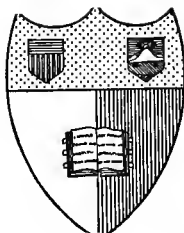


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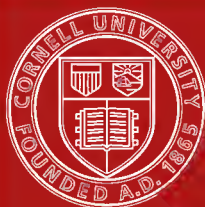
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# SAMUEL HARTLIB

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND

HIS RELATIONS TO

J. A. COMENIUS

BY

G. H. TURNBULL, M.A., PH.D.

LECTURER IN EDUCATION IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

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KVAČALA, J., Analecta Comeniana, Jurjev 1909, has also been used, but quotations have in all cases been made from the larger collections where the same material appears *in extenso*.

To the following I am greatly indebted for help and assistance in the preparation of this work : Prof. Dr. P. Simson, Danzig ; Prof. Dr. Neubaur, Elbing ; Supt. Burg, Elbing ; Dr. Gronau, Königliches Gymnasium, Elbing ; Prof. Dr. v. Bezold, Bonn ; Dr. W. Begemann, Berlin. Also to the authorities of the Königliches Staatsarchiv, Danzig, of the University Libraries at Bonn, Berlin, and Prag, and of the British Museum.

# SAMUEL HARTLIB

## INTRODUCTION.

OF the family from which Samuel Hartlib was descended, little is known beyond the following account, which he himself gives in a letter <sup>1</sup> to John Worthington, dated August 3, 1660 : ‘ My father was a merchant, but no ordinary one, being the K[ing] of Poland his merchant ; who hath founded a church at Pomania <sup>2</sup> in Poland ; and when the jesuits prevailed in that kingdom, he was fain to remove himself into Prussia, where he came to Elbing, where not any house of credit was yet built. But he with another patritius of Breslaw in Silesia built two stately houses, which are yet standing at Elbing, being the principal houses of the town ; the building whereof cost my father many thousands of rixdollers in those cheap days. Immediately after he erected there Niumfirbing, my grandfather the deputy of the English company at Dantzigh bringing the English company to Elbing ; and so that town by trading came to that splendor and wealth, wherein it hath continued these many years.

‘ My father had married before two Polonian gentlewomen of a noble extraction, both of them being ladies according to the fashions in those countries ; in regard of which he obtained the sooner his third wife my own mother. How many summs of gold, and erecting of pillars of honour, both to my grandfather and father, were offered both by Dantzigh and Elbing, remains yet in the memory of some very old people in Prussia.

<sup>1</sup> *Additional MSS.* British Museum, 6269, ff. 29-30 ; cf. H. Dircks, *A biographical memoir of Samuel Hartlib*, Lond. 1865, p. 2 ff., and White Kennet, *A register and chronicle ecclesiastical and civil*, Lond. 1728, pp. 868-9.

<sup>2</sup> Posnania (White Kennet).

‘ My mother had two sisters, both which were very honourably married ; one to a lord maior’s son at London, Mr. Clark, and afterward to a very rich Kt. Sir Rich<sup>d</sup>. Smith, one of the king’s privy counsell ; she bringing a portion to him of £10000 sterling. This is my aunt, the lady Smith ; who marrying afterwards to Sir Edw. Savage, was made one of the ladies of honour to our king’s mother.<sup>1</sup> The other sister was married to a younger brother, Mr. Peak ; whose son hath now an estate of £300 sterl. of land of inheritance yearly, and who is still alive. Our cousin german, or my aunt’s the lady Smith’s daughter, was married to Sir Anthony Irby at Boston, a Kt. of £4 or 5000 sterl. a year ; who is still alive, and a parliament man.

‘ But before all this I should have told you, that I have been upbrayded for my too much negligence of my pedigree ; whereas they told me, that my family was of a very ancient extraction in the German empire ; there having been ten brethren of the name of Hartlib. Some of them have been privy-counsellors to the emperour, some to other inferiour princes ; some syndicks of Auspurg and Norimberg. But they passed afterwards not so strictly for *vedallanta*<sup>2</sup> in the empire, when some turned merchants ; which (you know) is derogatory to the German nobility.

‘ I may speak it with a safe conscience, that I never all the dayes of my life reflected seriously upon my pedigree ; preferring my heavenly birth above all such vanities, and afterwards studying more to this very day to be usefull to God’s creatures, and serviceable to his church, then to be rich or honourable.’

Many clues to the solution of the problem of Hartlib’s family are given in this interesting account ; yet the additional information gained by following them up is very scanty indeed. On March 7, 1577, Stephan Bathori, who had become King of Poland in 1576, punished the town of Danzig, which had refused to recognise him, by forbidding all trade with the town, by removing the market to Thorn and Elbing, and by granting these two towns free trade. As a result of this, Elbing granted commercial privileges in 1580 to an English company, the ‘ Fellowship of Eastland merchants.’ The great increase of trade brought

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Henrietta of France, mother of Charles II.

<sup>2</sup> Udallanta (White Kennet) ; Fr. Althaus, *Samuel Hartlib ; ein deutsch-englisches Charakterbild, Historisches Taschenbuch*, Lpz. 1884, p. 193, n. 2, suggests ‘ Edelleute ’ (nobility), which is obviously correct.



wealth to the town, but the people of Danzig viewed the rising prosperity of Elbing with great jealousy, and finally succeeded, in 1628, in inducing Poland to take away the privileges granted to the merchants.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the English merchants at Danzig in those days seem to have had no official organisation, the Council doing its utmost to prevent this ; it seems, therefore, impossible to glean information regarding the deputies from any material in the town archives. Moreover, the Fellowship of Eastland merchants, or the Baltic company, as it was also called, did not remove from Danzig to Elbing, but was founded in Elbing directly from England.<sup>2</sup> In 1633 a Zacharias Hartlieb, merchant, was indeed admitted citizen of Danzig, and this is apparently the first trace of the Hartlib family in the Danzig citizen-lists<sup>3</sup>; the identity of Hartlieb's grandfather remains, nevertheless, still an unsolved mystery.

Efforts to shed light upon the subject from English sources are confronted by similar difficulties. Clark, the Lord Mayor of London referred to by Hartlib, I have been unable to trace. Sir Richard Smith, of Kent, was the fourth son of Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Smith, of Ostenhanger, Kent ; by his third wife, whom he cannot have married before 1601, the date of the birth of a daughter by his second wife, he had a daughter Margaret,<sup>4</sup> who became the second wife of Sir Anthony Irby, M.P. for Boston, and died without issue.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, in neither reference is the name of this third wife of Sir Richard Smith, who is obviously Hartlib's aunt, given. No definite information has resulted from trying to trace Sir Edward Savage, whilst I have been unable to find the Mr. Peak referred to.

The facts of Hartlieb's grandfather being deputy of a company of English merchants, and of the English marriages of his two daughters, besides Hartlieb's own relations to England, all point

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Rhode, *Der Elbinger Kreis*, 3 pts. Danzig 1869-71, pp. 63-5, 263-5 ; cf. M. G. Fuchs, *Beschreibung der Stadt Elbing*, etc., 3 vols., Elbing 1818-32, ii. 279-80.

<sup>2</sup> Information from Prof. Dr. P. Simson, Danzig ; cf. *Inventare Hansischer Archive des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. iii, Danzig, 1531-91, by Paul Simson, München and Leipzig 1913, Nos. 8705, 8814, 8862, 8939, 8952, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Information from the Königliches Staatsarchiv, Danzig.

<sup>4</sup> *Add. MSS.* 5520, ff. 44-5 ; cf. W. Berry, *County Genealogies. Pedigrees of the Families in the County of Kent*, etc., Lond. 1830, pp. 250-1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Burke's *Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage*, Lond. 1913 ed., Art. Boston, p. 271

to Hartlib's mother having been an English woman, as Althaus<sup>1</sup> notes; it is not, of course, absolutely certain that such was the case.

Exceedingly little, too, is known of Hartlib's early life. His birthplace was probably Elbing, for John Dury writes to him<sup>2</sup>: 'my second employment was at Elbing, where I wanted nothing that could be desired, as you wel know, neither love, nor respect, nor subsistence'; and Kinner informs Hartlib<sup>3</sup> that his *Diatyposeos Didacticae* 'excusa hîc est Elbingae, in patriâ tuâ.'

The exact date of his birth remains still unknown. The town records of Elbing contain no register of baptisms for the period required,<sup>4</sup> and in the registers of the St. Marien, Heilige Drei Könige, and St. Annen<sup>5</sup> churches at Elbing there is no record of Hartlib's baptism.<sup>6</sup> Althaus<sup>7</sup> assumes that he was born at the end of the sixteenth century, which is very probable, especially if he was a student at Königsberg in 1614.<sup>8</sup>

Another matter of the greatest difficulty is the problem as to where Hartlib received his education. The list of scholars of the Königliches Gymnasium, Elbing, does not contain his name.<sup>9</sup> Alfred Stern<sup>10</sup> without justification refers to Samuel Hartlib the following notice out of a manuscript in the Elbing archives, belonging to the end of the eighteenth century, and containing biographical notes on famous natives: 'George Hartlib; he studied in Heidelberg and lived afterwards in Elbing; but went, by what accident I do not know, to England, and died there, whether in or out of employment I do not know, in 1660,

<sup>1</sup> p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *The Unchanged . . . Peacemaker; . . . or, a vindication of Mr. J. Dury*, etc., Lond. 1650, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Sloane MSS.*, British Museum, 649, f. 14; cf. J. Kvačala, *Die pädagogische Reform des Comenius in Deutschland bis zum Ausgange des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. ('*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*,' vols. xxvi. and xxxii.), Berl. 1903-4, i. 214.

<sup>4</sup> Information from Prof. Dr. Neubaur, Elbing.

<sup>5</sup> The books of this church do not begin until 1619.

<sup>6</sup> Information from Superintendent Burg, Elbing.

<sup>7</sup> p. 195.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Information from Dr. Gronau; interesting are two entries in the registers: '1598. Georgius Hartlib ex classe VII. 1599. Zacharias Hartlieb Elbing (with the remark, "mercaturae adhibitus") class III.' Of George Hartlib more anon. This Zacharias is probably the Zacharias Hartlieb already mentioned, *supra*, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Milton und seine Zeit*, Pt. I., Bk. II., Lpz. 1877, note to p. 266.

as Zamehl<sup>1</sup> p. 169 relates.' The matriculation lists<sup>2</sup> of Heidelberg University contain the following entries :

'Matriculation. Georgius Hartlieb, Elbingensis Borussus, 14 Sept. 1612.'

'Matricula studiosorum theologiae :—

'Georgius Hartlibius, Elwigensis Borussus, 20 Sept. 1613.

'Georgius Hartlibius, Elbingensis Borussus, 27 May, 1616.

'Georgius Hartliebicus, Elbingensis Borussus, 2 June, 1619.

'Georgius Hartlibius, Elbingâ-Borussus, 9 May, 1620.'

This George Hartlib is perhaps the one mentioned in the registers of the Elbing Gymnasium<sup>3</sup>; at all events he is probably Samuel Hartlib's brother, of whom more will be said later.

Twice<sup>4</sup> Hartlib speaks of 'when I was at the University of Cambridge many years ago.' This must refer to some visit; it cannot mean that he studied there, for the matriculation lists<sup>5</sup> do not contain his name. The matriculation lists<sup>6</sup> of the University of Königsberg in Prussia contain the following entry, under the heading 'Summer-term, 1614, August 5th':—

'Samuel Gartelieb, Elbingensis Borussus. 10 gr.'

The remarkable similarity of the name with that of Hartlieb, one of the many ways in which Hartlib's name was written, coupled with the Christian name 'Samuel,' and the description, 'Elbingensis Borussus,' makes me incline to the view that our Samuel Hartlib is here meant.<sup>7</sup> If that is so, Hartlib was probably born within the last four years of the sixteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Stern seems not to know this writer; either Gottfried Zamel's *Commentarius de rei literariae scholarumque illustrium in Borussia incrementis*, 1662, or Karl Theodor Zamel's *Zeitregister*, 1691, is meant, probably the latter; according to information from Prof. Dr. Neubaur, the notice is not in the copy of Zamel preserved in the Elbing archives.

<sup>2</sup> G. Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, 6 vols., Heidelberg 1884–1907, ii. 261, 564, 567, 569, 571.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 4, note 9.

<sup>4</sup> See Hartlib's preface to *The earnest breathings of forreign Protestants . . . for a compleat body of practicall Divinity*, etc., Lond. 1658; cf. his preface to *J. Dury's An earnest Plea for Gospel Communion*, etc., Lond. 1654.

<sup>5</sup> J. and J. A. Venn, *University of Cambridge. Book of Matriculations and Degrees*, 1544–1659, Camb. 1913.

<sup>6</sup> G. Erler, *Die Matrikel der Universität Königsberg i. Pr.*, Band I., Heft I., Lpz. 1908, p. 214. The name occurs amongst those with the remark, 'Hi 11 minorenes nondum iurarunt, sed stipulata manu obedientiam promiserunt.'

<sup>7</sup> The authorities of the University of Königsberg inform me that the name in the original is distinctly 'Gartelieb.' It still remains quite possible, however, that Hartlib is meant; the Russians, for instance, as Prof. Dr. V. Bezold informs me, are in the habit of writing G for H, e.g. Galstuch for Halstuch.

## HARTLIB IN ENGLAND.

THE year 1628 has long been accepted as the earliest known date of Hartlib's residence in England, on the authority of his own statement in a letter<sup>1</sup> dated August 5, 1644, to Hezekiah Woodward, in which he says: 'Sir, your freedom of judgement hath not deceived me this 16 yeares in other matters of highest concernement.' Further proof is now available in two letters from Joseph Webb to Hartlib, dated September 1, 1628,<sup>2</sup> and December 13, 1628,<sup>3</sup> respectively.

Moreover, Hartlib was married early in 1629 at St. Dionis Backchurch, London; the entry<sup>4</sup> reads:

'1628 $\frac{8}{9}$ , Jan. 20. Samuel Hartlib & Marie Burningham<sup>5</sup>: by lic.'

It is evident, therefore, that he was in London in 1628; it is, of course, by no means certain that he did not arrive in England until that year; on the contrary, it is quite possible that he was there before then, though as yet no proof to that effect is available.

At this early period Hartlib seems to have resided at different places. The first of Webb's letters just referred to, that of September 1, 1628, is addressed 'To his very worthy and much esteemed Mr. Samuel Hartlieb at Mr. Franklins<sup>6</sup> a merchant neere Dukes place in London,' whilst that of December 13, 1628, was sent 'To my worthy freind Mr. Hartliebe at his lodginge

<sup>1</sup> *A short letter . . . intreating a Friends judgement upon Mr. Edwards his Booke, he calleth an Anti-Apologie . . .*, &c., Lond. 1644, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 1466, ff. 301-2; cf. Kvačala's *Pädagogische Reform*, i. 7-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 1466, ff. 377-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Registers of St. Dionis Backchurch*, London, 1538-1754. Harleian Soc. Publications, *Registers*, vol. iii., Lond. 1878, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> I have been unable to trace her; the name Burningham seems to indicate that she was English.

<sup>6</sup> This would seem to indicate perhaps that Hartlib had just come over to England.

in Christchurch lane.' Another letter,<sup>1</sup> from William Brooke, dated May 1,<sup>2</sup> is addressed 'To his much respected freind Mr. Hartlib at Dalston neere Kingsland.'<sup>3</sup> It may be that, at the time of this letter, he was just married, and that this house at Dalston was his first home in England.

