentary officers in the southwest took

---

[1] Cooper's Cambridge, III, 192.
[2] Masson I, 129.
[3] Cooper's Cambridge III, ~~182-5~~
[4] ~~Do~~ 202-4
[5] Heywood's Cambridge II, 479-80. Most honored Lord, most worthy Chancellor.

advantage of the royal commission's being in Latin, and "translated it into what English they pleased; persuading the substantial yeoman and freeholders that at least two parts of their estates would, by that commission, be taken from them; and the meaner and poorer sort of people, that they were to pay a tax for one day's labor in the week to the king; and that all should be, upon the matter, no better than slaves to the lords, and that there was no way to free and preserve themselves from this insupportable tyranny, than by adhering to the parliament, and submitting to the ordinance for the militia; which was purposely prepared to enable them to resist these horrid invasions of their liberties." The commission itself was in Latin, but the letter to the commissioners in English.[1]

In 1626, when Charles dissolved parliament, he caused a commission in Latin to pass under the great seal for that purpose.[2] On March 10, 1629, when he proposed to do away with parliaments indefinitely, he issued a proclamation of dissolution, and published it to the nation.[3] He made an English speech to the House of Lords giving his reasons for the dissolution, and then ordered the Lodd Keeper to utter the command for dissolution, which was in the same plain language.[4]

In 1636 the King issued a proclamation to the Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge, and on that occasion deemed it appropriate to use Latin. Other notable occasions when the language was employed in forms addressed to Englishmen were the presenting of letters patent to the Lord Constable of England for the trial of David Ramsey on the plea of Donald, Lord Rea[5]; and the issuing of a Commission, by Charles in 1638, under the great seal of the Kingdom of Scotland, for an assembly to consider ecclesiastical matters,[5] and the granting a commission in 1638 to the Marquis of Hamilton, who was sent as High Commissioner to Scotland to meet the general Assembly at Glasgow.[6]

---

1 Rushworth IV, 655-58

2 Rushworth I, 392 and 660-1.

3 Fuller's Ephemeris Parliamentaria.

4 Baillie's Letters and Journals, I, 424, note.

5 Rushworth II, 112.

6 Rushworth II, 747-8. The commission was in Latin, the letter to the Assembly in English. The legal form sought the ancient tongue. Compare the Latin letter and English petition sent to parliament by the Universities, p. 88.

In February, 1637, Charles I sent a letter to the Chief Justices of the Bench enclosing an inquiry as to whether the king had the right to levy ship-money when in his judgmant the danger of the kingdom demanded immediate action. Both the letter and the inquiry were in English. The judges replied in the affirmative. Then the king resorted to legal writs for the levying of the money, and sent them to the various towns and counties of England. On the fourth of August, 1637, the writ was directed tothe sheriff of the county of Bucks, containing an order for the raising of ship-money together with an explanation of the reasons for such an order. By virtue of this writ it was that John Hampden was assessed twenty shillings. Latin imparted to the action an air of ancient authority and legal justification.[1] This legal formality pursued Hampden through the celebrated trial which followed, and ended with a Latin sentence against him.[2]

Though Charles I never made any personl display of learning, yet his relying on "the known laws of the land" marks his reign with a sprinkling of Latin letters and documents. Further examples are found in 1640 and 1643, both in connection with important battles In September, 1640, after his defeat at Newburn on the Tyne by the Scots, he issued writs to require the Lords Spiritual and Temporal to meet him in a great council at York. The writs were in formal and sonorous Latin. The salutation, for example, in that addressed to the great champion of form and ceremony, Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, was as follows: Rex Reverendissimo in Christo Pari ac fideli conciliario nostro Wilhelmo ~~eidem gratis~~ Cantuar. Archiepiscopo, totius Angliae primati et Metropolitano Salutem.[3] In the year 1643 the valiant cavalier Sir Ralph Hopton rendered signal service at the battle of Stratton, and later at Oxford was created Baron of Stratton by his king. The from of creation, like a diploma, was in Latin, recounting at great length the special services for which the honor was conferred.[4]

---

[1] Rushworth III, Appendix, 177-8.

[2] Do. 253.

[3] Greeting from the king to the most reverend father in Christ and faithful councillor William, Archbishop of Canterbury, primate and Metropolitan of all England. ~~Rushworth, 1255-7~~.

[4] Fuller's Worthies, I, 332-4

Chapter VIII.

Latin Prose

We have seen in Chapter VI how Latin was used in books appealing to the learned of the world, and not intended primarily for Englishmen. A typical example of this sort of work was Dr. Harvey's De Circulatione Sanguinis (~~1616~~), or Hobbes's De Cive (~~1642~~). But it is not always to be taken for granted that because a book or treatise was in Latin it therefore looked abroad for its readers. Sometimes a writer had before him only or at least chiefly English patronage, yet for reasons of dignity, or prestige, or even vanity, chose Latin. It is not always possible to draw the line between an author's world-wide outlook and a merely national one: a piece of literature in speaking to the world thereby included England in the audience; but one cannot positively infer that a Latin production always faced toward the continent.

Here arises the interesting question whether an Englishman, writing in Latin for an English audience, chose the older language because of its intrinsic superiority in the matter of clearness, discrimination, and force, or because of the external advantages of fashion, antiquity, and authority. Was English regarded as a merely vulgar tongue, not yet risen, if it ever would rise, to a capacity for philosophical connotation and exactitude? Professor John Earle contends[1] that Shakspeare had proved to all Englishmen that ~~all~~ they might have to say could be amply and precisely uttered in the native tongue; that all publications in Latin sought to command the wider European attention; and that the motive of English writers of Latin in the seventeenth and in the nineteenth century was the same,--that Bacon and Keble had equal regard for the adequacy of their native language but chose Latin for its more universal appeal to scholarship.

While generally speaking this contention holds good, yet in some cases it seems certain that the English user of Latin believed he was wielding a tool of finer edge, and that his precious thought attained perfect expression only in the incomparable language of the ancients. Hobbes confessed the comparative weakness of English vo-

[1] Earle's English Prose, 435-6.

cabulary by resorting not infrequently to Latin for the only word which could express his meaning. For example, in Human Nature, VII, 3, he says: "As we call good and evil the things that please and displease; so call we goodness and badness, the qualities whereby they do it: and the signs of that goodness are called by the Latins in one word pulchritudo, and the signs of evil turpitudo; to which we find no words precisely answerable." English had had too little training in scientific discourse to furnish complete diction to the careful nominalist. And not only in point of vocabulary, but also of grammatical structure, English was wanting. Bacon, in De Augmentis, Book VI, reasons on this difference. "Is not it a fact," he says, "worthy of observation (though it may be a little shock to the spirit of us moderns) that the ancient languages were full of declensions, cases, conjugations, tenses, and the like, while the modern are nearly stripped of them, and perform most of their work by prepositions and verbs auxiliary? Surely a man may easily conjecture (how well so ever we may think of ourselves) that the wits of the early ages were much subtler and acuter than our own. There are numberless observations of this kind, enough to fill a volume. And therefore it is not amiss to distinguish between Philosophical Grammar from Grammar Simple and Literary, and to set it down as wanting."[1] Bacon here regards Latin excellence as intrinsic, due to its innermost and vital syntactic structure, and not to any extraneous considerations like antiquity or fashion or academic prestige. It is not with us a question whether he and his contemporaries erred in this regard: the point of interest is that they really believed Latin a superior instrument of expression.

Spedding, the editor of Bacon's complete works, recognized and asserted the excellence of Bacon's Latin over any possible translation, however liberal. This may be the same as saying that translation is always inferior, and that a Latin translation, by Spedding or other scholar, of Bacon's English works would betray the same inadequacy. But a quotation from Spedding, who writes after long experience in translating, and in comparing the two languages, will indicate a belief on his part that there is something essentially fine in the

[1] Spedding IV, 442.

Latin which Bacon himself could not have transferred to his mother tongue. "The translations", says Spedding, "are intended especially for the benefit of those who cannot read Latin. Those who can, will find the original not only richer, stronger, and more impressive, but also (at least after a little practice) easier to follow and pleasanter to read. In Bacon's time Latin was still a living language among scholars. They used it not only to show how well they could imitate the manner in which Cicero or Tacitus expressed his thoughts, but to express their own; and in Bacon's hands it became an organ of expression extremely powerful and sensitive, full of felicities and delicate effects, dependent upon its own peculiar resources, and not transferable in the same form into a language of different structure. A literal translation in English might indeed explain them, and so help an imperfect scholar to understand the original if read along with it, but would not at all convey to an Englishman the effect of the original, if read by itself."[1]

Considering Bacon's praise of Philosophical Grammar over Simple Grammar in the light of this testimony from a diligent translator of his works, one will discern another motive on the part of English users of Latin besides the obvious one of reaching a larger audience of scholars.

Even the most zealous defenders of English did not go so far as to contend for its equality with Latin or the other languages which had been tested by the ages. In 1644 was published a short pamphlet entitled "Vindex Anglicus: or, The Perfections of the English Language defended and asserted." The author compares his native tongue with others ancient and modern, and though he finds it equal or superior to Spanish, French, and Italian, he humbly concedes its inferiority to the ancient languages. "Let none think," he says, "that I stand in any competition with the sacred Hebrew, learned Greeks, or fluent Latins, or claim a superiority over the rest; my ambition extends not so high, though you see I want not pretence for it. Let us look upon ours as a language, equal to the best of the vulgar; and, for my part,

'Let others retain their ancient dignity and esteem.'" Again he says: "Though in this conclusion I here strike sail, and vail

[1] Spedding, preface to vol. IV.

to the learned languages; let that not detract from the worth of ours, which is parallel, if not superior, to the best remaining." [1]

There is an additional argument against Earle's position that Latin was chosen for the same reasons by seventeenth and nineteenth century Englishmen. In Milton's time there was no acknowledged standard of English prose. This came later, after the Restoration and during the eighteenth century, when the genius of the language was allowed to assert and develop itself. But before the Restoration its syntax was not fixed, its sentence structure lacked power and effectiveness, its vocabulary lacked wealth and refinement. However much the great prose writers contemporary with Milton were misguided in their worship of the classics, they certainly believed and felt their native prose to be still an inadequate and imperfect instrument, not yet far removed vulgarity and barbarism. How were these writers and scholars to give full and satisfactory expression to their thoughts? Was there no means at hand for worthy literary utterance? They answered the question by their actions. They could either use Latin, the language whose capacity and power no man ever questioned, or they could take up the ill-formed English, and mould it into Latinized forms; make its syntax, sentence-structure, its roll and volume, and in some measure its vocabulary like the long approved and honored Latin. Hence we have the prose of Milton, often impossible to parse, often scarcely intelligible; likewise the prose of Thomas Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, Thomas Browne, and Lord Clarendon. If these men believed English the equal of Latin for controversy, philosophy, history, and all other serious utterance, why did they commit the absurdity of straining after the style of Cicero, and distorting their native tongue out of its approved adequacy and perfection into the monstrosities of an alien idiom? It was a sincere effort, no doubt, "to adorn the native tongue", as Milton confessed; to make English what Latin had been of old, by adopting the supreme merits of the ancient tongue. The mistake was in not recognizing the different genius and character of the two languages, and in not fostering, surely and steadily, the native, inherent qualities of homely English. This mistake was committed by scholars not only on prose but also in attempting to stretch English verse to the measure of the classical forms.

[1] Harleian Miscellany, II, 37-42.