The exact nature of the business which brought Hartlib over to England, and of the position he occupied in London, is exceedingly difficult to determine. Sir Thomas Roe's papers, dealing with his embassy to Germany in 1628, would no doubt do much to shed light on the subject. Unfortunately, nothing seems to be known of them since they were in the possession of Samuel Richardson, the novelist, at whose instigation some of Roe's other papers were published in 1730.<sup>4</sup> The assumption<sup>5</sup> that his journey to England was occasioned by the withdrawal, in 1628, of the privileges granted to the English merchants in Elbing is no more than possible, for it is well known that many of the English merchants remained in the town after that date.<sup>6</sup> Evelyn in his diary, states<sup>7</sup> that 'Mr. Hartlib was, I think, a Lithuanian, who, coming for refuge hither to avoid the persecution in his country, with much industry recommended himself to many charitable persons, and among the rest to Mr. Boyle, by communicating to them many secrets in chemistry, and improvements of agriculture, and other useful novelties by his general correspondence abroad; of which he has published several treatises'; in view, however, of Evelyn's unreliability in his statements concerning Hartlib, this notice is of very doubtful value. John Ward, in the miscellaneous collections relating to Gresham College,<sup>8</sup> refers to him as 'a private gentleman, who

<sup>1</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 1466, ff. 396, 397, 402.

<sup>2</sup> No year is given, but, as the letter deals with Webb's schemes, it may be concluded that it was written at this period, probably in 1629.

<sup>3</sup> 'Kingsland, Middlesex, a hamlet, partly in the parish of Hackney, and partly in that of Islington . . . two miles from London . . . one of the immediate suburbs of London' (see B. Clarke, *British Gazetteer*, 3 vols., Lond. 1852, ii. 625). Dalston lies about half a mile E. of Kingsland (cf. Map of Middlesex, Clarke, iii, facing p. 71).

<sup>4</sup> *Add. MSS.* 4168-4172 are five volumes of Roe's negotiations and embassies, 1638-41, published in 1730; 4168, f. 21 states: 'N.B. The Originals may be seen by the Curious at Samuel Richardson's, in Salisbury-Court, Fleet Street.'

<sup>5</sup> *Althaus*, p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> *Rhode*, p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> W. Bray, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, 4 vols., Lond. 1850-2, iii. 391.

<sup>8</sup> *Add. MSS.* 6194, f. 264.

lived at Westminster.' Masson<sup>1</sup> comes to the conclusion that Hartlib came over on the understanding of being an agent or missionary amongst the English on behalf of Dury's scheme for the union of all the Protestant churches of Europe. To Althaus,<sup>2</sup> on the other hand, this appears more than doubtful; he denies that a close personal relationship existed in 1628 between the two men, and ascribes their co-operation to a later date.

According to Rhode,<sup>3</sup> Dury was minister at Elbing between the years 1625 and 1630. That Hartlib was very well acquainted with him even before 1628 is certain, for Hartlib himself wrote,<sup>4</sup> on May 31, 1650, concerning Dury: 'I am called upon, as you will see by the following Letter, to testifie my knowledge concerning a most dear and precious freind, which in Conscience, I think my self every way bound to do, seeing I have been acquainted with him these 23 years, and with all his Publick Proceedings so intimately, that to be a Co-agent with him therein according to my ability, was one of my principal studies'; whilst Dury wrote to Hartlib,<sup>5</sup> 'There is no man in this Nation, to whom all my wayes and counsels have been so fully known as to your self ever since the year 1627.' On the other hand, it appears equally certain that Dury was first filled with the idea of effecting a reconciliation of Protestants in 1628, the stimulus coming from Dr. Godeman, one of the King of Sweden's Privy Councillors.<sup>6</sup> Hartlib undoubtedly favoured the scheme, and aided Dury in every way possible; the latter, for instance, writes to Roe,<sup>7</sup> begging him 'to help Mr. Hartlib with a petition of Divines of those quarters concerning an edition of a Body of Practical Divinity, gathered out of English authors; a work which will be exceeding profitable, but will require divers agents and an exact ordering of the work.' In a later letter to Roe,<sup>8</sup> Dury suggested that 'he (Dury) should settle in a quiet manner in some convenient place, and by private letters gather

<sup>1</sup> D. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, 7 vols., Lond. 1859-94, iii. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 197-8.

<sup>3</sup> p. 383.

<sup>4</sup> *The Unchanged . . . Peacemaker*; see the preface, 'To the Reader.'

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *A briefe Relation of that which hath been lately attempted to procure Ecclesiasticall Peace amongst Protestants*, Lond. 1641, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series; see April  $\frac{20}{15}$ , 1633, Heilbron.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* Aug.  $\frac{20}{30}$ , 1635, The Hague.

all the advices and consents of the best divines of the age, and by the benefit of printing communicate them to all parties, which he trusted would, in due time, and by the grace of God, breed the effect of true Christian and Evangelical unity. He also suggested the entertaining an agent or two to attend to the work, and recommended Mr. Hartlib for one, whom he described as a man well known, beloved, and trusted by all sides, a man exceeding painful, diligent, and cordially affected to these endeavours and one that for such works had lost himself, by too much charity being cast away. In case the match proceeded between the Princess Palatine and Poland, wishes Hartlib provided with some place suitable for his abilities, which might rid him of the undeserved necessities, whereunto his public heartedness had brought him. Dury speaks of him as furnished with the Polish, Dutch, English and Latin languages, perfectly honest and trusty, discreet, and well versed in affairs, and most eminently deserving of all the exiled Palatines; whose relief is a great cause of his low estate.' So too in another letter <sup>1</sup>; 'Next to Sir Thomas he <sup>2</sup> is the man in the world whom Dury loves and honours most for his virtues and good offices in Dury's cause. Prays God to free Hartlib from his straits, and set him a little on horseback. His spirit is so large that it has lost itself in zeal to good things'; and again,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hartlib 'has furnished his lordship <sup>4</sup> with intelligence from foreign parts for two or three years and has not yet got any consideration. Perhaps his lordship knows not how Hartlib has fallen to decay for being too charitable to poor scholars, and for undertaking too freely the work of schooling and education of children. If Hartlib and Roe were not in England, Dury would despair of doing any good, and would bethink himself of some way to prosecute his purpose without any great relation to it.' Finally, Roe, in a letter <sup>5</sup> to Bishop Morton of Durham, describes Hartlib as 'correspondent of Dury, an excellent man and of the same spirit.'

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Dec 7, 1635, Amsterdam.*

<sup>2</sup> Sc. Hartlib.

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers, Dom. Series, Jan. 25, 1635-6, Amsterdam.*  
Feb. 4

<sup>4</sup> The Bishop of London.

<sup>5</sup> *State Papers, Dom. Series, Feb. 17, 1637-8, St. Martin's Lane*

Dury's plans were not confined solely to effecting a reconciliation amongst Protestants. A most interesting document<sup>1</sup> is 'The Purpose and Platforme of my Journy into Germany,' which sheds so much light on the schemes of Dury and Hartlib, that it is reproduced here in full. 'By the Gracious assistance of God I intend, in passing through the chiefe places of Prussia and Germany, to lay a ground, and settle a way of Correspondency betwixt us and the reformed Divines of Germany; that wee and they may be able to communicate in all spirituall things, but chiefly in our Counsells and meditations, for the advancement of Peace in the Churches, and for the building up of one another, in the power and trueth of Godlines. To bring this to passe with Gods permission, I purpose to passe through the chiefe places of both the Vicariats of Germany; for from Prussia I resolve to travell to Pomerania, from thence to the Marck and Brandenburg; from thence to Misnia, and the Lutheran Universities; from thence to Hassia; from thence by some of the Hans-Townes into Holland, and from Holland hither. In which places I will endeavour to negotiat with the chiefe divines and men of Authority (to whom I have already an open dore of addresse, and whom it is needlesse here to nominate) to this effect, that a League and promise may be made betwixt us and them, to bind us mutually, to joyne in Prayers, and meditations, to conferre together in Counsells and deliberations, to helpe in meanes and endeavours, to further the Worke of Christian peace and Ecclesiasticall Unity, betwixt us and Lutherans. Now that this League may bee effectuall, I will labour three things, (1) to bind them to us and amongst themselves by expresse promise and subscription to joyne in this project. (2) to settle a way of Correspondency betwixt us and them wherby their thoughts and ours, may be collected and imparted each to other, safely without miscarrying. (3) to moove the heads of the Protestants with whom I will deale to entertaine three agents for this worke. The one is to be entertained by the Chancellour and King of Sweden. The other by the Marquesse of Brandenburg, and the third by the Landgraef of Hassia; whose worke shall be this: (1) to act the rest of the Divines in Germany,

<sup>1</sup> *Sloane MSS*, 654, ff. 247-9; cf. J. Kvačala, *Spisy Jana Amosa Komenského*. Číslo 5. *Korrespondence Jana Amosa Komenského*, ii. Prag 1902, pp. 5-7. who ascribes it to Dury, and dates it London, 1631.



to set them so many as are fitt, upon this worke. (2) to gather from them that labour severally in it, the fruit of the meditations, to bring it into the common stocke. (3) to give from time to time notice and intelligence unto us, how things passe, what the chief letts and Impediments are, which may stoppe our worke of Pacification, or in generall hinder the Course of the Gospell. (4) What helps are requisite, or may be made use of in all respects of persons, of books, of MS.

‘ This is my cheefe and maine purpose. But by the Bye, I am resolved as tyme and leisure shall permitt, to gather, to elaborat, and to observe severall things of great profit.

‘ Things to be gathered : (1) All rare Bookes, (2) All Inventions, and Feats of Practise in all Sciences. For bookes I will not only Cataloguize them, to know their Title and Contents, in what Language soever they bee, but also will see out how, and where they may bee purchased and chiefly, I will lay hold of MS. that we may have either the Autographon, or the Copy of them.

‘ For Inventions and Industries, I will seeke for such chiefly as may advance learning and good manners in the Universities, Schooles, and Commonweales ; next for such as may bee profitable to the health of the body, to the Preservation and Encrease of wealth by trades and mechanicall Industries, either by sea or Land ; either in Peace or Warre.

‘ Things to be elaborated are these : (1) A Tractat of Peace, (2) A Platforme of Correspondency.

‘ For a Tractat of Peace I intend in mine ordinary studie, to eclogate and epitomize out of all authors who in severall language have written concerning meanes of ecclesiasticall Pacification ; that which already is perfected to our hand, that we may know what yet remaineth undone, and necessary to bee taken in hand by us, for our present Estate.

‘ For a Platforme of Correspondency I intend to describe it after I have observed all Circumstances and meanes requisite for it.

‘ Things to be observed are these :

‘ 1. The proceedings and Intentions of the Reformators whom this latter time hath brought forth in Germany ; that wee may [have] the thinges wherin they are thought to excell former ages and other societies, which are these :

‘ 1. Some Extraordinary meanes to perfeite the knowledge and unvaile the mysteryes of the Prophetick scriptures.

‘ 2. Meanes to perfeite the knowledge of the Orientall tongues, and to gaine abilities fitt to deale with the Jewes, whose calling is supposed to bee neere at hand.

‘ 3. Arts and Sciences Philosophicall, Chymicall and Mechanicall; whereby not only the Secrets of Disciplines are harmonically and compendiously delivered, but also the secrets of Nature are thought to be unfolded, so that Gods wonderfull power, wisdom and goodnes is to be seene more apparently in bodily things than ever heretofore.

‘ 4. A Magicall Language wherby secrets may bee delivered and preserved to such as are made acquaint with it traditionally.

‘ 5. The frame of a Society and Corporation amongst themselves to make a perfect corporation of the joint parts and uses of all sorts of persons skilled in all sorts of arts, and industries Rationall and Mechanicall.

‘ 2. The state of the churches in Germ: to know all the Sects, Divisions and subdivisions of them that professe Christ in those places, with their particular and different opinions, and the circumstances, occasions, causes, and effects of their controversies, as for example of the Socin: Sem-Arri: Anabaptists, Swenkfeldians, Famelists, Weigelians, Nagelians, and to purchase the chief bookes of all their Tenents, and to observe the difference of their Churches, orders and customes serving either for Decency or Discipline.

‘ 3. The Relative Estate of the Church and Common Wealth in Germany each to other, to know what authority the Civill Magistrate hath or hath not in severall places over the Ministry, and by what meanes the ministers maintenance is raised unto them.

‘ 4. The notable and eminent men either in sects as Ring Leaders of the rest, or in the Church as lights to others; or in the Common wealth as nursing Fathers; that wee may know them and what use may bee made of them to good workes or what evill may bee feared from them. Concerning all these I purpose to have ephemeride observations out of which collections beeing made in due time, wee shall be able to judge of the state

of forreine Churches looking upon them as on pictures, wherin all the Lineaments of their faces are represented.'

After reading this, one can almost fancy Dury and Hartlib writing it in conjunction, so closely do certain parts of it resemble schemes advocated by Hartlib.

But even before becoming inspired with enthusiasm for the cause advocated by Dury, Hartlib had been by no means inactive. The two letters from Webb already mentioned show that Hartlib was even then advocating a 'collegium charitatis,' which was probably an institution, similar to the Office of Address which crops up later in his career, and which will then be fully described.<sup>1</sup> In the first letter<sup>2</sup> Webb writes: 'Postquam tractatum legi, te autorem conveni, et ex utrisque mihi renuntiatum est de Artis meae aliarumque pulcherrimarum inventionum obtrectatoribus, de strenua promptaque tua earundem defensione, et de mandato et conatu illius inauditae charitatis collegii; . . . qui si apud vos fuisset, aut praeterito praegravi sumptu, hic non inutilis factus essem, neque tibi, neque Collegio tuo defuissem, coramque sententiam meam per artis praxin confirmassem . . .; tamen, quae et candor tuus et ardor extorserunt, quaeque tanti collegii autoritas suo planè jure efflagitavit, decrevi brevi ad te perscribere.' Then, after describing his own mishaps and misfortunes through charity-doing, and advising Hartlib to think of the martyrs and Christ, as he does at such times, he concludes: 'Denique ne obliviscamur nos filios Dei et fratres Christi aut esse, aut velle esse, aut debere velle; et eos qui aliis afflictis consueverimus praecipere et dare consilium.'

The second letter<sup>3</sup> seems to indicate that difficulties had arisen, for Webb complains: 'Those good gentlemen appeared yesterday unto me with other faces and other opinions than they had don formerly; savouring of discontent and aversion from the businesse. As if they rather looked at the ill which malicious aspersions, and ignorant surmises poynted at as well in mee, as in my businesse, than at the good of posteritie, or the demonstrations made unto them. It may bee I am deceyved; yet, how-

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, p. 53 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 1466, f. 301; cf. Kvačala's *Pädagogische Reform*, i. pp. 7-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 1466, f. 377. (new).

soever, I know, you know theyre intentions ; which I pray you signifie unto mee presently by this bearer, for if it take not, it concerns me presently to put off 3 or 4 scholars that I keepe in towne about it ; as also to put off my house at St. Thomasses day, which I have with so much charges forestaled, and kept of purpose for this businesse hitherto. Let mee have a word from you sealed uppe for my further satisfaction herein.'

The work, however, which attracted Hartlib most of all, and upon which he was evidently at first engaged, was that of education. According to an interesting letter<sup>1</sup> from Dury dated London, June 30, 1635, 'the endeavours of advancing the publick good by way of schooling and education of Children, which is the first foundation of Church and common wealth, were the first causes of his<sup>2</sup> losses, when others that promised to ioyn with him, left him in the lurch to beare all the burden of so good and great a worke alone<sup>3</sup>; since that tyme God hath supported him by a way of intelligency, as<sup>4</sup> it<sup>4</sup> were fitting<sup>5</sup> him in a speciall Providence with acquaintance every where; that hee might in due tyme bee the more able to disperse on all sides the best things and fittest to be communicated.' In an undated letter,<sup>6</sup> written perhaps, according to Kvačala, by Jonston to Hartlib, the following exhortation occurs: 'Non certe id patitur, candidum tuum, et boni publici studiosissimum pectus, quocum, si non paria ego quoque facere contendam, essem merito in humanam societatem ingratisissimus'; then, after a statement concerning the necessity of educational studies and writings, 'Tu, vir clarissime, ad hanc rem, piis quos nosti Theologis Suasor et Impulsor esto. . . . Insuper, quid Plantationibus quoque et coloniis vestris recte fundatis nihil, ista Reformatione Educationis conducibilis.' Hartlib needed no such exhortation; he had already done

<sup>1</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 654, f. 350. The address, which has been crossed out by Hartlib's hand, runs, 'To his very Reverend & Loving Freindes in Christ M<sup>r</sup>. Marshall & M<sup>r</sup>. Baall of Northampton, ministers of Gods word; & to such others of theirs & mine acquaintance.' (new).

<sup>2</sup> Obviously Hartlib's.

<sup>3</sup> The words, 'the endeavours . . . alone,' have been crossed out by Hartlib's own hand.

<sup>4</sup> Doubtful reading.

<sup>5</sup> The words, 'God hath . . . fitting,' have been altered, again by Hartlib, to, 'hee hase spent himselfe by a way of correspondency wherby God hath fitted.'

<sup>6</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 649, ff. 264-5; cf. Kvačala's *Pädagogische Reform*, i. pp. 2-7.

practical work for education ; Stern<sup>1</sup> states that a rich gentleman apportioned Hartlib a castle in 1632, for the purpose of living with twenty English youths, and directing their studies. Hartlib himself says<sup>2</sup> in his petition to the House of Commons, that ' ever since he came into this Kingdom, [he] hath set himself apart to serve his Generation in the best Objects .

' First, by erecting a little Academy for the Education of the Gentry of this Nation, to advance Piety, Learning, Morality, and other Exercises of Industry, not usual then in common schools.' Even in later years he regarded the work of education with peculiar favour ; in one of his publications he writes<sup>3</sup> : ' For mine own part, I shall confesse freely, that amongst all the Objects whereunto I have dedicated my thoughts and pains (whereof the extent is as large as every Good and Rationall Work in the whole life of Christianity) there is not any one which doth lie nearer my heart then this of the Education of Children in the way of Christianity.'

In these early years too, Hartlib commenced that correspondence with the Continent which he kept up until his death. Information on the subject is contained in a letter,<sup>4</sup> dated Heilbronn, 1633, April  $\frac{1}{2}$  $\frac{2}{3}$ , from ' John Durie to Sir Nathaniel Rich, recommending Mr. Hartlieb, the German divine.'<sup>5</sup> 'The particulars of all things here' it is added, ' have been from time to time imparted to M<sup>r</sup>. Hartlieb. From him you shall be able to know all that I have hitherto learned, or shall learn hereafter, for I have not only taken a course to have my letters addressed to him although I be absent from Fr[ankfort], but also have obliged at Frankfort two to keep correspondence with him, the one for

<sup>1</sup> *Milton u. seine Zeit*, i. 2, note to p. 273 ; Zonbek, *Život J. A. Komenského*, Prag 1871, p. 38, is quoted ; authority seems to be the *Bohemian Didactic of Comenius*, ed. 1849, p. 170, Cap. 28 ; I have not been able to see either Zonbek or this work of Comenius.

<sup>2</sup> *White Kennet*, p. 872.

<sup>3</sup> *The Reformed School*, Loud. [1649 ?] ; see the preface, ' To the Reader.'

<sup>4</sup> *Historical MSS. Commission*, Rep. VIII., App. II., p. 51a.

<sup>5</sup> This is a point of extraordinary difficulty ; nowhere else is allusion made to Hartlib as a clergyman ; in fact, as we shall see later, proposals were made to him to become ordained and seek a benefice, but he declared he was incapable of doing so. Perhaps Dury simply means by ' divine ' one who is interested in religious matters, which would certainly apply to Hartlib ; at the same time, this is a strained and unusual use of the word. The details which follow exclude the possibility of George Hartlib being the person referred to here.

common current news, and the other for matters of greater moment. M<sup>r</sup>. Fitzer hath promised to send him the weekly gazettes, and M<sup>r</sup>. Tournemain, a preacher of that town, will entertain him with intelligence of greater consequence if he require it, for which cause I wish he were well instructed how to prosecute the correspondence which may be kept with this last, for he is a grave and wise man, able to instruct him fully and judiciously of the passages of all things. For if he make right use of this man he needeth not any more almost in Germany. Your Prudencie will be pleased to advise him how to make use of this instrument, and to favour him in a way how to be supported in such charges as this employment will require.<sup>2</sup>

Exactly how far Dury influenced Hartlib, it is as yet difficult to determine. It may be that Hartlib came to England at his instigation, although it cannot have been to champion the cause of ecclesiastical peace. Certain is that from the time that idea was taken up by Dury, Hartlib was heart and soul with him in the work.

Officially Hartlib seems to have been designated a merchant, for, in the warrant<sup>1</sup> issued for his examination in accordance with the measures which were being taken for 'examining Puritan rogues, searching for their seditious papers, and discovering their plots and villainies,' he is so described. (In reality he was a man filled with the desire to help others; his motto<sup>2</sup> of unselfish love, 'Die Liebe sucht nicht das Ihre,' adequately describes his life's work and ideal. Such an ideal is capable of assuming many forms, according to the way in which it is put into practice; it knows no bounds, but rather adapts to itself any scheme which may be suggested for the welfare of mankind. This explains the many-sidedness of Hartlib's interests, the loftiness and, at the same time, the vagueness of many of the schemes he advocated. Educational reform, ecclesiastical peace and union among Protestants, the encouragement of husbandry, the idea of an information bureau, these and other, at first sight heterogeneous schemes, were, nevertheless, all objects of his labours,

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, Dom. Series, May 1, 1639, Sec. Windebank to Robert Reade, his secretary; cf. *ibid.*, April 30, 1639, Robert Reade to his cousin. Nothing apparently resulted from the search.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Sander, *Comenius, Duraeus, Figulus*, Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft, Berl. iii., 1894, pp. 321-2.

because of the opportunities they afforded of promoting the general welfare of mankind.

The best conception of Hartlib's manifold activities is to be obtained from the account which he gives of his doings in the petition<sup>1</sup> he addressed to the House of Commons. He narrates that since his arrival in England he had tried to be useful to his fellowmen, (1) by erecting an academy for the education of the gentry in 'piety, learning, morality, and other exercises of industry'; (2) by helping exiled ministers and scholars; (3) by maintaining a foreign correspondence with a view to procuring learned tracts and accounts of inventions for publication, gaining relief for poor distressed scholars, and obtaining constant intelligence in matters of piety, virtue, and learning both at home and abroad. He complains that as a result of these disinterested and unsupported efforts for the good of mankind, which he had carried on for more than thirty years, he had been reduced to poverty, which he prays Parliament to relieve.

Education seems, therefore, to have been the first subject on which Hartlib centred his hopes on his arrival in England. Mention has already been made of his connection with Webb, and this connection seems to have been caused by a scheme which the latter had for the learning of languages, and which Hartlib was willing to foster, for William Brooke, whom Hartlib had probably asked for his opinion of Webb's plan, writes<sup>2</sup> to him his views on Webb's answers to various 'particulars,' probably criticisms, of his scheme. Mention is made of a 'clausulary' of the unknown language for learning the forms and multitude of clauses in the space of a few months; nouns, verbs, vocabularies, etc. are to be taken rather in a suppletory way than as preparative. The result of the use of such clausularies will be that children will make much better exercises, and that men will write books and despatch business. By distinguishing the several significations of the English words their proper application in Latin will be given, and thereby confusion in the expression of idioms avoided. Brooke urges the testing of the scheme by qualified persons aiming at the public good, and its furtherance

<sup>1</sup> *White Kennet*, p. 872, who puts it under December 1662; this date is impossible; according to *Althaus*, p. 199, the petition was probably sent up soon after Hartlib's letter to Worthington of August 3, 1660.

<sup>2</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 1466, ff. 396, 397, 402. (new). See App. I.

by well-affected persons, hoping that Webb will reveal his schemes especially to Hartlib, who has already begun to help him.

The negotiations with Webb appear to have had little result, probably because Hartlib became fired with enthusiasm for the work of ecclesiastical peace championed by Dury. That Hartlib was specially interested in religious matters is certain,<sup>1</sup> and he was so helpful to Dury that the latter often speaks of him as being a special instrument, raised up by God to help in the work. For instance, he eulogises Hartlib in a letter<sup>2</sup> to William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, Ireland, dated Frankfurt, May  $\frac{1}{2}$  $\frac{4}{4}$ , 1633, for his efforts in the cause of piety, charity, zeal, and the good of churches and schools, from which no family troubles had been able to withdraw him. Dury protests that without his assistance he could not have accomplished what he has done, and hopes that help may be given Hartlib so that such an instrument may not, owing to financial difficulties, grow faint or be kept back from continuing such good beginnings.

Again, in a letter<sup>3</sup> from Heilbronne, April  $\frac{2}{1}$  $\frac{2}{2}$ , 1633, to Lord Brookes, Dury writes that he would have failed in his schemes for ecclesiastical union if Hartlib had not assisted him by setting forward every good intention and relieving such as were exiled for the profession of the Gospel, whereby he had impoverished himself. Dury recommends him as a fit instrument to be a 'general receptacle of all manner of correspondency to impart things profitable to be known to such as are desirous and worthy of them.'

This idea of employing Hartlib as agent in the scheme for ecclesiastical union seems to have commended itself to him, for in a later letter<sup>4</sup> Dury elaborates the idea considerably, urging

<sup>1</sup> *The Reformed Spiritual Husbandman*, Lond. 1652, Hartlib's Preface: 'I have of late plaid the Husbandman about Bodily Concernments; . . . yet I must professe that the studie thereof is not next unto my heart, nor that I have applied my self thereunto, but in order to the transacting and ingratiating of better things hereafter, and that such as reap an earthly crop by my Communications and suggestions of industry, might be made willing and enabled to contribute something towards the sowing of a heavenly Seed (of Religion and Learning in the Spirits of this Age, and of Posterity).'

<sup>2</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 654, f. 193. (new). See App. II.

<sup>3</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 654, ff. 250-1; the address is in Hartlib's own hand. (new). See App. III.

<sup>4</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 654, ff. 345-8; the letter is dated, 'The Hage this  $\frac{20}{8}$  August 1635,' and addressed, 'Right Wor.<sup>th</sup>.' (new). See App. IV.



the employment of an agent abroad and of one in England, for which latter post he suggests Hartlib; some place or office, such as that of English agent for the Princess Palatine, might be allotted him, which would enable him to continue his public endeavours.

In another letter<sup>1</sup> he recommends Hartlib because of his proved zeal in the work of communicating good things to others as fit to be set up as a 'conduit pipe of things communicable.'

So, too, Dury appeals for help for himself and Hartlib, whom elsewhere he styles his 'faithfull yoakefellow,'<sup>2</sup> in a letter<sup>3</sup> from Stockholm, December 8, 1637: 'Therefore if you finde any faulte in this or other discourses beare with them and construe my meaninge in the best sence, for I have greate neede of much good helpe. helpe therefore my weakenes with counsell where you finde it, and lett good M<sup>r</sup>. H. the true and faithfull Solicitor and agent of these matters<sup>4</sup> with me bee assisted by your Christian love in the cases of neede that may befall unto him eyther outwardly or inwardly for in doeinge charitable duties to him, a man doth strengthen the center of the best publicke endeavors that can be found amongst Protestants.'

Another letter<sup>5</sup> of December  $\frac{7}{17}$ , 1635, bears testimony to Hartlib's close relationship with Dury in the scheme for a union of Protestants: 'For as in all things I desire to keepe a good conscience, soe towards yourself (who hath been the cheif instrument of settinge mee forward in the worke) I desire and will endeavor to be faythfull and conscionable to the utmost soe that I shall have no purpose or intention, to which your advice shall not be required first, and without your leave I will not thinke it lawfull to proceed in anye matter of moment.'

Even in 1654, the idea of setting Hartlib up as London agent in this work had not been abandoned; in that year Dury writes<sup>6</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 654, f. 350; the letter is dated June 30, 1635, and is addressed to Messrs. Marshall and Baall, of Northampton, 'ministers of Gods word.' (new). See App. V.

<sup>2</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 1465, f. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 213; the letter is addressed, 'Reverend and loveinge Brother in Christ.' (new).

<sup>4</sup> viz. ecclesiastical union.

<sup>5</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 1465, f. 61; the person addressed is probably Hartlib. (new).

<sup>6</sup> *An earnest Plea for Gospel Communion, &c.*, Lond. 1654, p. 80, under the title, 'Of the Third. How the Worke may be effected and imparted unto those that have sued for it.'

‘ An Agent also might be thought upon Residing in London, to whom from all Parts, and by him to all Parts, the Letters should be addressed, which must be written to or from the Undertakers, or to and from the Directors; and his charges should be born, and by him the Tasks when they are Completed, should be first sent, and then conveyed unto the Directors carefully that they may not miscarry.’

One great feature of the scheme was the preparation of a ‘ Bodie of Practical Divinitie, which might easily be compiled out of our English Authors, and Translated into Latine for the generall use of all Christians, and the particular benefit of their Churches and Universities’; according to Dury<sup>1</sup> this was the particular request made in 1633 by ‘ the Protestant Divines who were yet remaining of the Palatinat, of the Territories of Nassaw, of Hanaw, and other parts adjacent.’

Not only did Hartlib himself support Dury in his endeavours; he also tried to induce others to follow his example, by publishing tracts dealing with Dury’s negotiations. Thus, for instance, there appeared in London in 1641, ‘ A briefe Relation of that which hath been lately attempted to procure Ecclesiasticall Peace amongst Protestants,’ and this was followed, in 1642, by a ‘ Motion tending to the Publick Good of this Age and of Posteritie . . . Shewing briefly, what a Publik good is, and how by the best means of Reformation in Learning and Religion it may be advanced to some perfection,’ which was designed expressly, ‘ for the better Information of all those who are willing of themselves, or intrusted by others to set forward Pious and Learned Works.’ Again, in the next year, 1643, there appeared a small tract,<sup>2</sup> entitled ‘ A faithfull and seasonable Advice, or, the necessity of a Correspondencie for the advancement of the Protestant Cause. Humbly suggested to the great Councill of England assembled in Parliament.’

But educational matters and the scheme for ecclesiastical union by no means exhaust the sum total of Hartlib’s interests during these early years. In a letter<sup>3</sup> to some anonymous friend, dated London, October 22, 1632, he gives a short pro-

<sup>1</sup> *An earnest Plea for Gospel Communion*, preface by John Dury.

<sup>2</sup> The title-page bears the MS. note, ‘ ex dono Authōis S. Hartlib.’

<sup>3</sup> J. Kvačala, *Spisy Jana Amosa Komenského i., Korrespondence Jana Amosa Komenského*, Prag 1897, Letter IX cf. his *Pädagogische Reform* i. p. 24 ff.

gramme of his activities : ‘ Moreover I have also resolved to send him,<sup>1</sup> God willing, by the first ships in spring, the following Manuscripts which M<sup>r</sup>. Dury is already preparing in Prussia,

‘ 1. Theoria Pacis Ecclesiasticae.

‘ 2. De Pacis Ecclesiasticae procurandae medijs Problema, ejusque demonstratio.

‘ 3. Exercitatio de via quaerendae Pacis Ecclesiasticae, accomodata ad Georgii Cassandri Consultationem ab ipso conscriptam. . . .

‘ Therefore we are searching all Catalogos Catalogorum, Bibliothekas privatas et publicas, in order to prepare a very full Catalogum of this matter<sup>2</sup>. . . .