Mention will be made of a few works which appear to have been addressed chiefly or only to Englishmen. In 1616, Francis Godwin, later Bishop of Hereford, published in London: Rerum Anglicarum Henrico VIII Edwardo & Maria regnantibus, Annales.[1] In the same year he published De Praesulibus Angliae Commentarii,[2] which had been previously written and issued in English under the following title: "A Catalogue of the Bishops of England, since the first Planting of the Christian Religion in this Island, together with a brief History of their Lives and memorable Actions, so near as they can be gathered out of Antiquity." One might suppose that the usual motives urged the author to turn his pretentious work into Latin, but Wood records a paculiar reason, if we are to take it seriously. The history "being very full of faults, and not to be endured by any ordinary reader, he hath put forthwith into Latin." If the book could boast no other merit, it should at least be "learned".

~~In 1638 Phineas Fletcher published a prose biographical work entitled: De Literatis Antiquae Britanniae.[3]~~ In 1635 Sir Henry Wotton published in London Plausus & Vota ad Regem e Scotia Reducem,[3,4] a greeting to King Charles on his return from his coronation in Holyrood Abbey. Wotton was author also of Henrici VIti Angliae et Galliarum Regis, Hiberniae Domini, Etonensis ad Tamesin Collegii Conditoris, Vita et Excessus. Scriptore Henrico Anglo-Cantiano Ejusdem Collegii Praefecto.[4] In these two pieces of Latin prose Sir Henry could expect only or chiefly English readers. His themes had to do with royalty: in addressing a king, or in writing the life of a king who was at the same time the founder of a college, no language could be too learned and dignified.

On occasions of great formality Latin was sometimes chosen for public address even outside the Universities. Such an occasion of learning and dignity was the Convocation of Divines, which met at

---

[1] History of England during the reign of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary.

[2] Commentaries on the Bishops of England. ~~The Writers of Ancient Britain~~

[3] ~~Applaude and Vows~~ A Panegyric to the King on his return from Scotland.

[4] Life and death of Henry VI, King of ~~England~~ England and France, Lord of Ireland, Founder of Eton College on the Thames. By Henry, the Same Englishman of Kent, Provost of ~~Eton~~ College.

the same time with Parliament in 1640. "On the first day thereof", says Thomas Fuller, "Dr. Turner, chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, made a Latin sermon in the quire of St. Paul's. His text, Matth. X, 16, Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves ...Next day of sitting we met at Westminster, in the chapel of King Henry the Seventh, both the houses of convocation being joined together, when the archbishop of Canterbury entertained them with a Latin speech, well nigh three quarters of an hour gravely uttered, his eyes ofttimes being but one remove from weeping."

Chapter IX

Latin Poetry

In discussing the several international uses of Latin, we did not find a place for poetry, because there seemed to be no poetry in England whose primary purpose was to address foreign readers. It is hard to think of a poet's making verses for outlandish admirers only; his first readers must always be among his countrymen, even though his name may in course of time outrun the boundaries of a single nation. Yet one grows to feel, the more he looks into the Latin literature of this time, that the English writers of Latin prose or verse, even when their themes were insular, had the habit of eying the continent and secretly hoping that their names, like Horace's, would be syllabled far past Rome:

> qua violens obstrepit Aufidus
> et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
> regnavit populorum ex humili potens.[1]

We shall assume that all Latin poetry written by Englishmen at home was intended first for readers among their scholarly countrymen, however much an ambition may have been cherished toward the larger circle of the whole learned world. We have accordingly placed all Latin poetry in two classes: first, academic poetry, treated above in Chapter III; second, non-academic poetry, produced in England and for English readers. These two classes cannot always be kept accurately apart. Our general guide is the question whether the purpose and occasion, the author and the place of composition, were intimately connected with the Universities on not. If the poem was written and published on the grounds by a University man, on an academic theme, it has been called academic Latin; if it was published outside, or by its subject-matter made an appeal to outside readers, or was addressed to an outsider, even though by a University man, it has been reserved for consideration in this chapter.

Latin versifying, begun early in academic innocence, and continued by habit into maturer years and often into old age, was all but universal among men who boasted scholarship, or coveted a reputation for wit and literary talent. It was a poor scholar who had put forth into the world no Latin hexameters or elegiacs, who could not turn an epigram, or pass a compliment in Latin verse. Wood's remark

1. Where brawls loud Aufidus, and came Parched Daunus erst, a horde
Of rustic boors to sway, my name shall be a household word. Hor. III, 30. – Martin's Trans.

about Robert Burhill, who died in 1641, that he was"in his younger days a noted Latin poet" illustrates the fashion of the time in building transient fame out of hard-wrought Latin verse. Such expressions in biographical notices as "an admirable linguist", "an excellent master of the Latin and Greek tongues," etc., are commonly followed by reference to epigrams and poems in Latin or Greek. The reward for all such achievement was, according to the biographer, to lie at last beneath an unabridged Latin epitaph.

The aspiring youth, whose aim was preferment in church or state, knew no better way to advertise his merit than to hail the archbishop or king in a Latin poem, or better still, in a whole volume of poems. In 1628 Alexander Gill, Milton's old tutor at St. Paul's, fell under the merciless censure of the Star Chamber for having entertained and uttered doubts as to the absolute wisdom of the king. He had declared, among a group of boon companions in Trinity College, Oxford, that "our king was fitter to stand in a Cheapside shop with an apron before him and say, 'what lack ye?', than to rule a kingdom." He had further assured his fellows that the Duke of Buckingham, recently assassinated by Felton, "had gone down to hell to meet James there," and that he was sorry "Felton had deprived him of the honor of doing that brave deed." Gill's heroic spirit was soon put to exercise by the censure of Star Chamber, degrading him from his ministry, removing his University degrees, fining him 2000 l., and condemning him to lose one ear at London and the other at Oxford. Later, on the petition of his honored old father, the corporal punishment was remitted and the fine mitigated. Young was properly grateful and changed his mind about "our king." In 1632 he published Poetici Conatus[1] with a dedication Serenissimo Domino nostro Carolo, Regi optimo, Principum exemplo, maximo literarum ac artium fautori.[2] Nor did the volume neglect the arch-bishop: it contained a Latin poem addressed most submissively to the great Laud of Canterbury. Gill was doing his best to recover his lost ground, and he knew the fashionable and effective way of flattery.

Andrew Marvell, ambitious to rise in the world, after travelling abroad and tutoring in Lord Fairfax's house, came to London in 1652.

[1] Poetical Essays.

[2] To the most serene Lord, Charles, best of Kings, paragon of princes, great patron of arts and letters. Masson I, 153.

About this time Milton, as Foreign Secretary, wrote a letter to Bradshaw in recommendation of the young man, calling him "a scholar, and well read in the Latin and Greek authors." Marvell had proved his scholarship and his worthiness to be recommended to the great, by his aspiring Latin poems.[1] ~~One of these was "An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland."~~ Another was a rather long string of elegiacs entitled: Doctori Ingelo, cum Domino Whitlocke, ad Reginam Sueciae Delegato a Protectore, Residenti, Epistola.[2] He wrote also In Effigiem Oliveri Cromwelli[3] and In Eandem,[4] Reginae Sueciae Transmissam. It is noticeable that Marvell ventured no direct address to Cromwell but to men very near him, and care was taken to mention the protector's name. The persistent young poet was finally rewarded for all his pains and learning by being appointed assistant to the Latin Secretary John Milton.

Latin poetry was written not only to gain recommendation for preferment, but to indulge in the pleasure of composing, or to join the association of wits and scholars, or to win the reputation of having done a clever piecee of work. In 1637, when the brilliant Bishop Williams was fined 20,000 l. and committed to the Tower during the King's pleasure, one of his amusements which prison walls could not bar out was the writing of Latin verses.[5] In 1638, when the memory of Ben Jonson was to "be revived by the friends of the muses", the wits joined together in publishing Jonsonus Virbius, and filled the evergreen volume with poems, English, Latin, and Greek.[6] An example of clever work, of exhibiting a sort of linguistic legerdemain, is a book by Henry Stubbe called Horae Subsecivae, "consisting of translations of Jonah and other parts of the old Testament, and of Latin Epigrams by Randolph and others, into Greek."[7] Stubbe was guilty of more than one volume of Latin and Greek verse, not knowing at the time but that immortal fame grew on such soil.

---

1 Masson IV, 478-9.
2 To Dr. Ingelus, resident with Lord Whitlocke Envoy from the Protector to the Queen of Sweden. Masson IV, 623-4.
3 On the Portrait of Oliver Cromwell. Do. 624.
4 On the same, sent to the Queen of Sweden. Do.
5 Masson I, 540.
6 Masson I, 510.
7 Masson VI, 317-18.

Examples in chronological order of noteworthy Latin poems may now be considered. In 1619 the epigrams of John Owen, who had produced them almost beyond number, were sifted, and a choice ~~selection~~ selection was translated into English by John Vicars, usher of Christ Hospital, in London; and again in 1659 six hundred of them were translated by Thomas Pecke.[1] It would seem that Latin poetry written by an Englishman was not felt to have been intended for English readers, if later a translation into English was considered worth while in order apparently to bring the pieces back home to the author's countrymen. But it must not be supposed that such translations were made because the message of the poems had any great value, or could not otherwise than by translation get to its destined readers. The linguistic and literary gymanstics which the exercise afforded was all the translators cared for: the display of their skill in piecing together syllables into a certain order honorably known as rhythm or metre, and words into certain interesting combinations called syntax. The usher of Christ Hospital would probably have been happier if John Owen's epigrams had originally been in English, in order that his translation of them might bring him out on the more glorious side of Latin; and he probably had no more faith in conveying a message to Englishmen than ~~Henry~~ Henry Stubbe had when he translated Jonah into Greek. Both must have worked to the same end: to exhibit their skill in verbal manipulation, their close familiarity with languages.

This heavy literary fashion was the child of scholasticism and and the narrow humanism of the schools. William Slatyer was a notable victim of the same tyranny. In 1621 he published in London "Palae-Albion: or the History of Great Britain from the first ~~peopling~~ peopling of the Island to the Reign of King James," a folio in Latin and English verse, the Latin on one side, the English on the other. In 1630 he published "Genethliacum sive Stemma Regis Jacobi,"[2] a folio in Latin and English with the genealogy derived all the way from Adam.

There was more excuse for the production of certain poems by

---

[1] Wood, ~~Athenae~~ Fasti, Part I, II, 321.

[2] Wood's Athenae, III, 227. "Birthday poem, or Pedigree of King James."

Alexander Gill, who has been mentioned above in connection with the Star Chamber. In 1625, at the fatal vespers in Blackfriars, over one hundred Catholics were killed by the fall of the house; whereupon young Gill wrote a Latin ode In ruinam Camerae Papisticae Londini.[1] In 1625 he put forth two poems of fellowship and piety : one was addressed to Thomas Farnaby, the great schoolmaster, and was sent along with a skin of canary in a true Horatian spirit; the other was a greeting to his father on his sixtieth birthday. Gill was author also of Ἐπινίκιον de Gestis, Successibus, et Victoriis Regis Sueciae in Germania,[2] in 1631, which was later "Englished and explained in marginal notes by W. H. under the title of 'A Song of Victory!," Gill must have felt himself all the more a seventeenth century Horace, to have his Latin poems translated and elucidated with scholarly annotations.

Willaim Vaughn, the son of Walt. Vaughn of the Golden Grove in Caermarthenshire, "though indifferently learned, yet went beyond most men of his time for Latin, especially, and English, poetry." Among his poems was one published in London in 1625 and dedicated to Charles I, the author modestly assuming the name of Orpheus Junior. The complete title was: Cambrensium Caroleia. Quibus Nuptiae regales celebrantur, memoria Regis Pacifici renovatur & Praecepta necessaria ad Rempub. nostram foeliciter administrandam intexuntur: reportata e Colchide Cambriola ex Australissima novae terrae Plaga.[3] Charles's family events, it seems, were not to be the exclusive property of the Cambridge and Oxford muses; ~~and there is something genuinely poetic in Vaughn's conception of piping his song courtward from the outermost tree of the English grove.~~

Raphael Thorius was a Frenchman by birth, but sojourned among the Oxonians, practiced medicine in London, and wrote Latin poetry. His Hymnus Tabaci, sive de Paeto Libri duo[4] was "an elegant Latin poem

---

[1] On the fall of the Papal House in London. Masson I, 72-3.

[2] Ode on the Deeds and Victories of the King of Sweden in Germany. Wood's Athenae III, 45.

[3] Welsh Tributes to Charles. Whereby the royal nuptials are celebrated, the memory of the Pacific King is revived, and needful counsel intertwined for happily conducting the affairs of state: brought from ~~the~~ Cambriol Colchis, our ~~from~~ the southernmost ~~edge~~ part of the ~~new country~~ island. Wood's ~~Athenae~~, II, 445. [Called Newfoundland.]

[4] Hymn to Tobacco. East Part
Wood's ~~Athenae~~ II, 379-80, ~~and 560, foot nt~~ 3rd Part

translated into English verse by Peter Hausted, M.A. of Cambridge," in 1651. His Cheimonopegmon, A Winter Song," was also translated into English by the faithful Hausted. Thorius died in 1625 of the plague and was commemorated by a friend in the poem; Lessus in Funere Raphaelis Thorii Medici et Poetae Praestantissimi, Qui Londini Peste extinctus bonis et doctis omnibus triste sui Desiderium reliquit, Anno 1625.[1] When one reads such superlatives as Preestantissimi bestowed upon a now unknown writer, one hardly knows whether to account it a mere sonorous convention, or to imagine an other and upper world in which Latin was the language and in which a poet might have actually become very famous without ever being heard of among the vulgar-tongued multitude below.

Chief among the scholars who about 1652 were exercising their ingenuity in Latin epigrams, elegies, and the like, were James Duport and Thomas May. Duport, of Trinity College, Cambridge, had his eye on subjects outside of College, and wrote an ode In Benjaminium Jonsonum, Poetam Laureatum, et dramaticorum sui seculi facile principem.[2] Years later he addressed two Latin poems to his master Isaac Walton, which were published in the second edition of the Compleat Angler, in 1655.[3] May, according to Masson a Latinist of far higher power than Duport,[4] published in 1640 his Supplementum Lucani Lib. VI,[5] which brought the narrative of the Roman poet down to the death of Caesar. It was written, says Wood, "in so lofty and happy Latin hexameter, that he hath attained to much more reputation abroad, than he hath lost at home." May not only enlarged Latin literature by supplementing Lucan, but paid equal tribute to his mother tongue by rendering into English Lucan's Pharsalia and Virgil's Georgics. He stood with the one language on one hand, the other on the other, and it could not be said of him that he let not his right hand know what his left hand did. For his much pains he was rewarded at last

---

[1] Lamentation on the death of Raphael Thorius, physician and most excellent poet, who died in London of the plague and left sorrowful regret among all good and learned men, in the year 1625. Wood, Athenae Part II, 379-80, and foot note- Fasti

[2] On Ben Jonson, poet laureate and easily the first dramatic writer of his age. Masson I, 400.

[3] Marston's Walton, 240-1.

[4] Masson I, 400.

[5] Supplement to Lucan, Seven Books. Wood, Athenae III, 810.

with a plentiful epitaph by Marchamont Needham.

Francis Kinaston, "first regent of the college or academy called Musaeum Minervae", and author of "The Constitutions of Musaeum Minervae", laid hands on old Chaucer with more piety than Dryden did later, and translated his Troilus and Cresseid into the venerable Latin, entitling the work Amorum Troili & Cresseidae Libri Duo Priores Anglico-Latini,[1] published at Oxford in 1635. "Which", says Wood, "being beheld as an excellent translation, was ushered into the world by 15 copies of verses made by Oxford men." About the same time Richard James published at Oxford Poemata quaedam in Mort. Clariss. Viri Roberti Cottoni & Thomae Alleni."[2] He was author also of sermons in Latin and in English, and at his death in 1638 left behind a number of Latin manuscripts. Nothing was wanting to him and his studies, says Wood, "but a sinecure or a prebendship; either of which, if conferred upon him, Hercules his labours would have seemed a trifle."

In 1637 there was published in Amsterdam, at the expense of a patriotic Scot, Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum,[3] a work which challenged the criticism of the world at that time, and excites our wonder today. It was a collection, in two small but densely packed volumes, of choice Latin poems, by thirty-seven Scottish authors who were styled the "glory of this age". These thirty-seven were only a handful to the infinite host that had remained at home--the innumerabiles poetarum veluti exercitus representing extremum hunc angulum paene sub ipso mundi cardine jacentem.[5] Among the best were John Scot, at whose expense the volume was published, and Arthur Johnston, the editor. Besides being a Latin poet, Johnston had a distinguished career as a Doctor of Medicine of the University of Padua, Professor in the Universities of Heidleberg and Sedon, Rector of the University and of King's College, Aberdeen, and physician to James I and Charles I. He had his residence generally

1 The Loves of Troilus and Cressida: first two books, English and Latin. Wood's Athenae III, 38-9.

2 Poems on the death of those very famous men, Robert Cotton and Thomas Allen. Wood's Athenae, III, 38

3 Delights of the Scottish Poets.

4 So to speak, Countless armies of poets.

5 This uttermost point of land lying almost under the pole.

in London, as Medicus Regius.[1] His first publication with his name was Elegia in obitum Jacobi I,[⊕] London, 1625. There followed in great profusion elegies, epigrams, paraphrases, parerga. He wrote, strangely enough, being a Scot, Musae Querulae, de Regis in Scotiam Profectione,[2] in 1633, which was published in ten pages with Latin on the left hand pages and English on the right. His most celebrated work was a Latin version of the Psalms: Arturi Jonshoni Psalmi Davidici interpretatione, argumentis, notisque illustrati: in usum Serenissimi Principis.[3] The bibliography of Arthur Johnston, as collected and published by William Johnston in 1896,[4] shows as many as thirty-four extant editions of his works, all but one being in Latin. And Johnston was only one among the innumerabiles poetarum exercitus.

Thomas Hobbes, though in all his philosophical works he wrote with bitter sarcasm against the teachings of the Universities, and in his Leviathan declared his belief "that there was never anything so dearly bought as these Western parts have bought the learning of the Greek and Latin tongues,[5]" yet himself was a Latin author of prose and verse, from youth down to the last years of a remarkably long life. He composed prior to 1628 but published in 1636 De Mirabilibus Pecci,[6] containing over five hundred Latin hexameters which "give a lively account of an excursion from Chatsworth round the Seven Wonders of the Derbyshire Peak." At the age of eighty-four he wrote his own life in Latin elegiacs, which were not published till 1679, a year after his death.

John Dryden was not the only poet in England who regretted the death of Cromwell the Protector and later rejoiced at the restoration of Charles the King. In 1655 Robert Whitehall wrote Carmen gratulatorium Oliverio Cromwell in Protectorem Angliae inaugurato;[7]

---

1 Physician to the King.

⊕ Elegy on the death of James I.

2 Complaints of the muse on the departure of the King for Scotland.

3 Arthur Johnston's Psalms of David, illustrated with translation, arguments, and notes: for the use of the most serene Prince.

4 Bibliography and Portraits of Arthur Johnston, by William Johnston, Aberdeen, University Press, 1896.

5 Leviathan, Ch. XXI, p. 144.

6 Robertson's Hobbes, 26-7, foot note, and 2, foot nt. Also Wood's Athenae III, 1209.

7 Gratulatory poem to Oliver Cromwell on his inauguration as Protector of England.

and in 1657, Carmen Onomasticon Gratulatorium Ricardo Cromwell in Cancellarii Officium & Dignitatem feliciter Electo.[1] These friendly verses to Oliver and Richard Cromwell served as exercises to train Whitehall for congratulating Oxford on the return of Charles II, and for saluting Edward Hyde as High Chancellor of England and as much-desired Chancellor of Oxford. The poem containing this change of sentiment, addressed Edvardo Hide, summo Angliae & optato Oxoniae Cancellario,[2] was printed on one side of a sheet in both Latin and English, and given to the world promptly in the year 1660.

Payne Fisher, who translated his name into Paganus Piscator, celebrated the great deeds in war and at last the death of Cromwell; publishing in 1659 Marston Moore: seu de Obsidione Prolioque Eboracensi Carmen, Lib. 6;[3] and in 1658 a dirge entitled : Threnodia Triumphalis, in Obitum serenis. nostri Principis Olivari Angliae, Scotiae, &c., nuper Protectoris.[4]

Milton, like the Robert Burhill mentioned above, was "in his younger days a noted Latin poet". In 1645, Humphrey Moses, who did all he could to promote fine literature by its publication and sale at his shop in St. Paul's church-yard, published Milton's poems, both Latin and English. These poems were all minor at that time, in the sense we now use the word. The volume was divided into two parts, each part separately titled and paged. The first contained the English poems which filled 120 pages. The second part, of 88 pages, contained the Latin pieces, with the following on the title page: Joannis Miltoni Londiniensis Poemata: quarum pleraque intra annum aetatis vigesimum conscripsit; nunc primum edita.[5] A preface to this second part was written in Latin by the poet himself. In 1673, a new edition of Milton's minor poems was issued, being however merely

1 Gratulatory poem to Richard Cromwell ~~most~~ happily elected to the office and dignity of Chancellor.
2 To Edward Hyde, High Chancellor of England and desired Chancellor of Oxford. Wood IV, 177.
3 Marston Moor: or Song on the Siege and Battle of York; six books.
4 Triumphal Dirge on the death of our most serene Prince Oliver, late Protector of England, Scotland, &c. Wood IV, 578-9.
5 Poems of John Milton of London: most of which were written ~~within~~ before the completion of his twentieth year; now first edited.

a reprint of the 1645 edition, with the addition of two Latin poems: Apologus de Rustico et Hero[1] and Ad Joannem Rousium.[2] Both the 1645 and the 1673 editions had prefixed to the Latin part five pieces, three in Latin elegiacs, one in Italian verse, one in Latin prose, addressed to Milton by the Italian wits he had met during his residence in Italy in 1638 and 1639.

The volume published in 1645 contained in the Latin division: (1) the book of elegies--Elegiarum Liber-- consisting of seven elegies averaging about one hundred lines each, and of eight short pieces in elegiac meter; (2) the Silvae, consisting of six Latin poems written during Milton's Cambridge days, two short pieces in Greek verse, two Latin poems addressed to Italian acquaintances Salsillus and Mansus, and finally Epitaphium Damonis. The whole volume contained about eighteen hundred lines of Latin and twenty-seven lines of Greek, not counting four Greek lines printed under the poet's portrait in the book and addressed by him to the wretched engraver.

The seven elegies were written during Milton's University career, between the years seventeen and twenty. Three,--the first, fourth, and sixth,-- were sent as letters or in letters to friends at a distance. The Elegia Prima, written in the spring of 1626, while the poet was at home in exile from college, was addressed to his best friend, Charles Diodati: it is an eloquent ~~word~~ rhetorical exercise, full of ancient mythology, and various fanciful and learned allusions. It declared, among other things, that gloria virginibus debetur prima Britannis:[3] the world has nothing to show so fair as the girls of England; one of whom, a few years later, he was so pleasantly to encounter.

The second elegy, on the death of the University Herald, and the third, on the death of the Bishop of Winchester, --- In obitum Praeconis Academici Cantabrigiensis and In obitum Praesulis Winto-

1 ~~Fable of the Rustic and the Hero~~.

2 To John Rous.

3 ~~First honor is due the girls of Britain.~~ Masson I, 119-20.