‘ Otherwise I have already indicated to you before, for what reasons we can not continue our Illustre Collegium<sup>3</sup> or rather wish to postpone it to a more convenient opportunity and time. Amongst others, not the least has been just this Church-peace, since the whole matter has been entrusted to my humble self alone as agent in these countries. And I value this work so highly that next to my salvation I will let nothing higher be entrusted to me ; yet whatever I may also be able to accomplish and advance secundario in the other matter by the help of the divine assistance and blessing, I shall spare myself no cost and pains. For, praise and thanks to God, I have not only in hand but also very far advanced many great and different works, which concern the general welfare of Christianity . . . so that I might indeed justly appropriate to myself the eulogy of Cassiodorus, “ Proprio censu neglecto sine invidia lucri et ego pietatis divitias retuli ” . . . Finally as to the Opus Libb. Anglicor. I have already written you at large upon the subject. Mons. Buchwalder must now admit what I wrote before namely that in no part of the world has the true fear of God gained the supremacy more than in this beautiful kingdom, also that at no other place are similar Theologi found. As to the quantity and number, there are in England alone 24000 preachers holding appointments. I have also resolved to prepare a correct Catalogum

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Laubanus, Rector of a school at Brieg.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the pamphlets concerning ecclesiastical peace written by the opposing parties.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to refer to the *collegium charitatis* mentioned in Webb’s letter, *supra*, p. 13.

of all English books, also a complete Januam, so that one will be able to grasp the language correctly within 3 or 4 weeks. Then I will also have the authorities at different places asked, 'in order that your Stipendiarii may afterwards be sent into this kingdom.'

Ever busy, he was always acting as incentive to others, persuading them to undertake work such as the writing of tracts for the benefit of the community. Well deserved was the eulogy passed on him by Mochinger<sup>1</sup>: 'Sunt mihi sane in amoribus, qui eruditos viros subinde hortantur ad edendos libros, quos non nonum tantum in annum aliquando premunt, sed et in aevum, et tandem etiam opprimunt supprimuntque, simul famam, simul publicam utilitatem negligentes. In Anglia hodie aliquis vivit, quo nemo est industriior (quae vox quibusdam non est sprete) in opere tam laudabili. Igitur digito idem monstratus a Stresone in Technologia Theologica; qui viri se non satis demirari posse scribit eo in genere indefessum studium, ut extorqueat autoribus libros, quorum multi in lucem non venissent, nisi ejus obstetricio auxilio in lucem protracti fuissent. Is est Samuel Hartliebicus.' Bitterly does he complain of those who have knowledge, and will not part with it for the advantage of others, in a letter<sup>2</sup> to Tassius of August 10, 1638: 'it is indeed to be deplored that the Eruditi do not unite better against the crassam ignorantiam falsamque Scientiam generis humani, and communicate one to another truly and without deceit whatever each has found true and good in any parts of human science. This is the only means to remedy this evil to any extent. For it is certainly quite impossible for each individual (and especially those burdened with other business) by personal observation and experience of all things to obtain certain knowledge.' This desire on Hartlib's part to spread knowledge explains the keenness he displayed in publishing whatever he could get from his friends. A few of his publications concerning religious matters have already been noticed; meanwhile, his other pet subject, education, was not neglected. In 1637 he published at Oxford 'Conatum Comenianorum Praeludia,' containing 'Porta Sapientiae Reserata; sive Pansophiae Christianae Seminarium,'<sup>3</sup> 'Praecipua Capita Didacticae Magnae,'<sup>4</sup> and 'Conatum Pan-

<sup>1</sup> Kvačala's *Korrespondence* i. Letter LXXXVIII, from Mochinger to Kurtzmann, dated Danzig, September 5, 1643.

<sup>2</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 417, f. 213; cf. Kvačala's *Korrespondence* i. Letter XLV.

<sup>3</sup> Second title-page.

<sup>4</sup> Third title-page.

sophicorum Dilucidatio, in gratiam Censorum facta' <sup>1</sup>; a second edition appeared in London in 1639, under the title 'Reverendi et clarissimi viri Johannis Amos Comenii Pansophiae Prodrumus,' etc. As Hartlib himself confesses, <sup>2</sup> this work had been communicated privately to him by Comenius, and was not intended for publication; no doubt he published it in the hope of inspiring people with enthusiasm for the pansophical schemes contained in it. <sup>3</sup> In 1642 he published an English version, 'A Reformation of Schooles,' in order to show 'the great necessity of a generall Reformation of Common Learning, what grounds of hope there are for such a Reformation, and how it may be brought to passe.' <sup>4</sup> To Dury, too, he evidently made a request for some treatise on education and pansophia, for the former wrote <sup>5</sup> in reply from Stockholm on October 18, 1636: 'Excuse me I pray you till I be letter <sup>6</sup> able, for then is possibly I can get so much respit from my necessary thoughts I will set a month apart to digest all Pansophicall and Paedagogicall notions and give You my thoughts upon them.' This letter he followed up by another <sup>7</sup> from the same place, dated January 7, 1637: 'I have a mind to retire myselve to a settled way of writing and meditation to elaborate my own and some of Mr. Comen. Pansophicall taskes soo far as God shall enable me.'

Himself an ardent enthusiast for the promotion of the general welfare of mankind, it scarcely required Comenius's pansophical ideas to rouse in Hartlib hopes of a golden age in the near future. The title of a work, written by Dr. John Stoughton, <sup>8</sup> Vicar of

<sup>1</sup> Fourth title-page.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to *Pansophiae Prodrumus*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hübner's letter to Comenius,  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>8</sup> January, 1639; Kvačala's *Korrespondence* i., Letter LV.

<sup>4</sup> Title-page.

<sup>5</sup> Kvačala's *Korrespondence* ii. p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Obviously 'better.'

<sup>7</sup> Kvačala's *Korrespondence* ii. p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Stoughton died on May 4, 1639; it is interesting to note the following extract from his will. 'To my two daughters Jane and Marie five "hundreth" pounds, to say, to my eldest daughter Jane "fower hundreth marks which twoe hundred three score and six poundes thirteene shillings and fower pence, and the remainder beinge twoe C. hundreth thirtie three poundes six shillings and eight pence to my youngest daughter Marie Stoughton, to be paied them at their age of one and twenty yeares or the day of their marriage, which shall first happen" &c. If both depart this life before they attain the age specified or day of marriage that then "two hundreth and fiftie poundes thereof shall come unto my wife and two hundred pounds thereof to my nexte of kynn, and twentie fiew poundes thereof to Emanuell Colledge in Cambridge and the other five and twentie poundes to Master Hartlipp a Dutchman.' Cf. *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, by H. F. Waters, 2 vols., Boston 1901, i. 179.

St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, London, which he published in 1640, speaks for itself: 'Felicitas ultimi saeculi; epistola in qua, inter alia, calamitosus aevi praesentis status seriò deploratur, certa felicioris posthac spes ostenditur, et ad promovendum publicum Ecclesiae et Rei literariae bonum omnes excitantur.' This he followed up, in 1641, with an account of his conception of a Utopia, entitled 'A description of the famous Kingdome of Macaria; shewing its excellent government; wherein the Inhabitants live in great Prosperity, Health and Happinesse; the King obeyed, the Nobles honoured; and all good men respected, Vice punished, and vertue rewarded. An Example to other Nations.'<sup>1</sup>

As a result of such many-sided interests and activities, Hartlib's house must have become known as a repository of all sorts and conditions of information, as a kind of intellectual general store-house, if one may use the phrase. Well might the famous Evelyn thus describe a visit to him in November 1653<sup>2</sup>: 'To London . . . Thence to visit honest and learned Mr. Hartlib, a public spirited and ingenious person, who had propagated many useful things and arts. He told me of the castles which they set for ornament on their stoves in Germany. . . . He told me of an ink that would give a dozen copies . . . and a receipt how to take off any print without the least injury to the original. This gentleman was master of innumerable curiosities, and very communicative.'

Obviously, too, his expenses must have been very great, his reputation widespread, and his circle of acquaintances exceedingly large. He himself writes<sup>3</sup>: 'Let it not seem a paradox unto you, if I tell you, as long as I have lived in England by wonderfull providences, I have spent yearly out of my own betwixt £3 or £400 sterl. a year. And when I was brought to publick allowances, I have had from the parliaments and councils of state a pension of £300 sterl. a year, which as freely I have spent for their service and the good of many. I could fill whole sheets in what love and reputation I have lived these 30 years in England; being familiarly acquainted with the best of archbishops, bishops, earls, viscounts, barons, knights, esquires,

<sup>1</sup> [By S. Hartlib], *Brit. Mus. Cat.*

<sup>2</sup> Bray's *Evelyn*, i. 310-11.

<sup>3</sup> To Worthington, August 3, 1660; see *Add. MSS.* 6269, f. 30; cf. Dircks, p. 4, and White Kennet, p. 869.

gentlemen, ministers, professors of both universities, merchants, and all sorts of learned or in any kind useful men, etc. And that in all the three kingdoms, under all the changes, that have fallen out, [I have been] recommended before and in parliaments; books dedicated unto me, from several places and countries, etc. But I grow weary to pursue such vanities.'

## RELATIONS OF COMENIUS TO ENGLAND.

HARTLIB'S zeal for education was almost bound to attract him to the endeavours of J. A. Comenius. When and how exactly the two became acquainted is a very debatable point. Kvačala points out<sup>1</sup> that Comenius was apparently acquainted with either Hartlib or Dury before 1628, and says<sup>2</sup> the acquaintance was perhaps begun during Comenius's journeys from 1625 to 1628. It seems more probable, however, that Hartlib and Comenius became acquainted through the former's brother, George Hartlib, who studied theology at Heidelberg University at the same time as Comenius.<sup>3</sup> Certain is, that the first letter<sup>4</sup> we possess from Comenius to Hartlib is dated 1633, and that in it the brother is mentioned as having previously been the channel of communication between the two men. Hartlib too had approved of Comenius's 'Janua,' and the latter regrets that his anxieties on behalf of the exiled brethren prevent him communing with Hartlib and his fellows in ecclesiastical and educational matters. Anchoran's rashness had prevented Hartlib from securing £100 a year for life for Comenius from the 'Janua,' but the latter hopes Hartlib will get him support for the maintenance of collaborators from the patrons of studies in England. Obviously,

<sup>1</sup> J. Kvačala, *J. A. Comenius*, Leipzig 1892, pp. 239-40.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 32, note 3; cf. J. Kvačala, 'Die Schicksale der grossen Unterrichtslehre des Comenius bei des Verfassers Lebzeiten,' *MH. der Comenius-Ges.* viii., 1899, p. 130, where he expresses the opinion, that Comenius and Dury became acquainted with each other then.

<sup>3</sup> Comenius matriculated there on June 19, 1613 (Toepke, ii. p. 265); the dates of George Hartlib extend from September 14, 1612, to May 9, 1620 (*supra*, p. 5).

<sup>4</sup> A. Patera, *Jana Amosa Komenského Korrespondence*, Prag 1892, pp. 19-21; cf. Kvačala's *Pädagogische Reform*, i. 37-9; it is evidently an answer to one from Hartlib dealing with Comenius's *Janua*, which was very possibly the first letter Hartlib ever wrote to Comenius.



too, even in 1633 Hartlib had schemes for getting Comenius over into England, and was gaining as much support for him as possible.

Comenius had sprung into fame as an educational reformer owing to his 'Janua Linguarum,' the conception of which he thus describes<sup>1</sup>: 'Inter haec venit in mentem concinnare Libellum, qui unus totam Linguam, totúmque Rerum complexum, contineret, Seminarium Linguarum et Scientiarum omnium appellandum. Quem condi posse nec opusculum fore prolixum (si rerum serie omnia lustrando, rem quamque semel nominaremus nec ampliùs) spem conceperam. Quod consilium cùm amicis detexissem, monuit nonnemo Jesuitas in Hispania jam libellum<sup>2</sup> talem edidisse, Januam Linguarum dictum. Sed ego hac inspecta, non id esse quod votis conceperam vidi, meumque institutum prosequi perrexi, annis 1629 et 1630.'

Anchoran translated the work into English under the title of 'Porta Linguarum Trilinguis' in 1631,<sup>3</sup> but without Comenius's name,<sup>4</sup> so that he reaped the advantages which ought to have fallen to the latter<sup>5</sup>; the congratulations and thanks<sup>6</sup> showered upon him by Comenius soon, therefore, changed to reproaches and bitterness.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, Comenius was busy with his 'Didactic,' which appears to have been ready in the Bohemian language in 1632. In 1638 it was translated into Latin, the summary having been sent into England in 1637.<sup>8</sup> He then turned his thoughts to pansophical schemes: 'Illud Poetae, Excitat auditor studium, laudataque Virtus crescit—si verum est, verificari etiam in me debuit; nempe ut tot et tanti applausus

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Comenii *Didactica Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam 1657, i. 249-50; cf. i. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Op. Did.* i. 252, and Kvačala's *Comenius*, Appendix, p. 20, note 67; notice of it appears in the Stationers' Company registers under January 29, 1613-14, cf. E. Arber, *A transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, 5 vols., Lond. 1875-94, iii. 541; see also iv. 176, 180, 205, 245.

<sup>3</sup> Č. Zíbrt, *Bibliografie České Historie*, v., Prag 1912, No. 18972; cf. Kvačala's *Comenius*, App. II., No. XXII.

<sup>4</sup> Kvačala's *Comenius*, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> Kvačala's *Pädagogische Reform*, i. pp. 95-6, Letter from Hübner to Hartlib, August 2, 1637.

<sup>6</sup> Kvačala's *Korrespondence*, i., Letter VIII; cf. *Patera*, p. 10, Letter X.

<sup>7</sup> See Comenius's letter to Hartlib, *Patera*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>8</sup> A. Gindely, *Ueber des J. A. Comenius Leben u. Wirksamkeit*, 2 Aufl., Znaim 1892, pp. 21-22; cf. J. Müller, 'Zur Bücherkunde des Comenius,' *MH. der Comenius-Ges.* i., 1892, p. 24, No. 20; and *Op. Did.* i. 4, where he says 'Coepi ergo hác ipsâ occasione scriptum hoc vernaculum, nostrae tantùm Genti destinatum, transferre in Latinum. Cujus quia Anglicans amici contenta requirebant, communicatque fuerunt capitum lemmata.

(in re, meô judiciô, non tantâ) ad aliquid majus et melius adderent calcar. Coepi ergò cogitare, an fortè si quid realioris Eruditionis, interiorisque Sapientiae (ad similem aliquam harmoniae concinnitatem redactum) propinari tentaretur, aequè placitum esset? Enatumque inde fuit desiderium conficiendi Januam Rerum, sive Sapientiae Portam: studiosae Juventuti eo servitutam, ut postquam ope Januae Linguarum Res externè discriminare didicissent, interiora dehinc rerum inspectare, et quid per essentiam suam res quaeque sit attendere, consuescerent. Quod studium si per omnia (ad omnia scitu et factu, credituque et speratu necessaria, comprehendendum) extenderetur, sperare coepi pulcherrimam quandam Encyclopaediolum, seu Pansophiolam, bonô usu condi posse.'<sup>1</sup>

The work which resulted from these labours was made known to Hartlib by Moravian scholars coming to England from Lissa,<sup>2</sup> and through a notice in the Leipzig catalogue of books<sup>3</sup>; he immediately begged Comenius for a summary of the work, which was sent to him<sup>4</sup> as a private communication, only, however, to be published by Hartlib at Oxford: 'Quo proposito meo per studiosos quosdam Moravos, in Angliam delatos, cognito Vir eximius, S. H. datis ad me literis, Delineationem aliquam futuri Operis requisivit. Communicavi ergò, uti sequitur,

“Pansophiae Praeludium.”

Quô Sapientiae universalis necessitas, possibilitas, facilitasque (si ratione certâ ineatur) breviter ac dilucidè demonstratur.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. Did.* i. 403.      <sup>2</sup> *Op. Did.* i. 403; cf. Kvačala's *Comenius*, p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. Did.* i. 459; cf. Kvačala's *Comenius*, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Interesting in this connection are the following extracts from *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* VIII, App. II., pp. 54b and 55a:

'January 16, 1638, to July 1, 1638, N.S., 453. Copies of four letters in Latin on the writer's "Didactica" and "Pansophia." They are entitled "Copiae Epistolarum Comenianarum ad Samuelem Hartlibium." Three of the originals were probably sent to Samuel Hartlieb by the author named Comna, Komensky, or Comenius, who, like Hartlieb, was acquainted with John Dury. One of them, however, was sent to a "fautor" or patron of the writer and of Hartlieb, and contains the outlines of a system of universal philosophy founded on Christian principles. One of them was sent by way of Leipsic and Amsterdam, apparently from Vienna to England.'

<sup>5</sup> [About 1638 ?] 454. Portion of a copy of a treatise which seems to have been a system of universal philosophy founded on Christian principles, and may have been the "Pansophia" mentioned in No. 453, or the outlines of that contemplated work. It is not the *Pansophiae Prodrömus* published in London in 1639, nor the original of Jer. Collier's *Pattern of Universal Knowledge*, published in 1651. (MS. Latin, 68 pages; beginning and end wanting.)<sup>5</sup> *Op. Did.* i. 403.

'Haec<sup>1</sup> ita privatim amico in Angliam, privatim sub censuram<sup>2</sup> communicata, redierunt ad me in Poloniam Oxoniensium typis descripta; cum apologia, salubri fine factam esse publicationem hanc, ad praetendendum vadum, cognoscendaque in re tam inusitati argumenti tanto plurium doctorum et sapientum virorum judicia.'<sup>3</sup>

The negotiations for the printing at Oxford are related in two letters from Hübner to Hartlib, dated December 1, 1636, and June 12, 1637, respectively.<sup>4</sup> In the first he writes: 'Meanwhile it will be very good, that a short delineatio of the whole work<sup>5</sup> be published only in some few examples, in order that only the *Judicia* of others may be explained, so that, if indeed too much is to come of it, no second Anchoranus may come, add something of his own to it and claim the general invention for himself'; whilst in the second: 'Now we have not yet indeed an absolute licentiam for the printing, although so much is accomplished that the Vice-Cancellarius has read through carefully the whole Praefation, and approves everything in it, saying indeed with the greatest admiration, it is a work that captum rationis humanae superire. Yet he has indicated these scruples, that it seems to him he<sup>6</sup> pelagianises in different parts; also that he agrees with the Socinians in some places; if that were so, they dare not allow it to be printed here; since it would be against the *Articulos Ecclesiae Anglicanae*. These scruples Mr. Bythnerus (ex cujus relatione haec scribo, ego enim non adfui) sufficiently removed, showing that he, Mr. Comenius, was indeed orthodox, and held neither with Pelagians nor Socinians, and what he says de excellentia Naturae humanae, refers only ad Philosophiam and by no means ad Theologiam, so that he was indeed satisfied, but has nevertheless referred it ad Professorem Metaphysices to read through and report.'

All difficulties were, however, overcome, for it appeared in 1637 under the title '*Conatum Comenianorum Praeludia*,'<sup>7</sup> containing, amongst other things, the heads of the Didactic,

<sup>1</sup> I.e. *Pansophici Libri Delineatio*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Op. Did. i.*, Preface, *Lectoribus piis et prudentibus*, p. 1, 'me incoscio ab amicis in Anglia et Belgio editum'; Cf. i. 459, and *Patera*, p. 60, Letter LI.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. Did. i.* 454.

<sup>4</sup> Kvačala's *Pädagogische Reform*, i. pp. 70 ff. and 91 ff.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the *Pansophia*.

<sup>6</sup> Comenius.

<sup>7</sup> Kvačala's *Comenius*, App. II., No. XLII; cf. Zibrť, 20806.

entitled 'Praecipua Capita Didacticae Magnae.'<sup>1</sup> This was followed up in 1639 by a second edition,<sup>2</sup> and in 1642 by an English translation.<sup>3</sup>

The expected opinions of the critics soon appeared, and were highly gratifying: 'Quae<sup>4</sup> et subsequuta fuerunt agminatim, variis è Regnis, pleraque praeter spem benigna, unum et alterum malignius. Erat qui scriberet, "Maius beneficium Dei Humano generi datum non esse, post Verbi Divini lucem, atque hanc verioris ac plenioris lucis viam tam clarè ostensam; urgendum itaque esse Comenium, Opus ut absolvat." Alii, "non solius unius Comenii humeris relinquendum esse tantum Onus, quaerendos collaboratores, constituendumque Collegium Pansophicum etc." Ego indignari amico, quòd me objecisset multitudini, et non sivisset tacitè meam detexere telam, sicuti cum priore opella, Januae Linguarum, erat factum. Sentiebam enim me iudiciorum varietate distrahi; sed et lentescere, cùm Collegii Pansophici fieret spes, nec meò arbitrato jam fore procedendum, antequam scirem quid pluribus illis, et me doctioribus, placitum esset. Non ergò sum progressus, praeterquam in particularibus quibusdam; ut erat "Physica ad lumen divinum reformanda," opusculum Lipsiae excusum et mox Parisiis et Amsterdami, recusum. Itemque "Astronomia ad lumen physicum reformanda," et alia nonnulla. Erat et qui scriberet (ad Hartlibium, Johan Adolphus Tassius, apud Hamburgenses Mathematicum Professor,) "Fervet jam per omnes Europae angulos Pansophicum, et melioris Didacticae studium. Quod si nihil etiam plus praestiterit Comenius, quàm quòd tantam stimulorum segetem in omnium sparsit animos satis fecisse putandus est etc."'<sup>5</sup>

So enthusiastic did England become for the schemes advocated by Comenius, that he was finally induced to go over into that country. The exact nature of the circumstances which led up to that visit has always been a vexed question, chiefly because of the paucity of material available. Kvačala,<sup>6</sup> Gindely,<sup>7</sup> Althaus<sup>8</sup> and Masson<sup>9</sup> all agree that Comenius received a call from the English Parliament; the authority given is Comenius himself,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Third title-page, and Müller, 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Pansophiae Prodromus*: see Müller, Nos. 20, 37, 47, and Kvačala's *Comenius*, App. II., Nos. XLII, L, LIII.

<sup>3</sup> *A Reformation of Schooles*.

<sup>4</sup> Sc. doctorum et sapientum virorum iudicia.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. Did.* i. 454-5.

<sup>6</sup> *Comenius*, p. 251.

<sup>7</sup> P. 31.

<sup>8</sup> P. 217.

<sup>9</sup> iii. 225.

who, after describing his arrival in London in 1641, adds,<sup>1</sup> 'ibique demum me Parlamenti jussu fuisse vocatum intellexi.' This seems most undeniable evidence, but unfortunately there is no trace of such a call in the Journals, either of the House of Lords, or of the House of Commons.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Comenius nowhere else mentions an invitation from Parliament; indeed, elsewhere he gives other reasons for his journey, especially the raising of funds for the help of the exiles, as he himself says in a letter<sup>3</sup> from London to De Geer, dated December  $\frac{9}{19}$ , 1641: 'Quantum ad me, ex prioribus meis intelligere potuisti, me hoc in loco aliquam multorum Christi servorum causa legatione fungi, ad quaerendum diuturnae egestatis levamen aliquod; simulque tamen agere cum amicis loci hujus illa, per quae voluntatem nostram Deo et posteritati probare liceat.' It is quite conceivable that an enthusiast like Hartlib wanted to get Comenius over beside him; he knew that Comenius suffered from lack of funds, and friends had not shrunk from pointing to England as a hopeful field for Comenius.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Hartlib had been making endeavours to procure means for the maintenance of Comenius and for the development of his pansophical schemes,<sup>5</sup> and where, one may ask, would Hartlib think of settling Comenius

<sup>1</sup> *Op. Did.* ii. 'De novis studia Didactica continuandis occasionibus.'

<sup>2</sup> Masson has already pointed this out (iii. 225, footnote), but adds that there is no reason to doubt Comenius as the indexes are not perfect. Certainly the records fail for the Commons from March 2, 1628-9, to April 13, 1640, and for the Lords from February 6, 1648-9, to April 25, 1660, but it is important to note that the records of both houses between April 13, 1640, and the time of Comenius's arrival in England in September 1641 are extant; moreover, in none of the State or other political papers of the period is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, any mention of such a call.

<sup>3</sup> Patera, p. 44; cf. Kvačala's *Korrespondence*, i. Letter LXXVI, from Mochinger to Kurtzmann, dated Danzig, August 16, 1641: 'Comenium his diebus mihi adfuisse narro, et in Angliam, stipis ad sublevandos exilii socios, qui plerique omnes vitae necessariis valde sunt destituti, colligendae ibidem caussa, Transfretanorum navem incensidisse.'

<sup>4</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 649, f. 33. Letter from Pöhmer to Hartlib; after speaking of Comenius's lack of funds, and of the inability of his own town Norimberg to help, he adds 'Si urbs nostra aureâ illâ pace frueretur, quâ abundat et abutitur Anglia vestra, nec media neque Patroni et Evergetae hunc virum—hoc opus—deserent'; cf. Kvačala's *Korrespondence*, i. Letter XXI, who dates it 1636.

<sup>5</sup> Kvačala's *Korrespondence*, ii. p. 16. Letter from Dury to Hartlib, dated Bremen, February 22, 1639: 'I have shewen the letter for the procurement of meanes towards a learned correspondence and for the maintenance of Comenius and Pansophical studyes to M. R. (Rosenkrantz) who did declare himself very affectionate to the scope and seemed not unwilling to contribute his quota.'

other than in England itself? Finally, we have the express testimony of Dury himself to the fact that Comenius was called over to England by a body of men, who were bound together by the same interests, and of whom Hartlib and he were evidently the foremost, for he wrote <sup>1</sup> from London on December  $\frac{9}{19}$ , 1641, to De Geer in Stockholm: 'Il est donc expedient que sachiez qu'il <sup>2</sup> est homme marie; et qu'en l'eglise de Lesna il a charge, et qu'avec beaucoup de peine nous l'avons retire de là, pour venir par deça conferer avec nous, touchant nos communs desseins; esquels nous auons tasche a le supporter. En fin ses collegues lui ont donne permission de nous visiter, or le dessein de ceux qui favorisent ses intentions par deça, est de le retenir icy, et lui establir des moyens pour parachever son ouvrage, si tost que Dieu aura affermi en quelque façon les affaires d'estat en ce Royaume . . . Nous tascherons (asçavoir Mons<sup>r</sup>. Harthel et moy) d'obtenir de ceux de Lesna congé pour Mons<sup>r</sup>. Comenius, de se transporter envers vous, apres que mes estudes seront establis et formes, comme il fault, pour l'accomplissement de choses si importantes.' No mention is made of Parliament at all in the letter; that Members of Parliament were, however, amongst the number of these men is very probable, for Hartlib was well known to many of them <sup>3</sup>; indeed, he probably hoped to be able to get Parliament to support Comenius and his schemes. These facts would be quite sufficient to create a wrong impression in the mind of Comenius, whose knowledge of English was by no means extensive.

To sum up then, Comenius was called over to England probably by a group of enthusiasts, to whom he had become known through the efforts of Hartlib especially and Dury in spreading knowledge of his schemes by their publications of his works, and in stirring up their friends and acquaintances to aid in the carrying out of these schemes. At their solicitation these men had probably promised to support Comenius in the carrying on of his work in

<sup>1</sup> Patera, pp. 43-4.

<sup>2</sup> Comenius.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. T. Birch, *Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle*, 6 vols., Lond. 1772, vi. 120, a letter from Hartlib to Boyle, dated April 16, 1659, where the former, speaking of a Dr. Kuffler, says 'I could easily obtain the desired protection for him from many parliament-men.' The famous John Pym was himself evidently a friend of Hartlib, for in 1642 he wrote this motto in the album of Figulus, Comenius's son-in-law, 'Through love to God and country exalted above hope and fear; on behalf of public freedom, the servant of the people; free as concerns all others.' (Cf. *MH. der Comenius Ges.* iii., 1894, pp. 321-2.)

England. Hopes of assistance from the authorities in power ran high owing to many of the men being connected with Parliament, and the probability of success was used to induce Comenius to come over; with the same object in view, the possibility of being able to collect money for the needs of his exiled brethren was also represented to him.

Comenius himself gives an account<sup>1</sup> of his visit to England in the following terms: 'Homo proponit, Deus disponit. Evenit idem mihi, spinosa Didactica studia deserere, et in amoena Realia transire, seriò proponenti, in eadem tamen spinas relapso. Quod quâ ratione acciderit attingam; ut si quid secus ac oportuit actum est, culpae partem sustineant qui me ad scopulos istos adegerunt.

'Editô Pansophiae Prodromô, pérque varia Europae Regna sparso, cùm plerique Eruditorum Operis delineationem approbarent, absolvi verò illud ab homine uno desperarent, eòque Collegium Eruditorum Hoc Agentium erigi suaderent, operosus in ea re fuit qui Prodromum in lucem promoverat, strenuus rerum quâ datur ἐργοδιώκτης D. S. H. ut quàm plurima excitatiora Ingenia huc alliceret. Factum ergò tandem, ut unum

<sup>1</sup> *Op. Did.* ii., 'De novis studia Didactica continuandis occasionibus.' A most interesting description of his impression of England is contained in a letter to his friends in Poland, dated London, October  $\frac{8}{15}$ , 1641; the first part of the letter, giving many details of his visit, is worthy of comparison with the above account: 'Primam navigationem non ex voto successisse, meque ab ipsis Norwegiae littoribus per totum Balticum mare, miliaribus prope centum, procellarum vi retractum fuisse, credo te iam ante cognovisse. Cùm verò Amicorum Gedanensium (post communicatas et intime perpensas in utramque partem rationes) consiliis, propriaeque consentiae stimulis ad actus, denuò me mari, et maris dominatori, seu deferendum quo vellet, seu mergendum abysso, si ita liberet, credidisset, factum est, ut paucos intra dies Insulae hujus portum attigerim, sospesque amicos sospites, Dei benignitate repererim, Hartlibium, Duraeum, Hubnerum, Pelleum, et Haakium. Cum quibus quanquam pactum iniveram, ut meam praesentiam ne proderent, solis nobis ut vacare possemus, dies aliquot saltem; frustra tamen id precautum ibamus; quia res statim dimanavit ad plures, mihiq; et salutatores admittendi et salutandos adeundi necessitas incubuit. Vivo itaque jam hîc, ut notus inter notos; quanquam (nec te celem, ut sit, quod rideas) pauciores me salutant quàm salutarent, si aut me Anglicè loqui posse crederent, aut suae latinitati magis fiderent, aut denique me minus aestimarent. Sed dum me nescio quam sublimem Philosophum aut Oratorem sibi fingunt conspectumque subire verentur, isto complurium errore, aliorum verò interea absentia mihi cum amicis intimis saepius conveniendi, consiliaque (ut interim datur) conferendi, otium non deest. De redeundo ante hyemem omnis mihi spes praecisa est.' (See J. Kvačala, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des Comenius*, M.H. der Comenius-Ges. ii., 1893, pp. 74-8.)

et alterum nactus me quoque ad se, Anno 1641, magnis obtestationibus evocaret. In quam profectionem cùm consensissent mei, veni Londinum ipso Autumnalis aequinoctii die; ibique demum me Parlamenti jussu fuisse vocatum intellexi. Sed quia Parlamentum, Rege in Scotiam digresso, ad trimestre fuit dimissum, detentus eram ad ibidem hiemandum, amicis apparatus Pansophicum, (quàm tenuis ille fuit) lustrantibus. Quâ occasione tractatus nobis sub manu fuit natus hóc titulo  
 ‘Via Lucis.