3. Masson I, 119-120

niensis, -- were written at the age of seventeen. Elegy Four, composed during the long vacation of 1627, was addressed "to Thomas Young, his praeceptor, discharging the office of pastor among the English Merchants at Hamburg" -- Ad Thomam Junium, Praeceptorem suum, apud Mercatores Anglicos Hamburgae Agentes Pastoris Munere Fungentem. It was a fluent exercise in elegiac verse, bidding the exiled Puritan be of good cheer and cling to hope, the last resort for the wretched, and above all demonstrating that his old pupil had not neglected his Latin or his classical mythology.[1]

The fifth elegy, on the Return of Spring, -- In Adventum Veris, -- written in April, 1629, contains one hundred and forty verses heavy with mythological allusions.[2] The sixth was written after Christmas, 1629, in reply to verses sent by Diodati. In this epistle the poet mentions his occupation with the ode on the Nativity; and gives to Diodati a significant picture of one destined to become an epic bard -- a writer of Heaven and Hell: he must live plain, follow a vegetable diet, drink water, keep clean hands and a pure heart.[3] The seventeenth elegy,[4] written at nineteen, celebrates the first love pangs of the poet, who on the first of May had looked too closely in the streets of London at one of the fair maidens whom he called in his first elegy the glory of Britain.

The eight short pieces following the elegies are all in elegiac meter, and the first five celebrate Guy Faux and the Gunpowder Plot, and the inventor of gunpowder; the titles being: In Proditionem Bombardicam, In Eandem, In Eandem, In Eandem, In Inventorem.[5] Milton's repeated celebration of that dreadful event illustrates the force of the ~~famous stenza~~ well-known lines:-

~~[illegible] Fifth of November,~~
~~Gunpowder treason plot~~
I see no reason why gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot.

The last ~~eeeee~~ three pieces in the book of elegies belong to Milton's

---

[1] Masson I, 152.
[2] Do., 156-7
[3] Do. I, 163-4
[4] Do. 135-6.
[5] On the Gunpowder Treason; On the Same; On the Same; On the Same; On the Inventor of Gunpowder.

Italian journey, and are addressed to the famous singer Leonora Baroni, whom he heard sing at Rome. They are entitled : Ad Leonoram Romae Canentem , Ad Eandem , Ad Eandem.[1]

Of the Silvarum Liber I, the first on the death of the Vice-chancellor's physician, -- In Obitum Procancellarii Medici, -- written at seventeen, is the only extant example of Milton's original Horatian stanzas. The second of the Silvae, on the Gunpowder Plot, or On the Fifth of November, --In Quintum Novembris, -- is in Virgilian Hexameters, and tells the story of the event in grand epic style decorated with the diction of classical mythology. After two hundred and twenty-six majestic verses, the story ends with the well-believed opinion that no day in all the three hundred and sixty-five is so notable as the Fifth of November:

Quintoque Novembris
Nulla dies toto occurrit celebration anno.

The third of the Silvae, in the only extant example of Milton's use of the Iambic Strophe, commemorates the death of the Bishop of Ely. The fourth is in hexameters, written in 1628 for a fellow-student of Christ' to use in a public Act, and sent by Milton to Alexander Gill along with a Latin letter on July 2, 1628.[2] It is a scholastic exercise to prove by fluent rhetoric that Nature never suffers with old age: Naturam non pati Senium. The fifth of the Silvae, in the Iambic Trimeter, treats the Platonic Idea, --De Idea Platonica, -- being an academic exercise, and "is interesting, " says Masson, "as showing Milton's affection for Plato and his philosophy." The sixth poem in the Silvae, addressed to the poet's father, Ad Patrem, is in hexameters, but in a simpler and less rhetorical strain than the academic pieces. It is an interesting bit of autobiography, showing the elder Milton's early encouragement of his son's poetic tastes, and the young man's gratitude for that friendship and sympathy.

Of the Greek pieces, the first is a translation in hexameters of the 114th Psalm; the second contains five hexameters, being the answer of a philosopher to the king who had by accident placed him among the criminals. Two Latin poems following the Greek were ad-

---

1 To Leonora, singing at Rome; To the Same; To the Same. Masson I, 635-

2 Masson I, 139-40

dressed to Italian friends of Milton's--the first, in scazons, to Salsillus, the Roman poet who was sick, Ad Salsillum, Poetam Romanu Aegrotantem; the second, in hexameters, to Mansus. After these was placed Epitaphium Damonis. The 1673 edition of the minor poems added, after Epitaphium Damonis, the poem in strophes and antistrophes, addressed in 1647 to John Rous--Ad Joannem Rousium. Rous was librarian in the Bodleian of Oxford, and Milton had sent him a volume of his prose and one of his poetry to be placed in the library. The poetry was lost in transmission, and at Rous's request the poet forwarded a second volume, with this ode written on a sheet of paper and inserted by a binder between the English and Latin parts of the volume. In elaborate form, with three strophes each followed by an antistrophe and the whole concluded by an epode, the poet speaks affectionately to his little book which he is sending on its way to a secure and happy seat in the home of the Muses.[1]

Epitaphium Damonis was written after Milton's return to England in 1639, in memory of his dearest friend, his old schoolmate and correspondent, Charles Diodati, who had died while the poet was absent on his Italian journey. Its two hundred and nineteen hexameters follow the eclogues of Virgil in the pastoral machinery, and in the repetition of one melancholy line addressed by the shepherd to his flock. And as in Eclogue V Mopsus and Menalcas lament the death of their fellow-shepherd Daphnis, Mopsus beginning with a strain of grief and Menalcas ending with a triumphant apotheosis of their departed friend; so in Milton's poem, Thyrsis at first can only bewail the loss of Damon, but comes at last to behold him risen high above earth and seated among the eternal gods. In this same exultant vision Milton ended his other great elegy, Lycidas; and like Lycidas and other poems by the same author, Epitaphium Damonis mingles freely together elements of the pagan and Christian religions.

Another point of interest in the Epitaphium Damonis is the poet's reference to an epic theme under contemplation: he would choose a subject from the ancient Britons and celebrate it in his native speech.

---

1 Masson, III, 646 ff.

O, mihi tum si vita supersit,
Tu procul annosa pendebis, fistula, pinu
Multum oblita mihi, aut patriis mutata Camoenis
Brittonicum strides! Quid enim? Omnia non licet uni,
Non sperasse uni licet omnia; mi satis ampla
Merces, et mihi grande decus (sim ignotus in aevum
Tum licet, externo penitusque inglorius orbi),
Si mihi flava comas legat Usa, et potor Alauni,
Vorticibusque frequens Abra, et nemus omne Treantae,
Et Thamesis meus ante omnes, et fusca metallis
Tamara, et extremis me discant Orcades undis. [1]

The ambitious young poet would be content to remain unknown in the learned world beyond his native island, if by celebrating a patriotic theme in his mother tongue he could attain high honor among his countrymen. This elegy was to be his last great effort in the composition of Latin verse; but he little knew at the time what Latin prose he had yet to write in defending an English cause before an astonished world.

In passing from the consideration of Milton's own poems, we may take a glance at the Latin poems written to him or in connection with his works and fame. In 1652 appeared at The Hague the Regii Sanguinis Clamor, already discussed in Chapter VI. It was a cry raised in the same cause in which the mighty Salmasius perished at the hands of Milton, and it paid ~~its~~ respects to both the Frenchman and the Englishman. "At the end of the book are appended two sets of Latin verses. One is a 'Eucharistic Ode', in eighteen Horatian stanzas of sustained eulogy, 'To the Great Salmasius for his

---

1. O then, if life shall be spared me,
Thou shalt be hung, my pipe, far off on some brown dying pine-tree,
Much forgotten of me; or else your Latian music
Changed for the British war-screech! What then? For one to do all things,
One to hope all things, fits not! Prize sufficiently ample
Mine, and distraction great (unheard of ever thereafter
Though I should be, and inglorious, all through the world of the stranger),
If but the yellow-haired Ouse shall read me, the drinker of Alan,
Humber, which whirls as it flows, and Trent's whole valleys of orchards,
Thames, my own Thames, above all, and Tamar's western waters,
Towny with ores, and where the white waves swinge the far Orkneys. — Masson II, 91-92.

Royal Defence.' The other consists of no fewer than 245 lines of scurrilous Iambics addressed 'To the Bestial Blackguard John Milton, the Advocate of Parricides and Parricide' ('In Impurissimum Nebulonem, Johannem Miltonum, Parricidarum et Parricidi Advocatum'.)"[1] This followed the style in which Milton himself was an accomplished master.

Fortunately the poet had some friends among the muses. In 1674 the second edition of Paradise Lost contained two sets of commendatory Latin verses prefixed. The one was in elegiacs on The Paradise Lost of John Milton Chief of Poets (In Paradisum Amissam Summi Poetae Johannis Miltoni), signed S.B.M.D.; the other was in English Heroics, signed A.M. S.B. was Dr. Samuel Barrow, A.M. was Andrew Marvell, who if it had pleased him might also have put his lines in Latin.[2]

In 1656 the first Book of Paradise Lost, translated into Latin by several hands,[3] was published in London by Thomas Dring, proprietor of the current edition of Milton's minor poems. Though the poet in Epitaphium Damonis declared he would rest content without poetic fame abroad, if he could achieve glory by an English epic, yet other men, for his fame or their own, were not satisfied to leave any great thing unconquered by the language of imperial Rome.

In 1683 Oxford University remembered her devotion to Charles I and her hatred of his old enemies, by passing a decree to burn the books of the author of Eiconoclastes and Defensio pro Populo. The following lines are from an academic poem which took note of the event:

> In media videas flamma crepitante cremari
> Miltonum, caelo terrisque inamabile nomen.[4]

It was a grievous epitaph over the ashes of great Latin arguments.

---

1 Masson IV, 457.
2 Do. VI, 714.
3 Do. 784.
4 Do. 814. The lines may be freely rendered:-

* You see that eager flame? you smell that paper smoke?
It's Milton burning, now a name to heaven and earth-- a joke.

Chapter X

Out of the intimate knowledge of Latin and out of the many services it performed in high places, there grew a feeling and sentiment among men in favor of the noble and venerable language, -- a sentiment strong in the individual mind and a hundredfold intensified by academic and national tradition. It was a feeling as persistent and as universal as patriotism itself, and oftentimes very closely allied with it. To improve scholarship, that is, classical learning, among the people was to strengthen and glorify the nation. There was a certain active faith, deep-rooted in the centuries and overshadowing the present, that throughout the history and development of England, her institutions, society, and laws had drawn vital nourishment from the ever-living Latin, and they would continue to cling to that language as a gracious and blessed foster-mother.

This atmosphere and sentiment for Latin learning pervades the literature and history of the times persistently and unfailingly. Even when one cannot lay hands on the Latin product as a whole, he can nevertheless detect a flavor extracted from the old language and literature. The taste of men for ages had been cultivated to relish this classical learning as the most delicious and satisfying of all food for the mind; and only pity or contempt was felt for him who could not or did not appreciate these good things. The seventeenth century scholar loved learning not otherwise than the old Romans loved liberty, as a thing sweet in itself.

Men turned to Latin reading or composition for pleasure, recreation, and comfort. The Earl of Montrose, defeated of his political ambition in 1641, retired to his estates, went hunting now and then, but found "his chief delight in bits of Latin reading, dreams of Plutarch's heroes, and the writing of scraps of verse."[1] William Seymour, eleventh Earl of Hertford, lived habitually in the country, "a nobleman of great fortune, honor and interest, of very good parts and conversant with books, both of the Latin and Greek tongues." The famous Lord Falkland, whom Clarendon exhausted his eloquence and generosity in praising, married against his father's plessure, and

[1] Masson, III, 341.

retired to his estate to give himself up to the study of Greek and kindred subjects. At Tew, twelve miles from Oxford, his home became a resort and club house for scholars.[1] Classical atmosphere mingled with the social sentiments and became a part of high friendly fellowship.