Hoc est, Rationabilis disquisitio, quomodo Intellectualis animorum Lux, Sapientia, tandem sub mundi vesperam per omnes mentes et gentes feliciter spargi possit.

‘Nempe ad intelligenda meliùs illà Oraculi verba Zachariae 14. v. 7. Et erit, ut vespere fiat lux.

‘Congregatum interim Parlamentum, praesentiâque nostrâ cognitâ, jussit nos exspectare, donec impetratô à negotiis otîô, aliquot è medio sui viris doctis et sapientibus audiendi nos, fundamentâque consilii nostri cognoscendi dari posset commissio. Communicant etiam in antecessum cogitationes suas, de assignando nobis Collegio aliquo cum reditibus, unde aliquot Viri docti ac industrii, undecunque Gentium evocati, sustentari honestè possent; sive ad annos aliquot, sive in perpetuum. Sed et nominabatur Londini Sabaudeum; extra Londinum verò Winthoniense; rursúmque propiùs Urbem Chelseum, cujus et redituum Inventaria nobis communicata fuere; ut nihil certius videretur, quàm processurum magni Verulamii, de aperiendo ubiubi Gentium Universali Collegio, de Scientiarum Augmentis unicè sollicito, consilium.

‘Verumenimverò interveniens de Hibernia tumultuante, trucidatisque nocte unâ plusquam ducenis Anglorum millibus, rumor, subitaneusque Regis Londinô discessus, et exarsuri jamjam cruenti Belli plena indicia, consilia haec disturbaverunt, méque ad meos reditum festinare coegerunt.’

An invitation had been sent him from De Geer<sup>1</sup> to come to Amsterdam, in order to carry his designs into execution. His English friends did their best to try to induce him to stay in their

<sup>1</sup> Comenius was recommended to him by Dury; cf. G. Loesche, *Ungedruckte Briefe zur Geschichte des Comenius u. der böhmischen Brüder*, MH. der Com.-Ges. v., 1896, p. 101, letter of De Geer to Comenius, dated October  $\frac{9}{16}$ , 1641 (‘des la premiere heure que Mr. Duré me recommandait votre personne’).



country: 'Nam me hoc in loco intimi amici mei (Duraeus et Hartlibius) retinere conantur per duos tresve adhuc menses, suadentes, ut ante discessum hinc omnes pansophicos (annis 14 varie congestos et hucusque per chartas sparsim disjectos) conceptus recolligam et redactos in aliquem ordinem sibi quoque exemplar relinquam, ne scilicet, si me mors aut alius infaustus itinerum casus chartas meas mihi eripiant, omnia intereant simul. Quorum consilio, quia propemodum parere decrevi, (si modo Deus belli perniciem ab hoc regno averterit,) non deerit Tibi spatium Patrono mea ista cogitata communicandi ipsiusque voluntatem super his cognoscendi.'<sup>1</sup>

But what they had hoped for was not realised: 'Verum est, existimasse hic amicos (quos negotii conscios fecit Dominus Hartlibius unum et alterum) commodiorem fore sedem hoc in loco, tutioremque stationem, quae pluribus niteretur anchoris quam in obscuriore aliquo mundi angulo, et ubi ab unius solum (ejusque mortalis, ut omnes sumus) favore penderent omnia; praesertim cum nihildum de ejus nobis constaret animo, praeter quod Vestrae nuntiabant literae; qui quod optare videmini, hoc et credi velle videbanini. Tum vero, quia spes publicae tranquillitatis hoc in regno (quae nutare jam videntur) in integro tum erant, nec relabi tam facile a consiliis jam tum coeptis decorum fuit. Nunc, cum et hoc loco publica fluctuent, et Patroni manus fidei vestrae fidem facit, nemo nostrum est, qui non Vobis jam plene accedat<sup>2</sup>; eundum esse, quo Deus per submissas tam illustres occasiones vocat, faciendumque, ut non deliberationibus vitam et tempora consumamus, sed actionibus, quietam semel jam tandem nacti sedem; quemadmodum in eo loco (nisi humana omnia fallunt) sperare est.'<sup>3</sup>

Finally he made up his mind to leave England, and addressed to his friends there the following parting message,<sup>4</sup> entitled: 'Studii Pansophici in Anglia Fautoribus, Dominis mihi observandis (junctim aut sigillatim) ad legendum pateant'; 'Ideoque Vobis (quibus coram non fuit datum, scripto hoc) valedico; Vosque omnes divinae misericordiae aequae fervide atque opus,

<sup>1</sup> Patera, p. 50; letter from Comenius to Hotton, dated London, March  $\frac{4}{11}$ , 1642.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. consensus eundi in Sueciam.

<sup>3</sup> Patera, pp. 45-6. Letter from Comenius to Hotton, dated London, December  $\frac{9}{10}$ , 1641.

<sup>4</sup> Patera, pp. 55-6. It is dated London, June 10, 1642.

quod urgere (nos laboribus spontaneis, Vos liberalitate ultronea) suscepimus, commendo. Illud inquam opus, cujus gratia me huc (aliqui Vestrum) evocari, et nisi infelicia incidissent tempora, retineri etiam hîc voluistis, pietati Vestrae commendo. . . . Quorum<sup>1</sup> agmen hic ducit Dominus Hartlibius, quem ex quo cognovi, non aliter quam ut excitandum, acuendum eonglutinandumque ingenia natum et factum instrumentum Dei intueri soleo; Vosque ipsi per Vos, credo, non aliter judicatis, quicumque indefessam viri circa talia solertiam observatis. Per hunc Vobis semper de nobis laborumque sociis et progressu constare poterit, sicut et nobis de vita, valetudine, rerum successu inque nos affectu Vestro.'

In 1642 he left England for Sweden, arriving there in August of that year. After an interview with the king and Chancellor Oxenstirn, he was induced to settle at Elbing, for the purpose of devoting his energies to educational writings, much to the disgust of his English friends, as he describes<sup>2</sup>: 'sed haec mea Suecis gratificandi facilitas Anglicanis amicis vehementer displicuit, retraherêque me conati sunt prolixâ, rationum praegnantissimâ, epistolâ, "Specimen in Didacticis datum esse sufficiens, pleniùs omnia rectificandi patere jam satis viam; nondum in realibus. Illa posse alios agere, exurgereque jam passim aemulatione mutuâ ad industriam sese provocantes Didacticos; Pansophiae verò nequidem fundamenta satis adhuc esse detecta. Infinitòque plus utilitatis in publicum ab explanatissapientiae verae viis redundaturum, quàm à literulis Latinis"; et quae praeterea. Addebat S. H. "Quò moriture ruis? minoraque viribus audes?" Poeticò hòc solaecismò inconsiderantiam mihi exprobrans.'

But reproaches were in vain; nothing was to bring Comenius back again to England.

It will, perhaps, be well at this juncture to make mention of a problem which has recently been much discussed, namely, the relations of Hartlib to the Society of Freemasons and to the Royal Society. On this topic a heated controversy, which has unfortunately been sometimes very personal, has been waged between Ludwig Keller and W. Begemann. Keller<sup>3</sup> has put

<sup>1</sup> sc. amicorum.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. Did.* ii. 'De novis studia Didactica continuandis occasionibus.'

<sup>3</sup> See articles in *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft*, 1892 ff., especially 1907 ff.

forward the view, that Comenius and Hartlib belonged to secret societies, which existed in the early part of the seventeenth century both in England and abroad, and which, owing to fear of persecution, concealed their true aims under the cloak of being societies of learned men, interested in such matters as educational reform, whereas, in reality, they were founded mainly for religious and alchemistical purposes and professed a peculiar form of worship. These societies Keller combines with the old Platonic academies, and with the secret meetings of the Christians in the Catacombs, believing that the same ideal, that of humanity, permeated them all. He declares that there existed in England such a society, under the symbolical name of Antilia or Macaria, with which Hartlib was connected. As a result of the influence exerted by these societies, there sprang up in England the movement of Freemasonry, which, therefore, owes a deep debt of gratitude to Comenius and his friends.

Begemann,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, denies that either Comenius or Hartlib had any connection with, or influence on, the Freemasons, whom he regards as the legitimate successors of the old 'crafts' and 'guilds,' and who, in the early years of the seventeenth century, met together simply for convivial purposes, and who were without a thought for any higher intellectual aims.

It is quite impossible to examine here in detail the arguments urged in defence of the conflicting theories. Keller's chief mistake, however, seems to be, that he has set out with a theory of his own, with which he then endeavours to make all the facts agree, by attributing to them a deeper significance than their literal meaning warrants; thus, for instance, he quite distorts the common-sense view of the society spoken of in the following extracts of letters<sup>2</sup> from Poleman to Hartlib, dated Amsterdam, October 3 to November 21, 1659: 'I commence my answer to your very welcome letter of Sept. 9 with your glad news of such a society . . . to the honour of God and edification of the *boni publici*. . . . But, above all, this pleases me most, that my idea indeed really agrees with that of the society. You will have understood a week ago what a hearty desire I have to bring the young into a proper system of bringing-up and knowledge.

<sup>1</sup> See esp. *Vorgeschichte u. Anfänge der Freimaurerei in England*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1909-10, and *Comenius u. die Freimaurer*, Berlin, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 648, f. 12 ff.; cf. Kvačala's *Pädagogische Reform*, i. 347-50.

. . . I would also like to know, through whom you learn such matters concerning the society and whether you are a member too. . . . Further, whether you have told others also such matters as you have done to me, which seems to me to be dangerous, that such a thing should be known by many, for the world is very evil, poisonous, and almost devilish, so that one cannot sufficiently keep such and similar news as this secret. . . . I keep it so secret, that I will not even in a few weeks tell Mr. Com. of it, for everyone cannot always rightly understand and grasp such matters. . . . Since I also understand, that this society will make public proclamation in other lands, they must necessarily do it with the knowledge and consent of the government in England. It must therefore follow, that some of these people are themselves members of Parliament, or at least greatly respected; Parliament must also be quite at one and satisfied with their intention; otherwise they would not allow such proclamation. Most of all, however, I haerire in this, whether they will confide to Parliament, by what means they will be able to bring such a plan to a conclusion; or what sort of pretext and cloak they wish to use in order to conceal and hide their high gift of transmutation. . . .

‘For the news of the continuance of the rapidly nearing Christian Brotherhood, I once more return thanks. . . .

‘To 1, the two subjecta, of whom I made such honourable mention, and whom I recommended to the Antilia, are called Justus Docemius and Matthias Drudius; the former especially in Latinitate e methodo Comeniana, the latter particularly in Hebraicis, Graecis etc. God grant that the much desired Antilia may soon meet her Fortunatus’ bag, and provide for such and similar people according to necessity; then the world would soon take on another form, especially if one begins with the young, as the Antilia intends.’

Obviously this is simply some scheme for the uplifting of mankind by means of education and pansophia, supported by Hartlib, and similar to many others which he advocated during the course of his career.<sup>1</sup> To attach any deeper significance to the idea is not warranted by the details given of the proposed society. Nor is it at all likely that Hartlib was a member of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his ‘collegium charitatis,’ his endeavours to settle Comenius in London, and later his Office of Address.

secret societies on the Continent; a list of names, drawn up by him in 1634 for a 'Societas Reformatorum et Correspondency . . . in Germa[nia]'<sup>1</sup> contains, as Kvačala has already pointed out, not one of the names in Andrea's list of the 'dextra amoris porrecta.' Moreover, Keller is quite wrong in ascribing to Hartlib and his friends and to the 'Freemasons' of the Seventeenth century a desire for a form of religion capable of embracing within it all the religious sects of the world. Begemann<sup>2</sup> has clearly proved that religion was a subject not allowed to be discussed by these 'Freemasons' because of the danger of quarrels and of the consequent disturbance of their convivial meetings. Hartlib, like Dury and Comenius, wished for an universal form of religion certainly, but to him that meant the establishment of the Protestant religion throughout the world, and the conversion of all who held other doctrines, for he writes,<sup>3</sup> 'These things . . . do give me cause to make a Motion, which may, by Gods Grace, become an Effectuall means, not onely to help forward the Businesse to this Period and Issue which may prove the finall Overthrow of Antichrist in Europe; but also to open a way, through a neer Correspondency and Conjunction of Protestants amongst themselves, to dilate the Bounds of Christs Evangelicall Church, so far, as to offer, in due time, the Light of Saving Truth unto Jews and Gentiles, who as yet are in the shadow of Death and Darknesse.'

The most convincing argument of all, however, is the lack of any mention of, or reference to Freemasons in the correspondence and publications of Hartlib and his friends, as Begemann has pointed out. Even signs and symbols, which form part of the basis of Keller's theory, are conspicuous by their absence. So far as I have been able to ascertain, only once<sup>4</sup> does such a symbol occur in Hartlib's correspondence, and this has obviously nothing to do with the symbolic language of Freemasons.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 653, f. 115; cf. Kvačala's *Pädagogische Reform*, i. 43-7.

<sup>2</sup> L. Keller; *J. A. Comenius u. die Freimaurer*, Sonderabdruck aus der *Zirkel-correspondenz*, No. 8, 1907, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *The Necessity of some nearer Conjunction and Correspondency amongst Evangelicall Protestants*, &c., Lond. 1644, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 648, ff. 89-90; cf. Kvačala's *Korrespondence*, ii. pp. 99-100, letter from Abraham v. Frankenberg to Hartlib, dated Danzig, August 25, 1646: 'Cum Dn. Petro Figulo, qui cum Dn. Comenio et Dn. D. Cypriano Kinnero proxima 3̄ 21 Aug. solvit et Holmiam abiit, Trigae Trivnus adsit.'

<sup>5</sup> The symbol ♂ is that of Mars, and is often used, as here, to denote Tuesday.

Keller has apparently gone astray by comparing Hartlib's ideal of showing love towards mankind in general with what is reputedly the modern spirit of Freemasonry. At present his theory rests on conclusions which Begemann has challenged, and which Keller has not substantiated.

Moreover, as Althaus<sup>1</sup> points out, Hartlib does not appear to have been a member of the group of men who met together at Gresham College, and who were afterwards, in 1662, incorporated into the Royal Society. A curious and interesting letter<sup>2</sup> regarding this foundation is that of Dr. Wallis to Dr. Thomas Smith, dated January 29, 1696-7, in which he says: 'About the year 1645 while I lived in London, I had the opportunity to be acquainted with divers worthy persons, inquisitive into natural philosophy and other parts of human learning, and particularly of what hath been called the new or experimental philosophy. We did by agreement, divers of us, meet weekly on a certain day, to treat and discourse of such affairs. Of which number were . . . Mr. Theodore Haak a German of the Palatinate, and then resident in London, who, I think, gave the first occasion and first suggested those meetings, and many others. These meetings we held . . . sometimes at Gresham College. . . . Our business was (precluding matters of theology and state affairs) to discourse and consider of philosophical inquiries. . . . These meetings in London continued, and after the king's return, in 1660, were increased with the accession of divers worthy and honourable persons, and were afterwards incorporated by the name of the Royal Society, and so continue to this day.'

Hartlib's friendship with Haak, Boyle, Pell, Evelyn, and other eminent members of this body makes it probable that he was in close touch with the actual work of the society<sup>3</sup>; he could be of great assistance to the members, by communicating to them the various interesting pieces of information which he was constantly receiving from his numerous correspondents at home and abroad. Although interested enough in their proceedings, he did not become a member, probably because he was not

<sup>1</sup> P. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Birch, *Works of Boyle*, i. p. xlii.