Honor became more honorable when recorded in appropriate language; and the pride of birth or achievement had an instinctive feeling of kinship with the grand superlative and majestic period. No man ever revealed in its finest essence the aristocratic Latin spirit better than did Sir Henry Wotton, the accomplished ambassador, the gentleman and scholar and friend of scholars, the faithful devotee of poetry and religion. As Provost of Eton in his last years, "he was," says his friend and biographer, Isaac Walton, "a constant cherisher of all those youths in that School, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learning.....He would also often make choice of some observations out of those Historians and Poets (i.e., those of Greece and Rome); and would never leave the School, without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apophthegm or sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar."[2]

With the same faith in the power of eloquence and the same fatherly wish to impart a useful lesson, Sir Henry, after his return from his last foreign embassy, full of wisdom and honors, used to leave behind, at houses where he lodged, copies of the inscription under his coat of arms. It was the custom to hang over the door of an Envoy's residence a painted shield with the ambassadorial titiles inscribed, and a copy of these titles it was that Sir Henry Wotton left as foot-prints over England to guide and cheer the way-faring reader:-

Henricus Wottonius Anglo-Cantianus, Thomae optimi viri filius natu minimus, a Serenissimo Jacobo I. Mag. Brit. Rege, in equestrem titulum adscitus, ejusdemque ter ad Rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad Confoederatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio. Bis ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudiae Dueem; semel ad U-

---

[1] Masson I, 420-421.

[2] Walton's Live, 158-9. (d. 1852)

nitos Superioris Germaniae Principes in ConventuHeilbrunensi, postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergensem, Civitates Imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, et ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum Secundum, Legatus Extraordinarius, tandem hoc didicit,

Animas' fieri sapientiores quiescendo.[1]

It was characteristic of Wotton to attach the choice proverb at the end of his array of titles. Great was his faith in the moral effect of wisdom uttered in the language of learning. Everything he did or said radiated a moral and classical glow, which was typical of the religion and learning of his day.

The wide-spread, pervasive influence of Latin culture appeared in scores of ways in the literature and life of the time. A few of the most important manifestations will be briefly considered.

I. Literary Titles.

An interesting expression of classical culture is found in the titles to English literary works, in prose and verse. Even if a book for good reason was not composed in the learned tongue, it could at least show some relationship with learning by exhibiting a Greek or Latin name, and could present a more confident face to the reading world by having a grand and imposing title-page. The real name of such a book was put in a Greek or Latin word or phrase, which was followed by a translation, or a diffuse paraphrase explaining the secret wrapped up in the oftentimes allegorical or conceited main title. This explanation was very necessary: the classic word or phrase, whose business was to herald the author as a scholar, aimed at impressive sound, showy appearance, --anything but simplicity or intelligibility.

---

[1] Henry Wotton, an Englishman of Kent, youngest son of Thomas, an excellent man; raised to the equestrian rank by the most serene James I, King of Great Britain, and three times his ambassador in ordinary to the Republic of Venice, once to the States of the United Provinces in the affair of Juliers. Twice ambassador extraordinary to Charles Emanuel, Duke of Swabia; once to united Princes of Upper Germany in the Heilbronn convention; finally, to Archduke Leopold, Duke of Würtemberg, to the Imperial States Argentina and Ulm, and to Ferdinand II, Roman Emperor. After all, this is the chief thing he learned:

It is QUIET that makes the heart wise.

Wotton's Lives, 155. (ed. 1852)

Examples will illustrate the characteristic features of the fashionable title. In 1631, William Forster, M.A., parson at Hedgley in Bucks, published "Hoplocrisma-Spongus: Or a Sponge to wipe away the Weapon Salve. Wherein is proved that the cure taken up amongst us, by applying the Salve to the Weapon, is magical and unlawful."[1] This is a good example of the conceited title, much sought after in that age of conceits. John Donne, head of the Mataphysical Poets, published "Βιαθανατος: A Declaration of that Paradox or Thesis, that Self-Homicide is not so naturally a sin, that it may not be otherwise."[2] A timely pamphlet, published in 1645 by Thomas Edwards, had an apt title, revealing both the spirit of the treatise and the sectarian bitterness of the times. The work was : "Gangraena: or, a Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this time."[3] The most famous pamphlet of the age, published with great secrecy and in very mysterious circumstances, on February 9, 1649, was: "Εἰκὼν Βασιλική : The True Portraiture of His Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings." Following the title were the mottoes: "More than conquæror, &c. Bona agere et mala pati Regium est."[4] In a prefixed allegorical design various other mottoes were placed, purporting to illustrate the character of the fallen king; e.g.: Clarior e tenebris, Crescit sub pondere virtus, In verbo tuo spes mea.[5] Published as the written meditations of King Charles I during the last year of his life, the book became immediately popular in England. At the suggestion of the alarmed Council of State, Milton wrote an attack upon the royalist pamphlet, and named his own work Εἰκονοκλάστης [Image-Breaker] -- a brilliant title in idea and magnificent in sound, typical of the smashing effect it was expected to have and in some measure did have upon its enemy.[6]

---

[1] Wood, fasti, Part Athenae II, 573.

[2] Wood, fasti, Part Athenae II, 503.

[3] Masson III, 141.

[4] To do good and suffer evil is the fate of kings.

[5] Brighter after darkness; Virtue grows under oppression; In thy word is my hope.

[6] For accounts of both pamphlets, see Masson IV, 33, 132, ~~V, 36~~.

The first Εἰκὼν founded a numerous family. Besides the Εἰκονοκλάστης of Milton, there appeared in August, 1649, an anonymous pamphlet entitled: Εἰκὼν Ἀληθινή : The Portraiture of Truth's Most Sacred Majesty," denying the royal authorship of the original Εἰκών, and giving the theory that it was written by some English Prelate or Doctor.[1] On September 11, of the same year, was published another pamphlet in the same quarrel: Εἰκὼν ἡ πιστή , or the Faithful Portraiture of a Loyal Subject, in Vindication of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική ."[2] In 1651 was issued: Εἰκὼν Ἄκλαστος : The Image Unbroken: A Perspective of the Impudence, Falsehood, Vanitie, and Prophannes, published in a Libell entitled Εἰκονοκλάστης against Εἰκὼν Βασιλική or the Portraiture of his Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings." These defenders of Charles thought it safest to publish anonymously, for the present.

Other semi-classical titles given by Milton to English works are as follows. "Areopagitica: a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." "Tetrachordon: Exposition of the Four chief Places in Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage." "Colasterion: a Reply to a Nameless Answer against the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce." "Samson Agonistes: A Dramatic Poem." Though the title of this last work was simple enough, the rest of the title-page contained perplexities to warn the unlearned: "Aristot. Poet. Cap. 6. Τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας, Tragoedia est imitatio actionis seriae ,&c. Per misericordiam et metum perficiens talium affectionum lustrationem ."[4] It is fortunate that the English mood of Milton predominated when he finally determined the title of Paradise Lost. It would have been no small impediment to the fame of the great English epic to be called by such a phrase, for example, as Paradisus Amissus.[5]

---

[1] Masson IV, 130.

[2] Do. 131.

[3] Do. 549.

[4] Tragedy is the Imitation of serious action, purifying such affections through pity and fear. Masson VI, 661.

[5] The Latin for Paradise Lost. ~~Paradisus Amissa was the form used by Dr. Simuel Barrow in his ode mentioned on page 116.~~

Return this page of copy with proof. R. E. C.

II. Phrases and Forms.

In registers and minute-books Latin was customarily used for recording date and place. The Journals of Parliament were kept in English, but various set phrases were put in Latin. For example: Die Veneris, 12° Augusti, 1642; Die Martis, 6° die Februarii; Hodie 3a vice lecta est Billa,[1] an act, etc.; Domini praesentes fuerunt: Comes Denbigh, Speaker, Comes Northumberland; House adjourned till 10 cras.[2]

A petition sent by the Universities to Parliament, though in English, preferred to have date and place subscribed in Latin. For instance, the petition of the University of Oxford to Long Parliament for the continuance of religious houses and revenues bore the following subscription: Dat. Anno Dom. Millesimo Sexcent. Quad' primo e domo Convocationis, in celebri Conventu Doctorum ac Magistrorum, omnibus et singulis Assentientibus.[3] Orders made in Star Chamber, though in English, were headed in Latin phrases, e.g.: In Camera Stellata coram concilio ibidem vicesimo tertio Augusti Anno Nono Car' Reg.[4]

Entries in parish registers of baptisms, and deaths were sometimes in Latin, sometimes in the vernacular, according, it may be, to the taste or the learning of the family or the recorder. Of the eleven baptismal entries of the children of Richard Powell, Milton's father-in-law, only the first two were in Latin. Of the thirty-one obituary entries in the Horton parish register for 1636, three were entirely in Latin, one partially, the rest in English. This year Milton's mother was buried in the Horton church, and the record was: Sara, uxor Johnis Milton, generosi, Aprilis 6to: obiit 3to.[5]

Latin was used for recording proceedings in courts of law and for

---

1 Today the bill was read the third time. The following Lords were present. Die Veneris = Friday, Die Martis = Tuesday.

~~The following Lords were present: Earl Denbigh, etc.~~

2 Till tomorrow. For these items and others of like nature, see Masson II, 349; IV, 4; Rushworth V, 564.

3 Done in the year of our Lord 1641 in the House of Convocation, in full session of Doctors and Masters, one and all agreeing. Rushworth IV, 270-1.

4 In the Star Chamber, in the presence of the Council in the same

writing charters and bonds;[1] by bishops for granting letters of orders to approved candidates for the ministry; [2] for keeping the archiepiscopal records at Canterbury; [3] in granting a license for the publication of a book.[4] The language had a traditional claim on the routine business of church and state; the majesty of the law was very fittingly represented by what Milton called "the venerable Latian mother, hoary with years, and crowned with the respect of ages." [5]

Statues and portraits commonly bore the name of subject and artist in Latin, often with the addition of a motto in the same language. Greek was less frequently used for the same purpose. The presentation of a book by one scholar to another, or by an author to a library, properly recorded the fact in by a Latin phrase or sentence. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, a small quarto volume of Milton's pamphlets exhibits this inscriptuon in his autograph: Ad doctissimum virum, Patricium Junium Joannes Miltonius haee sua, unum in fasciculum conjecta, mittit, paucis hujusmodi lectoribus contentus.[6] Young, one of the most celebrated scholars of his time, especially in Greek, was from 1605 to 1649 Keeper of the King's Library in St. James's, London. In presenting a volume of works, or any other gift, to such a man, a man like Milton could not lightly have ignored the ceremony of a Latin greeting.

III. Dedications.

Books written in Latin , if dedicated at all, naturally employed the same lahguage for that purpose. English works, intended for scholarly readers, preferred to use the learned tongue in dedication, since it was usually a learned gentleman to whom the address was

---

[1] Emerson's English Language, § 83.

[2] Wood's Fasti, Part I, 380, foot-note.

[3] Fuller's Church History, VI, 57. Brewer's Edition.

[4] Masson I, 431-2.

[5] Familiar Letter, VIII. Milton's Prose Works, III, p. 498

[6] To the most learned man, Patrick Young, John Milton sends these his works bound in a single volunme, content with a few readers like him. Masson III, 645-6.

made. The custom of inscribing books to King, Archbishop, nobleman, or other high patron of literature, required that the address be made as complimentary and dignified as possible. Readers of the book, for their part, though they might find it more convenient to go through the main body in English, would nevertheless be pleased to try their Latin in the page or two of dedication.