<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Boyle, in a letter to Hartlib, dated May 8, 1647 (see Birch, i. p. xl.), writes, 'besides this, I say, you interest yourself so much in the Invisible College,' which probably is an allusion to the meetings which culminated in the Royal Society.

himself capable of the same strictly scientific work as the rest of the men ; moreover, this society was not his ideal society ; its scope was much too limited to appeal to a nature like his. He wished to promote the welfare of mankind in general, and welcomed scientific research and discovery,<sup>1</sup> in so far as it tended towards the same aim, but he knew too that scientific inventions formed only one, and that not the chief, means of doing good to the community at large.

<sup>1</sup> Interesting are the following details of a scheme, mooted in 1649, for the advancement of science, contained in two letters from Hartlib to Boyle, dated May 18, 1649, and May 1654, respectively (see C. R. Weld, *History of the Royal Society*, 2 vols., Lond. 1848, i. p. 53). The first reads : ‘ Fauxhall is to be sett apart for publick uses, by which is meant making it a place of resort for artists, mechanicks, etc., and a dépôt for models and philosophicall apparatus.’ It is further proposed, that ‘ experiments and trials of profitable inventions should be carried on,’ which, says the writer, ‘ will be of great use to the Commonwealth.’ Hartlib adds, that the late King (Charles I.) ‘ designed Fauxhall for such an use.’ In the second letter he says, ‘ The Earl of Worcester is buying Fauxhall from Mr. Trenchard, to bestow the use of that house upon Gaspar Calehof and his son, as long as they shall live, for he intends to make it a College of Artisans.’ ‘ Yesterday,’ he adds, ‘ I was invited by the famous Thomas Bushel to Lambeth Marsh, to see part of that foundation.’

## HARTLIB'S SUBSEQUENT CAREER, 1642-1662.

HARTLIB'S public activities and interests were so many and engrossing, that the little information which can be gleaned concerning his private life and affairs is to be found usually in the form of short notices in his voluminous correspondence. As has been already indicated, he appears to have resided after his marriage with Mary Burningham in Dalston near Kingsland. When he left this house is not certain, but it seems that he was settled in a house in Duke's Place, London, as early as June 18, 1638.<sup>1</sup> The date of his removal to 'Charing Cross, over against Angel Court,' is also uncertain,<sup>2</sup> but he was already there on May 2, 1651.<sup>3</sup> Thence he removed to a house in Axe Yard, Westminster, apparently in 1658, for a letter to Boyle<sup>4</sup> of December 16 of that year mentions his new house, and subsequent letters<sup>5</sup> bear the address, 'Axe-yard.' Here he remained in all probability until his death in 1662.<sup>6</sup>

Of his wife, née Mary Burningham, practically nothing is known. Hartlib mentions an illness of hers in a letter to Boyle<sup>7</sup> of February 28, 1653-4: 'My poor wife hath been sick unto

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MSS.* 4276, ff. 38-9, letter of J. Mede from Christ Coll., June 18 (the back of the letter bears the date June 18, 1638), 'To his worthie freind Mr. Samuel Hartlib at his house in Dukes place.'

<sup>2</sup> The last mention of Duke's Place as address seems to be in a letter to Boyle, dated July 24, 1649 (see Birch, vi. p. 78).

<sup>3</sup> At the end of *A Discours of Husbandrie used in Brabant and Flanders, &c.*, 2nd ed., Lond. 1652, is a letter from Hartlib to R. Weston, 'From my Hous at Charing-Cross, over against Angel-Court, the 2<sup>d</sup> of Maie, 1651.'

<sup>4</sup> Birch, vi. p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Birch, vi. p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> The last mention of Axe Yard appears to be in an anonymous letter from Amsterdam, dated  $\frac{30 \text{ Aug.}}{9 \text{ Sept.}}$ , 1661, and addressed, 'For his loving freind Mr. Samuel Hartlib the Elder dwelling in Axe yard nr. Kingstreet Westminster'; see *Sloane MSS.* 648, f. 46.

<sup>7</sup> Birch, vi. pp. 78-83.



death, but, by God's blessing upon the laudanum, the strength of her disease was broke within less than three hours after once taking of it, which none of her kindred would have believed. She remembers her humble service with the rest of her daughters and sons.' She appears to have been alive in 1657,<sup>1</sup> and in April 1660.<sup>2</sup> From Hartlib's letter to Lord Herbert,<sup>3</sup> dated November 22, 1660, in which he complains, 'I have nothing therefore left to keep me alive, with two relations more, a Daughter and a Nephew who is attending my sickly Condition,' it would appear, as Althaus remarks,<sup>4</sup> that she was then dead. In that case, the following notice in a letter<sup>5</sup> from Beale to Hartlib, dated January 14, 1661, 'I pray for the rt. noble Lady, and all other Friends and relations of yours, and very particularly for the Sonnes of wisdom,' must refer to someone else, probably to the daughter who married Sir John Roth.

In the letter to Boyle just quoted, reference is made to 'daughters and sons.' Concerning three members of the family, a good deal of information is available.<sup>6</sup> With regard to others, a Daniel Hartlib is the addressee of a letter of December 21, 1667, but nothing more is known of him.<sup>7</sup> The registers of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, London, contain notices of two children; namely, amongst the christenings:

'August 1654.

'31. John Hartlib: S: to Samuell by Mary.

<sup>1</sup> A letter, dated October 15/25 (probably written in 1657 by Pell to Hartlib), runs, 'If it were in my power, nothing should lye upon you, that might embitter or shorten your life, but that you might live, at least so long as to see some of your acquaintance likely to demonstrate themselves sure and considerable freinds to your memory, to your Widow and your posterity.' (See *Add. MSS.* 4364, f. 152) (new).

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 44, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> White Kennet, p. 872.

<sup>4</sup> P. 268.

<sup>5</sup> *Add. MSS.* 6271, f. 10. (new).

<sup>6</sup> See *infra*, p. 44 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Add. MSS.* 4278, f. 65:

'MR. HARTLIB,—I pray carry this bearer to Dr. Pell, and from him call for the key of my chamber where, upon the couch, you may find a bundle corded up, and a pair of shoes lying thereon. I pray deliver that bundle and shooes to him to be brought hither, and return the key to Dr. Pell. this will oblige,

'Your T. BRANCKER.

'My service to the young gentlemen.

'Dec. 21.'

It is addressed,<sup>8</sup> 'For Mr. Daniel Hartlib at Brereton.' That the date is 1667 appears from f. 66. (new).

‘ April 1660.

‘ 18. William Harcliffe <sup>1</sup> s. to Samuel by Mary.’

And amongst the burials :

‘ September 1654 :

‘ 1. John Hartlib—ch.<sup>2</sup>

‘ April 1660.

‘ 23. William Hartlibb c<sup>d</sup>.’ <sup>2</sup>

The identity of the daughter and nephew, whom he mentions in the letter to Lord Herbert, is very obscure. It is quite possible that Hartlib may simply have used the word nephew in the sense of kinsman or relative, in which case the allusion would be to Clodius and his wife, who probably lived with Hartlib in Axe Yard.

One of Hartlib’s daughters, apparently called Mary,<sup>3</sup> and therefore probably the eldest, married Frederick Clodius, who, according to Evelyn,<sup>4</sup> was ‘ a professed adeptus, who by the same methodus mendicandi and pretence of extraordinary arcana, insinuated himself into acquaintance of his father-in-law.’ This event took place apparently <sup>5</sup> in the late summer of the year 1653. They appear to have resided with Hartlib at Charing Cross,<sup>6</sup> where Clodius used the back-kitchen as his laboratory; he probably soon acquired a good practice amongst the large number of Hartlib’s acquaintances.<sup>7</sup> On February 2, 1657–8, they removed to a house in Axe Yard,<sup>8</sup> and it would seem that Hartlib followed them there very soon afterwards.<sup>9</sup> Mention

<sup>1</sup> So it appears to be; I have included the entry because the burial of April 23, 1660, would seem to indicate that Hartlib is meant. If this is a Hartlib, Mary Burningham must have been alive then; unless it be a child of Samuel Hartlib, junr., in which case the similarity of the wives’ names would be very remarkable.

<sup>2</sup> = Child.

<sup>3</sup> The following christening is reported in ‘ The Parish Register of Kensington, Co. Middlesex, (1539–1675),’ Harleian Soc. Publications, *Registers*, vol. xvi., Lond. 1890, p. 47 :

‘ 1663 (i.e. 1664),

Mar. 9. Catthren, d. of Frederick and Mary Clodions from Brompton.’

Clodius is evidently meant.

<sup>4</sup> Bray’s *Evelyn*, iii. 391.

<sup>5</sup> Althaus, p. 250.

<sup>6</sup> Birch, vi. 79.

<sup>7</sup> R. Vaughan, *The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, 2 vols., Lond. 1838, ii. 453–4, Letter from Hartlib to Pell, April 1, 1658; cf. Sir Kenelm Digby’s offer to Clodius, Letter from Hartlib to Boyle, May 15, 1654 (Birch, vi. 89).

<sup>8</sup> Birch, vi. 100–101, Hartlib’s letter to Boyle of that date.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 42.

is made<sup>1</sup> of a child being born to them in 1658, which however died soon afterwards.

Samuel Hartlib, junior, probably Hartlib's eldest son, is heard of first in 1653, when he was one of the London agents employed by the town of Berwick-on-Tweed.<sup>2</sup> A few years later, in 1656, he was appointed London legal agent for the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,<sup>3</sup> in their dispute with the Adventurers of London, and appears to have acted in that capacity until 1671.<sup>4</sup> The notice of his appointment,<sup>5</sup> which is dated February 14, 1655-6, runs thus: 'Mr. Hartlib being thought a fitt man to bee employed in the companies bussines in the roome of Mr. Wylliam Maddison, it was ordered that a letter should be writt to him accordingly intreatinge hym to be vigilant that our adversaries take no advantage against us, and upon their first motion to give us notice, as alsoe to receive into his custody all our papers which were in the hands of Mr. Wylliam Maddison, deceased, which should be delivered him by Mr. Thomas Bonnor and Mr. George Dawson.'

Apparently as early as 1657<sup>6</sup> he was in touch with political matters, but that he was then officially employed by the Government, as Althaus<sup>7</sup> assumes, is doubtful, for on July 6, 1659, he and his father were recommended by the Council to the 'Committee of Safety and for Nomination of Officers' for employment.<sup>8</sup> The result was that he was employed by the Government in the Customs and Excise department; frequent reference is made to him in the State Papers of the time,<sup>9</sup> especially in those

<sup>1</sup> Birch, vi. 114, Hartlib's letter to Boyle of September 14, 1658.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report on MSS. in various Collections*, i. (Berwick-on-Tweed Corporation), Lond. 1901, p. 18: 'Letters to and from Rushworth, who was Member of Parliament for the borough, upon municipal business, occur up to the year 1670. Samuel Hartlib was one of the London agents employed in 1653. On November 9, 1658, he writes of the presentation of an address to the Protector, Richard Cromwell, by himself and Mr. [note, which was read by Rushworth.'

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Boyle, *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, 2 vols. Surtees Soc. Publications, 93 and 101, Durham and Lond. 1895-9, ii. p. xvi: 'The Newcastle Merchants . . . had engaged as their adviser in London that eminent Northumbrian, Mr. John Rushworth, of Lincoln's Inn, who acted in conjunction with their London legal agent, Mr. Hartlib.'

<sup>4</sup> Last mention of him is dated [19 April, 1671]; see ii. 138.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 64.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Letter from Hartlib to Boyle, Birch vi. 96.

<sup>7</sup> P. 254.

<sup>8</sup> *State Papers*, Dom. Series, under date.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 1661-2, pp. 336, 602; 1663-4, p. 412; 1666-7, pp. 423, 486, 495, 501.

of the Hearth office,<sup>1</sup> with which he seems to have been connected. He cannot have been so scrupulously honest as his father, for he was involved in the matter of deficiencies in the money returns of the collectors of the hearth money,<sup>2</sup> and it was probably on that account that James Buck wrote<sup>3</sup> to Sir George Lane, on December 10, 1667, that 'your back-friend, Mr. Hartlipp, has had much ado to escape a prison, who has been the great engine of corruption.' That was evidently no lesson to him, for he abused his office in the Customs and Excise for the sake of personal gain.<sup>4</sup> It may be that as a result of this he was dismissed, and, feeling sore, abused the Government; in any case, he was arrested on January 6, 1672<sup>5</sup>; powerful friends, however, chief amongst whom was the above-mentioned John Rushworth,<sup>6</sup> secured his release on March 29, 1672.<sup>7</sup>

From other sources, too, sidelights are thrown on the character of young Hartlib, which create a far from favourable impression. Pepys, for instance, mentions the following incident in his diary<sup>8</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, Dom. Series, 1665-6, p. 571; 1666-7, pp. 65, 145, 160; 1668-9, p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> W. A. Shaw, *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1667-8, Lond. 1905, pp. 5, 10, 15, 21, 58, 70, 71, 79, 81, 134, 147, 224, 246, 263, 281, 288, 293, 303, 306, 338, 339, 388, 390, 428, 501, 507, 511, 570.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., *MSS. of the Marquess of Ormonde*, vol. iii., Lond. 1904, p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> *State Papers*, Dom. Series, 1670, p. 642: 'Names and addresses of 12 persons in or near London, authorised by the company of French merchants, to get in their goods etc., the King having, at request of Parliament, given leave for their landing, though he expects a present of very great value. Lord Arlington also would give no orders thereon without money for himself and Mr. Ashburnham, but on 1,100 l. being shared between them, the orders were given. Parliament being then prorogued, no further addresses could be made. There were many abuses about the goods; Mr. Clifford of the Prize Office forced them to be sold at low rates to Mr. Hartlib, with whom he probably went shares.' The entry is dated 1670?.

<sup>5</sup> *State Papers*, Dom. Series, 1672, p. 70, 'Warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower to take into custody Samuel Hartlibb, and keep him close prisoner, for seditious speeches and for publishing libels.'

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 252, 'March 29, 1672, Essex House, John Rushworth to Sir J. Williamson. Begging his favour to his friend Mr. Samuel Hartlibb, who, he hears, is to be released out of the Tower by his Majesty's directions, so the warrant, he supposes, is to pass Lord Arlington's hand. Mr. Hartlibb has appointed one to attend with the fees due.'

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* March 29, 'Warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to discharge Sam. Hartlibb, a prisoner in the Tower'; cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Rep. xi. App. vii. p. 8, '1672 Warrants signed by the King and Lord Arlington for the discharge of prisoners from the Tower, viz. Sir George Downing, 19 March; Samuel Hartlibb, 28 March . . .'

<sup>8</sup> *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, with Lord Braybrooke's notes, ed. by H. B. Wheatley, 9 vols., Lond. 1903-4, vii. p. 100.

'Sept. 6th, 1667 . . . and so we ended . . . and walked up and down to get a coach; and my wife, being a little before me, had been like to be taken up by one, whom we saw to be Sam Hartlib. My wife had her vizard on; yet we cannot say that he meant any hurt; for it was as she was just by a coach-side, which he had, or had a mind to take up; and he asked her: "Madam, do you go in this coach?" but, soon as he saw a man come to her (I know not whether he knew me) he departed away apace.' So, too, Pell, in a letter<sup>1</sup> to his wife, dated August 5, 1654: 'If you would have the messengers of White-hall carefull to bring you your letters, you must give them something for their labour. And young Mr. Hartlib would have more minde of your businesse, if he did not thinke that he wrought for nothing.'

Ultimately, in order to get clear of his debts, he fled the country, as Andrew Marvell relates in a letter<sup>2</sup> to Sir Henry Thompson at Eserick: 'As for Hartlib, who was S<sup>r</sup> John's eagerest sollicitor, he hath a moneth ago shot the pie. For being a vaine fellow and expensive beyond his incomes, he hath thought convenient to passe ouer into Holland with no intention of returning; and so unhansomely as to go away even in Mr. Rushworth's debt, who, good man, stood not in need of such an accident.' He was evidently married, for Pepys<sup>3</sup> mentions his wife on January 29, 1663-4; his subsequent career is still unknown.