The dedication of the sixth edition of Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy was in the conventional style, with a record of virtues and worldly honors set down in order, and abundant decoration of superlatives. It is as follows: Honoratissimo Domino, non minus Virtute Sua, quam Generis Splendore, Illustrissimo, GEORGIO BERKLEIO, Milite de Balneo, Baroni de Berkley, Moubrey, Segrave, D. de Bruse, Domino duo multis nominibus Observando, Hanc Suam MELANCHOLIAE ANATOMEN, Jam Sexto Revhasm, D.D. Democritus Junior.[1] Burton was not content with so brief an offering to the learned. He put in his preface a Latin poem of ninety elegiac lines, entitled Democritus Junior ad Librum Suum, and after one hundred and forty pages of English Introduction to the Reader, he added a half-page of special address to the Busy Reader--Lectori male Feriato. There next appear ten Latin elegiacs to Heraclitus; after all which humorous ceremony the business of the book begins.

Fuller, like Burton, was full of conceits and humors, which often found exercise in display of curious learning. His History of Cambridge has nine Sections, and each Section, except the first, is prefaced by an address to some honorable friend. All these addresses except the ninth are in Latin. The first of these sectional dedications, occupying nearly two pages, is directed to the "Most reverend prelate, James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, his most worshipful Lord,"--- Reverendissimo Anstiti, Jacobo Usserio, Archiepiscopo Armachano, Domino suo Colendissimo.[2] The average length of these

[1] To the most honored Lord, most illustrious by reason of his own merit no less than by the splendor of his birth, George ~~Berkley~~ Berkley, Knight of Bath, etc., his Lord to be greeted by many names, the Anatomy of Melancholy, in the sixth revision, is dedicated by Democritus Junior. ~ Middleton's ed. Anatomy of Melancholy.

[2] For mention of Archbishop Usher's contributions to our Latin literature, see above, ~~chapter~~ pp. 80-81. Chap. VI.

dedications is about half a page. The last, addressed to Thomas Player, exemplifies the genial humor of Fuller. Tandem aliquando, he begins, Deo duce, post varios anfructus, et vias invias, ad Historiae finem perventum est.... Opus mihi igitur jam concludenti, patrono, non FORTI minus qui possit, quam miti qui velit, me nutantem sustentare, vel forte labascentem erigere.[1] It is curious that a book so adorned throughout with Latin should have had its initial dedication, "To the Honourable Banister Maynard, Esquire," and its general preface, both in English. The Church History, by the same author, has only one of its sections prefaced with a Latin address after the manner of the History of Cambridge, that is, Section IX of Volume VI.

IV. Epitaphs.

The esteem of Latin above English on occasions of dignity and formality was nowhere more strikingly exhibited than in epitaphs. The appropriateness of the older language for this purpose was conservatively maintained for generations and has not yet altogether yielded to the language of the people. If Dr. Johnson in 1776 wrote Goldsmith's epitaph in Latin, refusing, as he said, to disgrace the walls of Westminster Abbey with an English epitaph, in Milton's day there was less argument in favor of English for such obituary dignity. The vernacular had indeed come into prominent use in epitaph-writing, but the pomp and impressiveness of the venerable ancient tongue were still commonly sought by the conservative and the learned.[2]

It was not uncommon for a scholar to bequeath his own epitaph to his memory, and thus, if possible, insure himself against a nameless tomb or a mere English inscription. Such a careful testator was Sir Henry Wotton, who illustrated nearly all the correct Latin tenden-

[1] Now at last, by the guidance of God, after various windings and pathless ways, I have come to the end of my History. On the point of concluding my work, I have need of a patron, not only one who has the courage and power, but also one who has the kindness, to uphold me when I stagger or uplift me when I faint.

[2] Chronicles of the Tombs, Pettigrew, pp. 37, 52–55.

cies of the time. After giving directions in his will as to the disposal of his body, he proceeded to command his executors to erect over his grave a marble stone, plain and not costly. "And considering," says Walton, his biographer, "that time moulders even marble to dust; for

Monuments themselves must die,

therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the son of Sirach adviseth all men) by a useful apophthegm than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits, of both which he might justly have boasted; but he was content to forget them, and did choose only this prudent, pious sentence, to discover his disposition and preserve his memory. It was directed by him to be thus inscribed:

Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus author,
Disputandi Pruritus Ecclesiarum Scabies.
Nomen alias quaere.

Which may be Englished thus: Here lies the first author of this sentence: The itch of disputation will prove the scab of the church. Inquire his name elsewhere."[1]

An epitaph prepared by the subject of it or by others was not always piously inscribed. It may have been neglected by friends or omitted for lack of friends, or apparently in some cases by reason of the very length of the proposed inscription. An instance is recorded by Wood of Thomas Roe, scholar, gentleman, courtier, who died in 1644 and was buried in the church of Woodford near to Nausted in Essex. "I shall gratify the reader," says Wood,[2] "with a most noble epitaph made for him by Langbaine, but for what reason it was not put over his grave I know not." The epitaph is given,--- an elaborate affair of over three hundred words in Latin prose and about sixty in English. To look at it is to wonder how Wood could have been in doubt as to why it was never inscribed.

The purpose of an epitaph to honor the dead is often unfulfilled in the case of the long Latin ones, which turn the mind of the reader from thought of the person praised to admiration of the eloquent composer. Oftentimes the most lavish and elaborate inscription is

---

1. Walton's Lives, 168-9 (ed. 1852); Lyte's Eton, 235-6.
2. Wood, III, 114.

bestowed on a name otherwise unremembered, while a distinguished scholar may receive only the meager record of birth and death. This was true of John Selden, one of the most learned men of his age. Dying in 1654, he was buried in the Temple Church, and his epitaph,[1] though properly in Latin, had not a word concerning his character and attainments. But in 1659, when his library was acquired by the University of Oxford, a tablet appropriately inscribed was erected in a window of the room where the books were placed. In this tablet Selden was said to be without a peer in the luster of genius, purity of character, and excellence of teaching (nitore ingenii, candore morum, praecellentia doctrinae imparilis viri), and his books were dedicated to the great University for the enduring memory of so great a man and for the encouragement of literature (in duraturam tanti viri memoriam et rei literariae bonum).

The epitaph of Sir Francis Bacon was brief but of genuine significance, composed as it was by "that accomplished gentleman and rare wit, Sir Henry Wotton." The monument, erected in St. Michael's Church at St. Alban's, was of white marble and represented the full figure of the philosopher in the posture of study. the inscription was as follows:[2]

Franciscus Bacon, Baro de Verulam, St. Albani Vicmes
Seu notioribus titulis
Scientiarum Lumen Facundiae Lex
Sic Sedebat.
Qui postquam Omnia Naturalis Sapientiae
Et Civilis Arcana Evolvisset
Naturae Decretum Explevit
Composita Solvantur
An. Dni M. DC. XXVI
Aetatis LXVI.

Tanti Viri
mem.
Thomas Meantus
Superstitis Cultor
Defuncti Admirator
H. P.

[1] Fuller's Worthies, III, 259; Wood's Athenae, I, XXXVII-VIII, ft. note.

[2] Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Vicount St. Albans, or of more distinguished titles, - the Light of Science and the Law of Eloquence, - used to sit thus. Who after unfolding all the secrets of natural and civil wisdom fulfilled the decree of nature that the organized should be dissolved. A. D. 1626, aet. 66. In memory of so great a man Thomas Meautys, follower while he lived, admirer since he is dead, places this monument. Spedding, I, 18.

When the subject of an inscription is otherwise unknown, the interest of the epitaph lies either in its curious sentiment or peculiar style. For Dr. William Butler, M.A., the most celebrated physician of his age, everything was done that inscriptions could do, but the interest now is in the eloquent effort rather than in the man honored thereby. He died at Cambridge in 1618, eighty-three years old, and "was buried in Great St. Mary's, On the south side of the chancel is a mural monument, with his bust, in the costume of the period. Around the bust is inscribed, 'Nunc Positis Novus Exuviis.'[1] On each side of the bust is a statue, one of labor, the other of rest. There are also his arms (sable, a fess lozengy, between three covered cups, or.) and these inscriptions:" A piece of Latin prose, six Latin elegiacs, and three Latin hexameters. They all praise his gifts and warn other men, if he died, so they. For example, Abi viator, et ad tuos reversus narra, te vidisse locum in quo Salus jacet.[2] Fuller so admired the prose part of the inscription that he said it "might have served for Joseph of Arimithea to have inscribed on the tomb of our Savior."[3]

Robert Burton, author of the Anatomy of Melancholy, died January 1640, and was buried in the Cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford. Over his grave was erected a comely monument, with his bust painted in life. On the right hand was given the calculation of his nativity; under the bust, this inscription of his own composition:

Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus,
Hic jacet Democritus junior
Cui vitam dedit et mortem
Melancholia.[4]

Thomas Fuller had a special relish for interesting epitaphs, and reproduced many a one in his book of English Worthies. He told of John Gregory, born in 1607 and bred at Oxford, that "he so applied his book, that he studied sixteen hours of the four and twenty for many years together. He attained to be an exquisite linguist and

1 Cooper's Cambridge, III, 124. He lives a new life, the old cast off.
2 Go, traveller, return to your people and tell them, that you have seen the spot where Health lies buried.
3 Fuller's Hist. Cambridge, quoted by Cooper, III, 124, foot-note.
4 Known to few, unknown to fewer, here lies Democritus junior, to whom Melancholy gave both life and death. Middleton's ed. Anatomy of Melancholy, I, 10.

general scholar.....I find a smart epitaph, made by a friend, on his memory; and it was, in my mind, as well valiantly (consider the times) as truly indited:

Ne premas cineres hosce, viator,
Nescis quot sub hoc jacet lapillo;
Graeculus, Hebraeus, Syrus,
Et qui te quovis vincet idiomate.
At ne molestus sis
Ausculta, et causam auribus tuis imbibe:
Templo exclusus
Et avita Religione
Jam senescente (ne dicam sublata)
Mutavit chorum, altiorem ut capesceret.
Vade nunc, si libet, et imitare."[1]

Fuller, like his contemporaries generally, admired a fine Latin phrase, or new conceit cleverly turned. But he never seemed happier than when he lighted on 'a smart epitaph, valiantly and truly indited.'

V. Mottoes.

Mottoes were, like epitaphs and dedications, chips from the Latin workshop. It was the custom to adorn the title-page of a book or pamphlet with an appropriate text from a classic author, which struck the key-note of the treatise. Milton was devoted to this custom. His Comus when first published bore between the title and the publisher's name a line from Virgil's second Eclogue: Eheu! quid volui misero mihi? Floribus austrum perditus!"[2] -- He chose a motto from the Hicetides of Euripides for Areopagitica, in 1644; and one from the Medea for his Tetrachordon, in 1645. For his last political pamphlet, the Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth 1660, he took a passage from the bitterest of Roman satirists, Juvenal, I, 15, 16:

Et nos
Consilium dedimus Sullae; demus Populo nunc?[3]

[1] Stranger, refrain from pressing these ashes; you know not how many he is that lies under this stone: Greek, Hebrew, Syrian, and one who will surpass you in any tongue you please. But lest you be offended, listen, and drink in with your ears the reason: Shut out from the temple and his ancestral religion, ~~by old age (not to say~~

(notes continued at bottom of p. 126)

The reference was probably to Milton's recent letter of advice to General Monk, who had a way of following his own counsel. The quotation suggests the ironical and satirical mood of the old pamphleteer, who felt the foundations of liberty as sand under his feet.[3]

Personal mottoes, used over and over again in speech, or writing, or fixed in badges, were most frequently in the serious moral language of the Romans. Wentworth's celebrated motto of Proemium and Poena,[4] furnished the key to his policy of Thorough. George Wither, the darling poet of the people, enjoyed independence in the mood of Nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo.[5] The gallant and romantic Marquis of Montrose had a standard "of white damask, blazoned with his famous device of the lion rampant to spring the chasm between the rocks, and the motto Nil Medium.[6] Charles I cheered his desperate fortunes with Dum spiro, spero, which was his favorite sentence, and which he wrote in the Second Folio edition of Shakspeare, and in many other of his books.[7]

---

which was yielding to age (not to mention attack), he gave up one chorus to enter a higher. Go now if you like, and imitate him. {Fuller's Worthies I, 20

[2] Alas, what have I done? Ruined my flowers with the south wind--

[3] We have given advice to Sulla, now let us try the people.
Masson V, 678.

[4] Masson I, 548. Punishment and Reward.

[5] Do., 564. I have nothing, I want nothing, and I don't care.

[6] ~~Nothing half-way. Masson.~~

[7] While I have breath I have hope. Masson III, 51[illegible], + foot-note.

VI. Quotations.

Not all men wote books or made speeches in Latin, but few who wrote at all neglected to flavor their discourse with classical quotations. The sentences of the Roman moral philosophers and poets, learned in school and impressed on the young mind by exacting tutors, became a substantial part of a man's mental equipment, a concrete, measurable fund of knowledge and culture, always ready for use. Men have at all times treasured proverbs and words fitly spoken. But during this age of intense study in the classics, the whole nation seems to have gone hunting for the aptest sentences in Latin books and to have esteemed discourse according to its wealth of jewels gathered out of classic mines.

This age produced the Anatomy of Melancholy, the ne plus ultra of quotation-gathering. The author, Robert Burton, early manifested his genius, or mania, for remembering and applying sentences out of books, and became famous at the University of Oxford for excelling in the art that everybody ambitiously cultivated. He was, according to Wood, a general reader, a thorough-paced philologist, a devourer of authors. "I have heard", he writes, "some of the ancients of Christ Church often say, that his company was very merry, facete, and juvenile; and no man in his time did surpass him for his ready and dextrous interlarding his common discourses among them with verses from the poets, or sentences from the classical authors; which being then all the fashion in the University, made his company the more acceptable."[1]

Burton gave his genius free reign in making up his Anatomy of Melancholy, which was first published in 1621 and attained its seventh edition in 1660. For this book the author sifted the literatures of Greece, Rome, the Bible, and the Mediaeval Latinists; he "ransacked the ages, spoiled the climes." The Latin classics delivered him the richest tribute. Every page displays quotations, long or short, from the single word or phrase to half a page in length. These quotations were either separate sentences, or integral parts of English sentences; and they served as texts for further comment, or acted themselves as comments on preceding texts.

---

[1] Quoted by Middleton, ed. Anatomy of Melancholy, I, 8.

This remarkable book became a storehouse of infinite supply for all who sought to live up to the fashion of the age without themselves being able to display first-hand learning. Men of scanty education found in Burton's Anatomy "Latin quotations to last them all their lives."[1] "During a pedantic age, like that in which Burton's production appeared, it must have been eminently serviceable to writers of many descriptions. Hence the unlearned might furnish themselves with appropriate scraps of Greek and Latin, while men of learning would find their inquiries shortened, by knowing where they might look for what both ancients and moderns have advanced on the subject of the human passions. I confess my inability to point out any other English author who has so largely dealt in apt and original quotation."[2]

King James I was not one of those who had to depend on the Anatomy of Melancholy to retail him Latin sentences for all occasions. From his own royal cultivation of the classics he gathered golden fruit at will. His speech before Parliament in January, 1621, epitomized in the first two sentences the two prevailing fashions of the age: learning and religion, or rather, devotion to the letter of the Classics and devotion to the letter of the Bible. The first sentence is nothing but a Latin proverb; the second concludes with a verse from Scripture: "My Lords Spiritual and Temporal," spoke his Majesty, "and you the Commons:- Cui Multiloquio non deest peccatum.[3] In the last Parliament I made a long discourse, especially to them of the Lower house: I did open the true thoughts of my heart; but I may say with my Saviour, I have piped to you and you have not danced; I have mourned and ye have not lamented." Without reading further it is not hard to see that the question of supplies is the message about to be tactfully delivered. Pretty soon the speaker comes squarely upon his desire with the words of his beloved language: Bis dat, qui cito dat.[4]

The King regarded Latin-quoting so essential a part of royal state-

---

[1] Wood, paraphrased by Masson, I, 414.

[2] Quoted by Middleton, ed. Anatomy of Melancholy, I, 14-15.

[3] A man of many words is not without sin.

[4] He gives twice who gives quickly. Rushworth I, 21 ff.

craft, that he sometimes went manifestly out of his way to get the needful sentiment. In December, 1621, in answer to a second petition sent him by Parliament, he replied: "We must begin here in the same fashion that we would have done, if the first petition had come to our hands before we made a stay thereof, which is to repeat the first words of the late Queen of famous memory, used by her, in an Answer to an insolent Proposition made by a Polonian Ambassador unto her; that is, Legatum expectabamus, Heraldum accipimus.[1]" If we cannot honor the king for political wisdom, we must admire the ingenuity with which he sought and found a solid Latin basis for his sentence period.

The son and heir of James I inherited none of his pride of learning, if one may judge from the use of Latin in the discourses of Charles I. ~~When~~ blessed King James, ~~died, it was said by an orator that~~ "it was said in 1640, "was taken from us to Heaven," Sol occubuit et nox nulla secuta est? Latin-quoting may have been the light referred to. Even the English letters, speeches, and proclamations of Charles I were short, and the use of classical sentences and phrases is very scanty. But he would he would have been a strange Englishman of that day had he been absolutely innocent of classical quotation. In 1616, as Prince of Wales, he went honorably attended to Oxford, and while there "was pleased, with his own handwriting, to matriculate himself of that University, Aug. 28, with this symbol or sentence: Si vis omnia subjicere, subjice te ratione."[3] In addressing Parliament in 1628, he used one Latin phrase and the following sentence to emphasize his demand for supplies: ~~Verbum sapienti satis est.~~[4] Duing his captivity in the hands of the Parliamentary army, he used to copy consolatory sentences in his books, his favorite motto being, as was mentioned above, Dum spiro spero.[5] His record, however, for Latin quotation and learned habits in general is not worthy of comparison with that of most of his great contemporaries.

Archbishop Laud was much addicted to the habit of Latin quoting,

[1] Rushworth, I, 46-7. We were expecting a messenger, here is a herald.
[3] If you wish to subdue all things, subdue yourself with reason. Walton's Lives, II, 172-3, foot-note. (Ed. 1817)
[2] The sun sank and the night came on. Rushworth, VIII, 129.
[4] A word to the wise is sufficient.
[5] See page [illegible].

and was fond of supplying his own immediate translation. In a speech in Star Chamber, June 16, 1637, at the censure of the stubborn Puritans, John Bastwick, Henry Burton, and William Prinn, he began by speaking of alleged innovations in the Church, and said: "I shall not need to speak of the infamous course of libelling in any kind,.. .nor how patiently some great men, very great men indeed, have borne animo civili (that's Suetonius's word) laceratam existimationem, the tearing and rending of their Credit and Reputation, with a gentle, nay, a generous mind." Seven years later he began, at his own trial, his speech of defense with a sentence from Seneca, and a copoius translation attached: "My Lords, my being in this place in this condition, recalls to my memory that which I long since read in Seneca: Tormentum est etiamsi absolutus quis fuerit, causam dixisse (~~6 de Benef. C. 28~~) 'Tis not a grief only, no; 'Tis no less than a torment for an ingenuous man to plead capitally, or criminally, though it should so fall out that he be absolved.'" Livy had been the Roman author to supply a passage for another noble Englishman on trial for malfeasance in high office. Lord Bacon, in his confession before the House of Lords, implored their leniency, and gave as an appeal the following sentiment: Neque minus firmata est Disciplina militaris periculo Quinti Maximi, quam miserabili supplicio Titi Manlii.[2]

Quotation sometimes fell so thick that the speaker had difficulty in making his way along, but the very sound of Latin carried a certain argumentative force which seemed to outweigh the confusion and discontinuity of reasoning. Sir Thomas Sackville, speaking in Commons in 1623 on the question of supplies, said: "Sure such a dulness must needs accuse us of much weakness, if it admit of no worse construction (bis dat, qui cito dat) freeness in giving graceth the gift: Dimidium facti qui bene coepit habet.[3] We have a long journey to go, and to set forward is half the way. How pressing the occasion is, my tongue faints to tell (vox faucibus haeret).[4] The

[1] Rushworth V, ~~775-8.~~ 776. ~~The reference to Seneca is probably Rushworth's.~~

[2] Military discipline was as much established by the trial of Quintus Maximus, as by the ~~miserable~~ severe punishment of Titus Manlius.

[3] Rushworth I, 30. He has half done who has made a good beginning.

[4] My voice sticks in my throught.

The Foxes have holes, the Birds of the air have nests, but the daughter of our king and kingdom scarce knows where to lay her head, or if she do, not where in safety." Sackville was urging immediate supplies for the proposed war with Spain, but, if his speech is correctly reported, he was using the best possible means to retard legislation.

The trained talent for happy rendering of Latin into English could easily be employed for witty mistranslation, as the following story will show. "On the 9th of December [1651] the Parliament ordered a bill to be brought in for the settling 2000l. on the wife[1] and children of Ireton, out of the lands belonging to George duke of Bucks, and on the 17th of the said month, his carcass being landed at Bristol, was pompously conveyed toward London, and lying in state for a time in Somerset-house in the Strand, all hung with black, there was hung over the common gate an atchievement commonly called a hatchment, with this motto under his arms depicted thereon Dulce et decorum pro patria mori,[2] which was englished by an honest cavalier thus, It is good for his country that he is dead."[3]

Latin was quoted most copiously in legal and political writings and speeches. The old laws of England being in Latin, and the works of Cicero and his countrymen containing the highest known political wisdom, the lawyer and the statesman had to have their quivers full of the sharp arrows of quotation. Interesting examples of legal Latin are found in the great trials held during the reign of Charles I: the trials of Hampden, Strafford, Laud, and Charles himself. For instance, in January 1649, when the King's trial was nearly over, he desired of the court that before sentence be pronounced he might be heard in the Painted Chamber, before the Lords and Commons. His motion was considered and answer made that the present court acted by the highest authority of the land, and that they were good words in the great Old Charter of England: Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus, Justitiam vel Rectum."[4]

---

[1] The daughter of Oliver Cromwell. Ireton died in Ireland.

[2] It is sweet and comely to die for one's fatherland.

[3] Wood, III, 300.

[4] We will deny to no man, we will sell to no man, we will surrender to no man, Justice, or Right. Rushworth ~~I, 528~~ VII, 1423.

The English love of law was manifested by ability not only to quote it, but also to find quotations in its praise. Sir Dudley Diggs in a speech at a conference of Commons and Lords, in 1628, made a eulogy on England's ancient laws, and exclaimed: "My good Lords, as the Poet said of Fame, I may say of our Common Law,

Ingrediturque solo, caput inter nubila condit."[1]

The commissioners sent from the Scotch Parliament to Charles I at Whitehall, March, 1640, had as spokesman Lord Loudon, who in his defense and petition for Scotland, gave the king a number of sharp legal reminders: e.g.: De minimis non curat Lex, Salus populi est suprema lex, Unusquisque est optimus interpres sui, Sublata causa tollitur effectus, Accessorium sequitur suum principale.[2] Charles's Declaration in reply contained no Latin; if the king's will was law, what need had he to rest on any other foundation?

That Latin-quoting was sometimes more than mere show, and had vital meaning for speaker and hearer, appears from the case of Sir John Elliot. In his speech in the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham, he handled Latin freely, and in one place said: "I end this passage,[3] as Cicero did in a like case, Ne gravioribus utar verbis quam rei natura fert, aut levioribus quam causae necessitas postulabat."[4] Further on he declared of the Duke: "I can hardly find him a match in all Presidents; none so like him as Sejanus, who is thus described by Tacitus, Audax, sui obtegens, in alios criminator, juxta adulator et superbus."[5] Elliot's speech was the epilogue in the impeachment, and both he and Sir Dudley Diggs, who uttered the prologue, were committed to the Tower. Their Latin had had effect. For, not long after, Sir John was taken from the Tower, and summoned to the House, "where the Vice-chamberlain, Sir Dudley Charlton, charged him for saying in his speech that man, in speaking of the Duke;

---

[1] It walks on the earth but hides its head in the clouds. Rushworth I, 528.

[2] Law takes no note of particulars, the safety of the people is the supreme law, Every one is the best interpreter of his own words, Removal of the cause removes the effect, An accessory follows its principal.

[3] A severe one.

[4] I may not use harshed words than the nature of the case permits, ~~demands~~, nor milder words than the necessity of the case requires.

[5] Daring, exonerating himself, assailing another, equally flattering and haughty.

which phrase in all languages is accounted a great indignity to persons of honour; that he made scandalous comparisons between the Duke and Sejanus;.... that he brake off ambiguously and abruptly with a sentence of Cicero, as if something else might be which was not discovered." Latin was not always mere cant and display, but might, as in this case, be the most telling and dangerous part of an argument or invective.[1]

[1] Rushworth I, 355-62.

Conclusion

1. Honored place of Latin. {
2. Occupies much of attention, defining matters of fact & truth ~~[illegible]~~ investigation
3. Relation development of English prose.
4. Appreciation of Latin essential to enter in to the history & literature of the time.

Conclusion.

The main conclusions to which the preceding chapters point may well be summed up and emphasized in this @@ final chapter.

England of the seventeenth century was overgrown and overshadowed with the language and ideas of ancient Rome. The ambitious young Englishmen who every year entered the universities to rival one another in intellectual exercises and honorable pursuits found classical learning the one field of @@@@ their eager encounter. The high places in church and state, the positions at the right hand of the king, were to be won by learning, the learning which had a more specific meaning than it has now. To read and quote Latin aptly and copiously, as did the facetious Robert Burton and the sober Archbishop Laud, was a necessary and splendid accomplishment, but the greatest thing of all was to have original, first-hand power over the imperial language of Cicero. Out of the honor and dignity which attached to it, the ancient tongue gave rise to a vast production of Latin literature in the land of Englishmen.

Latin, in a literal sense, was a living and potent language. In the amount of attention and training directly received, it enjoyed advantages infinitely superior to those of the humble vernacular. In almost every department of human activity, it shared with English the burden of communication, and in a few special services it alone was acknowledged to be worthy of employment. Its superior virtue as an instrument of expression attracted the genius of the greatest thinkers and philosophers; and even those who stuck to their native English adopted portions of the Latin idiom and vocabulary to reinforce and dignify a weak, unhonored tongue. Apart from inherent worth, the ancient language held the exceeding great advantage @@ of a wider, more intellectual, and more honorable audience. @@@ Its eternal vitality was supposed to impart life and power to every thing it touched.

English prose suffered in its development, both from close rivalry with Latin and from the false belief that its constitution and character, naturally defective, needed support from the great and time-honored foreign idiom. Instead of cultivating the native genius of English prose as English poetry had been cultivated, the best wri-

ters of the time, under the influence of the schools, under the pressure of national custom and tradition, wrote strange and monstrous English sentences, being as proud to transplant the Latin period in England as Horace was to bring the Greek metres into Rome. All the efforts of Milton's admirers have failed and will forever fail to make his prose permanently attractive to readers who love the simplicity and straightforwardness of genuine, idiomatic English. If he had fostered the native qualities of English prose as he did of poetry, his controversial tracts, with all their high-minded wisdom and passionate logic, would excel Paradise Lost in appeal to modern readers.

Latin, by its engrossing claims, must bear also the accusation of having debarred the mind of Englishmen from many other worthy pursuits. Investigation in scientific fields was shorn of its best energy by the exactions of a language which boasted to be itself the most deserving object of attention, and which at the very least demanded to be the voice of all science and philosophy. Inquiry into matters of religion, or politics, or mathematics, or natural philosophy, always ran the risk of being checked or utterly defeated by the interposition of linguistic controversy. Two notable instances of this circumstance we found in the disputes between Milton and Salmasius on questions of state, between Hobbes and Wallis on questions of mathematics. Even quiet, philosophical minds like these, subject as they were to formal customs and traditions, sometimes turned from the pursuit of truth, which makes free, to quarrels about the letter, which kills.

Intercourse of man with man, which should on familiar occasions be easy and cordial, was often clothed in the unnatural dignity of a stately foreign language. The oppressive reign of Latin over the minds of young men in the universities, together with the prevailing severity of religious doctrine, imparted a manner of thought and expression the very opposite of simple and charming. The correspondence of the period furnishes a marked example of such monotonous formality. The Familiar Letters of Milton, like assigned exercises in the schools, unfold little or nothing of his private and

domestic views; with all their rhetorical eloquence they are, as private letters of a great man whose life we would know, more barren than his public tracts and controversies, more disappointing than any other collection of letters called familiar. Among seventeenth century Englishmen, of Milton's day, even when Latin was not the language of correspondence it was required to furnish quotations and allusions, and to lend idiom and style to grammar and sentence. Almost the only notable productions of the period possessing literary ease and simplicity, were the songs of the cavalier poets and parts of Walton's Compleat Angler.

The door to English literature and history of the seventeenth century is open wide only to those who are at ease in the presence of Latin. Many writings and events of the time may doubtless be understood and enjoyed by readers ignorant of the classics, but to them the heart and spirit of the period as a whole will hardly be revealed. Poetry, philosophy, history, biography, controversy, sermons, statepapers, correspondence, even conversation, -- all have come down to us from the age of Milton either written in or so touched with Latin that one is compelled to enter seventeenth century England by way of Rome as Rome must be entered by way of Athens.

pub. by
and Thomas Wright. 2 vols. Henry G. Bohn. London: 1854.

Hobbes, Thomas. Leviathan. London: George Routledge and Sons. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.

Hobbes, Thomas. English Works. Ed. by Sir William Molesworth. John Bohn. London: 1840.

Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare--Gesellshaft. Vierunddreissigster Jahrgang. Weimar: 1898.

Johnston, William. The Bibliography and Portraits of Arthur Johnston. ~~Aberdeen,~~ Aberdeen: University Press, 1896.

Laudian Code of Oxford Statutes. Ed. by ~~John~~ John Griffiths, Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1888.

Lyte, H. C. Maxwell. A History of Eton College. Macmillan and Co. London: 1875

Mark, H. T. Educational Theories in England. C. W. Bardeen. Syracuse, N. Y. 1899.

Marston, R. B. Walton and Some Earlier Writers on Fish and Fishing. A. C. Arstrong and Son. New York.

Masson, David. Life and Times of John Milton. 6 vols.

Milton, John. Of Education, Areopagitica, and the Commonwealth, Ed. by Laura E. Lockwood. Houghton, Mifflin Co.: 1911.

Milton, ~~s Prose Works~~. John ~~The~~ Prose Works. ~~of John Milton~~ Ed. by J. A. St. John. (Bohn's Libraries). 5 vols.

Milton, John. ~~Treatate on Education.~~ Poetical Works. Ed. by David Masson. 3 vols. The Macmillan Co. 1890.

~~Molesworth. The English Works of Thomas Hobbes, Ed. by Sir William Molesworth. John Bohn. London: 1840.~~

Monroe, Paul. A Text-Book in the History of Education. The Macmillan Co. New York: 1907.

Park, Thomas. Harleian Miscellany. Ed. by Thomas Park. 10vols. London: 1813.

Pettigrew, Thomas Joseph. Chronicles of the Tombs. Bell and Daldy. London: 1864.

Robertson, George Croom. Hobbes. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London: 1905.

Rushworth, John. Historical Collections. 8vols. London: 1721.

Ryves, Bruno. Mercurius Rusticus. (Containing also John Barwick's Querela Cantabrigiensis.) Oxford: 1646.

Walton, Izaak. Lives. Ed. by Thomas Zouch. 2vols. York: 1817.

Walton's Lives. George P. Putnam. New York: 1852.

Ward, A. W. A History of the English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen ~~Anne.~~ Anne. 3vols. Macmillan and Co. 1899.

Willis, R., M. D. William Harvey. C. Kegan Paul and Co. London: 1878.

Wright, Thomas. (See Heywood.)

Wood, Anthony A. ~~Fasti~~ Athenae Oxonienses. Ed. by Philip Bliss. 5vols. London: 1813.

~~(Published as vol. 3 of Athenae Oxonienses.)~~

Bibliography.

(Not all the works read and consulted, but chiefly ~~only~~ those specifically referred to in foot-notes, are given in the following list.)

Arber, Edward. A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London. ~~1554-1640~~. 5 Vols. London: 1875.

Bacon, Francis. ~~The~~ Works. ~~&c~~ Ed. by Spedding, Ellis, and Heath. 7 Vols. London: 1857-9.

Baillie, Robert. Letters and Journals. Ed. by David Lang, Esq. 3 Vols. Edinburgh: 1841.

Bowes, Robert. A Catalogue of Books Printed at or Relating to the University Town and County of Cambridge, from 1521 to 1893, with Bibliographical and Biographical Notes. Cambridge: 1894.

Burton, Robert. Anatomy of Melancholy. Pub. by W. J. Middleton. 3 Vols. New York: 1871.

Clarendon's History of the Great Rebellion

Cooper, Charles Henry. Annals of Cambridge. 5 Vols. Cambridge: 1842-52.

Cox, Robert. The Literature of the Sabbath Question. 2 Vols. Edinburgh: 1865.

Dictionary of National Biography.

Disraeli, Isaac. The Calamities and Quarrels of Authors. Routledge, Warnes, and Routledge. London: 1859.

Drax, Thos. Calliopeia, or a Rich Store-House of Elegant Latin Words and Phrases, etc. Dublin: 1612.

Earle, John. English Prose. G. Putnam's Sons. New York: 1891.

Emerson, O. W. History of the English Language. The Macmillan Co. New York: 1907.

Encyclopedia Britannica, XI Edition.

Evelyn, John. Diary.

Fuller, Thos. The Church History of Britain. Ed. by Rev. J. S. Brewer 6 Vols. Oxford, University Press: 1845.

Fuller, Thos. The Church History of Britain. Ed. by James Nichols. ~~Oxford University Press.~~ 3 Vols. London: 1868.

Fuller, Thos. History of the University of Cambridge. Ed. by James ~~Oxford University Press.~~ Nichols, London: 1840.

Fuller, Thos. History of the Worthies of England. Ed. by P. Austin ~~Oxford University Press.~~ Nuttall. 3 vols. London: 1840.

Fuller, Thomas. Ephemeris Parliamentaria. London: 1654.

Heywood, James. Cambridge University Transactions, during Puritan Controversies of 16th and 17th Centuries. Collected by James Heywood

Fasti

Wood, Anthony A. ~~Athenae~~ Oxienses. Ed. by Philip Bliss. ~~4vols. London:~~ (Pub. as ~~Vol. IV~~ Vol. V of Athenae Oxonienses)

Wotton, Sir Henry. Letters and Dispatches of Sir Henry Wotton to James I and his ministers, MDCXVII-XX. Printed by William Nichol. London: 1850.

Wotton, Sir Henry. Life and Letters. By Logan Pearsall Smith. 2vols. Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1907.

Wotton, Sir Henry. Reliquiae Wottonianae. ~~(for translation of Panegyric)~~ London: 1651.