On July 10, 1660, Nan Hartlib was married to John Roder or Roth, of Utrecht, who was knighted shortly afterwards, on August 5 of the same year.<sup>4</sup> According to Pepys,<sup>5</sup> the event was splendidly celebrated: 'July 10th, 1660. This day I put on first my new silk suit, the first that ever I wore in my life. . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MSS.* 4280, f. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Rep. ix., Pt. ii., p. 447b; date and signature of the letter are missing; it is put under a letter of July 10, 1670, but it must be much later than that, for Hartlib was in England as late as August 16, 1672, the date of the following entry in the 'Marriage Licences issued by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1660-1679,' Harleian Soc. Publications, vol. 23, Lond. 1886, p. 206:

'1672. Aug. 16. Shem Bridges, of Putney, Surrey, Merchant, Bachr., abt 31, and Mrs. Isabella Blackett, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Spr., abt. 22; consent of father William Blackett, Merchant; at St. Dunstan's East or Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey; alleged by Samuel Hartlib, of Inner Temple, Gent.'

<sup>3</sup> *Diary*, iv. p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Harleian MSS.*, Brit. Mus., 5801 (containing vol. i. of 'Pedigrees of Knights made from Car. II. to Queen Anne'), f. 50: 'Utrecht Sir John Roth kted at ——— 5 Aug. 1660.'

<sup>5</sup> *Diary*, i. 196.

Home, and called my wife, and took her to Dr. Clodius's to a great wedding of Nan Hartlib to Mynheer Roder, which was kept at Goring House with very great state, cost, and noble company.' Pepys, too, makes the interesting remark<sup>1</sup> that Sir John Roth was 'a great fortune for her to light on, she being worth nothing in the world.' There has been some doubt as to whether this Nan Hartlib was sister or daughter of Samuel Hartlib, senior. Both Masson<sup>2</sup> and Althaus<sup>3</sup> favour the latter view, which is now conclusively proved by the following anonymous letter,<sup>4</sup> dated Amsterdam, August  $\frac{9}{19}$ , 1661: 'Remember my service to your son Sir John Rhote and to his Lady your daughter. I have not seen his oncle of late, but will God willing visit him before I go out of towne.' Besides, Pepys himself gives the clue when he writes,<sup>5</sup> '12th July, 1666, away . . . to St. James's, to Goring House, . . .; after walking up and down the house below, being the house I was once at Hartlib's sister's wedding.'

Lamentable in contrast to the great prosperity of their ancestors was the state of poverty to which Samuel Hartlib and his brother George were reduced in course of time. The latter's name is included in the list<sup>6</sup> of those needy persons to whom monetary assistance was given in October, 1647, by Comenius, out of the funds supplied by his patron, De Geer: 'Georgio Hartlibio, proscripto et vitam aegre toleranti. 10 Imp.'<sup>7</sup> It is not surprising that Samuel Hartlib soon reduced himself to poverty, for he was ever ready to help others, and the cost of promoting the various schemes he advocated, of printing and publishing the numerous tracts he edited, and of maintaining his voluminous correspondence, must have been very considerable. He himself related<sup>8</sup> that since his arrival in England he had spent between £300 and £400 a year of his own, besides what he had received from Parliament. These parliamentary grants were considerable; £50 was voted him on January 14, 1644-5.<sup>9</sup> On June 25, 1646, £100 was voted<sup>10</sup> to be paid him, 'out of the

<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, i. 190.

<sup>2</sup> vi. 453 note.

<sup>3</sup> p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> *Stoane MSS.* 648, f. 44; no addressee is mentioned, but Hartlib is obviously meant.

<sup>5</sup> *Diary*, ii. 413.

<sup>6</sup> Kvačala's *Korrespondence*, ii. pp. 193-5.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. £2 10s.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> *State Papers*, Dom. Series, under date.

<sup>10</sup> *Journal of the House of Commons*, iv. 587-8; cf. *Journal of the House of Lords*, viii. 403-4.

first monies that shall come in,' 'for his present Maintenance and Subsistence,' whilst 'some Place at Oxford for him, for his future Support' was talked of. On March 31, 1647, £300 was voted<sup>1</sup> him, 'in Consideration of his good Deserts, and great Services to the Parliament,' speedy payment being recommended 'considering the present great Necessities of the said Mr. Hartlib, and his Family,' whilst it was referred to the committee for the University of Oxford, 'to take into their especial Consideration the Deserts of Mr. Hartlib, both from this Parliament, and from all that are Well-wishers to the Advancement of Learning; and to recommend him to some Place of Benefit in the University of Oxon: where he may have an Encouragement and future Supply.' This money he evidently received,<sup>2</sup> for after notices of two payments of £100 each,<sup>3</sup> and one of £20,<sup>4</sup> there is a warrant for payment of £80, the 'balance due of £300.'<sup>5</sup> It was ordered<sup>6</sup> on April 26, 1649, that he and Haak should be taken into consideration for maintenance, and something offered them, 'for the Advancement of Arts and Learning'; the result for Hartlib was a pension of £100 a year.<sup>7</sup> This was evidently not paid regularly; there was an order made<sup>8</sup> on August 17, 1650, for the payment of £50 each to Hartlib and Haak, 'for many good services in their correspondence beyond seas, and to enable them to continue it,' and another,<sup>9</sup> dated November 20, 1651, for £100 to Hartlib, 'in regard of the intelligence and correspondence maintained by him abroad, which Council had an account of,' and asking that it should be considered, 'in what condition the allowance appointed by Parliament to Mr. Hartlib stands, and whether paid or not; and if not, where the obstruction is, and report, that further order may be taken.' This seems to have been left disregarded, for on November 12, 1652,<sup>10</sup> 'the petition of Saml. Hartlib' was 'referred to Lords Commissioners White-lock and Lisle to consider what should be given him for encouragement in his public undertakings.' The result was a warrant<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Commons Journal*, v. 131, 132, 133; cf. *Lords Journal*, ix. 119-20.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. Green, *Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money*, 1642-56, 3 vols., Lond. 1888, i. p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iii. p. 1503.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 227.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 1652-3, p. 489.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* iii. p. 1498.

<sup>9</sup> *Commons Journal*, vi. 196.

<sup>10</sup> *State Papers*, Dom. Series, under date.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

on March 18, 1653, to pay him £100, 'for disbursements in the service,' followed on July 27 of the same year by an order<sup>1</sup> to pay him ' $\frac{3}{4}$  of a year arrears of allowance due . . . out of the augmentation of Pembroke College, Oxford, and the  $1\frac{1}{4}$  year's arrears from the undervaluers of Goldsmiths' Hall,' while Colonel Sydenham was to 'consider a way for his future maintenance and report.' On October 18, 1653,<sup>2</sup> the Lord President of the Council was directed to 'move Parliament that the £25 due to Sam. Hartlib from the public revenue last Michaelmas, being a quarter's salary from the augmentation to Pembroke College, Oxford . . . may be paid him . . . notwithstanding the late order to stop payments out of that Treasury,' and, on the same day, a warrant<sup>3</sup> for £150 arrears was made out. Again, on March 21, 1653-4, order was made,<sup>4</sup> on his petition, for £75 arrears, whilst on May 10, 1654, a warrant<sup>5</sup> was ordered 'to be prepared to pay what is due to Mr. Hartlib of the allowance granted him out of the Customs' contingencies.' On June 12, 1654, a warrant<sup>6</sup> was made out to him for £100, 'for industry in several public services, according to what was heretofore allowed,' but, once again, on July 11,<sup>7</sup> there is the same tale of orders made for arrears, this time for £100, followed on July 31 by a warrant<sup>8</sup> for £50, 'towards £100 a year granted him by Parliament . . . to be paid half yearly.' On August 29, 1655,<sup>9</sup> part of the day's proceedings of the Council was 'to advise a warrant to continue to Sam. Hartlib from the Exchequer the £100 a year ordered him from delinquents' estates, and paid by the Haberdashers' Hall Commissioners till December 1654, when the revenues were ordered to be brought into one treasury,' but no mention of payment occurs until October 5, 1658,<sup>10</sup> when £75 was given, 'for industry and expenses in the service for three-quarters of a year.' At both the following quarters,<sup>11</sup> January 11, 1658-9, and March 31, 1659, the money, £25, was paid, but it is significant that both father and son were recommended for employment to the Committee of Safety and for Nomination of Officers on July 6, 1659.<sup>12</sup> A little later,<sup>13</sup> a petition from him was read, and

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, Dom. Series, under date.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1653-4, p. 454.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* under date.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 1654, p. 448.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* under date.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 1654, p. 452.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* under date.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 1658-9, p. 584.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 1658-9, p. 585.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* under date; cf. *supra*, p. 45.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* (Jan. 23), 1659-60.



the series of entries concludes with a warrant of April 20, 1660,<sup>1</sup> to pay him arrears of £200, 'on a report presented to Council.' With the Restoration, all hope of the pension being paid up, or even continued, vanished, for all such pensions granted during the Commonwealth and arrears of debt contracted during that time were annulled<sup>2</sup>; in vain might Hartlib complain,<sup>3</sup> that he wished he had his former pension.

But it was not only from Parliament that Hartlib received financial support. The Right Honourable Oliver St. John, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, helped him privately in his straits.<sup>4</sup> Mention is made<sup>5</sup> of £20, which Sir Thomas Roe had got from Lord Craven and delivered to Hartlib, and of a further sum of just over £20, the residue of arrears of rent due from Dury's tenant, which was also to be given to him. The Earl of Jersey paid him £100 during the year ending September, 1658.<sup>6</sup> Comenius, too, intended £200, which he was to receive from the London booksellers for the purpose of pushing on the pansophical work, for Hübner and Hartlib, but, believing that this sum of money was uncertain, he begged his patron, De Geer, to give each of them, for the year 1642 at least, about 200 talers.<sup>7</sup> De Geer seems to have helped them both, but the support granted to Hartlib was evidently not sufficient, for Comenius gave him a further sum of £40.<sup>8</sup> To Boyle, too, he complained<sup>9</sup> of his 'very great straits, to say nothing of the continual (almost daily) disbursements for others,' and sorrowfully admitted,<sup>10</sup> that he had been forced to use Boyle's 'favour' to supply his own necessities, instead of making use of it for other good purposes. Worthington, too, tried to assist him, and with the help of some

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, Dom. Series, 1659-60, p. 598.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> J. Crossley, *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. J. Worthington*, Manchester, Chetham Soc. Publications, 13, 36, 114, 3 vols., 1847-86, i. 259, letter from Hartlib to Worthington, dated January 1, 1660-1.

<sup>4</sup> *Clavis Apocalyptica*, Lond. 1651, see 'Epistle Dedicatorie.'

<sup>5</sup> *State Papers*, under January 28, 1636-7, letter from Roe to Dury.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the interesting notice in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Rep. viii., App. i., pp. 94b and 95a, 'A Briefe Declaration of moneys received and paid at the Receipt of his Highnesse's (i.e. the Earl of Jersey's) Exchoquer for the whole yeare begunn the 29th of September 1657 exclusive, and ended the 29th of September 1658 inclusive . . . record of disbursements exhibits the following payments . . . 100*l.* to Samuell Hartlibb, Esquire.'

<sup>7</sup> Comenius ad Hottonum, ddo, 11/21, October 1642, Elbingac; see Gindely, pp. 37-8.

<sup>8</sup> Gindely, pp. 38-40.

<sup>9</sup> Birch, vi. 108.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 125-6.

friends, gave him £10 in 1659,<sup>1</sup> supplementing that gift with one of £1 in 1660.<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter St. John sent him £6 in 1661 by Dr. Whichcote.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Worthington tried to induce him<sup>4</sup> to apply through his influential friends in London for some living *sine curâ*, or for the mastership of some hospital, saying, in reply to Hartlib's assertions of incapacity for such posts, that many people considered him 'more fit to be ordained than divers who are.' But such sums availed little, as his piteous appeal<sup>5</sup> to Lord Herbert on November 22, 1660, shows: 'My most honoured Lord, I have been very ill of late and by manifold Miseries so far oppressed, that I could not send this Week my wonted Paper Respects. Lord Annesley was pleased some Months ago to honour me with a Visit, having an Intimation of my forsaken Condition. He was pleased to tell me, I sinned, if I did not make my Condition known. I confess this is a very hard Duty to be performed, which also I have deferred to this Day. But Necessity being so urgent (and Literae non erubescunt) I beseech your Honour give me Leave to intimate very briefly my present most distressed and forsaken Condition. I suppose your Honour is not ignorant of the Votes that have passed concerning Gifts, Pensions, Debts, allowed or contracted by the former Powers, that all of them are made void by this Parliament: Also that no Motion is to be made concerning Money Matters 'till the Debts of the Army and Navy be first satisfied. Both these Votes fall most heavily upon your Honour's tormented Servant; so that he hath nothing to expect of all his Arrears (which amounting to seven hundred pounds would have fully freed him from all his Debts, and given him a present comfortable Subsistence), nor of his yearly Pension settled upon him by the first Parliament consisting of Lords and Commons.—I have nothing therefore left to keep me alive, with two Relations more, a Daughter and a Nephew who is attending my sickly Condition.—You see, most honoured Lord, how I am necessitated to make my humble and hopeful Application to your so often experimented Kindness, that your Honour would not leave me nor forsake me at this Time, but rather enlarge the Bowels of your Love, by

<sup>1</sup> Crossley, i. 178-9; cf. Hartlib's letter of thanks, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 179; cf. Dr. Whichcote's letter to Worthington, p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 336-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 245; cf. pp. 270 and 338.

<sup>5</sup> White Kennet, pp. 872-3.

joining with some other honourable Worthies (I mean chiefly the Right Honourable Earl of Manchester, and the 'forenamed Lord Annesley) to make up such an Assistance, as may save your and their most devoted Servant from utter perishing, 'till some other Means of publick Love and Encouragement maybe (if it maybe) determined. I durst not have expressed myself so boldly, but that I know your Honour hath been always a Person of solid Honour and Faithfulness unto me, and that I really believe, that when the Times of Refreshing shall come, such Deeds of Compassion will certainly be honoured and rewarded with exceeding Joy.'

In spite, however, of the grave financial distress under which he laboured, Hartlib nevertheless, with surprising and admirable courage and perseverance, continued to carry on the noble work of benefiting mankind, to which he had set his hand. The many ramifications of his numerous activities and interests it is impossible to describe here; volumes would be required in order to present a full and complete account of them. Only a short summary of his schemes and accomplishments can be attempted. It has already been noted that Hartlib and Dury advocated a scheme for a correspondence amongst evangelical Protestants. This scheme appears to have blossomed out later<sup>1</sup> into the idea of an 'Office of Publike Adresse in Spirituall and Temporall matters,' whereby 'the Glory of God and the Happinesse of this Nation maybe highly advanced.'<sup>2</sup> In his dedication to the 'Right Honourable Senators,'<sup>3</sup> he writes: 'As I have been long agoe convicted of this Truth, that my Life is not mine own but Gods, and that God appoints the Use of it to be returned unto Him in Christ through his Body, which is the Church visible: So I make account that I can have no true delight in the enjoyment of this Earthly Life of mine any further, then I find myselfe Usefull to others thereby in Christs Way. Therefore I dare not desire either the continuance or comforts thereof any longer, then I may be serviceable therein to the Commonwealth of Israel. And although I know not what service in this Kind I have hitherto done, or may do hereafter, (for I am no competent Judge of this matter) yet I am comforted herein, that I have the

<sup>1</sup> *Considerations tending to the happy accomplishment of Englands Reformation in Church and State, &c.*, Lond.; p. 59 bears the date 1647.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 2nd title on p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Members of Parliament.

testimony of my Conscience assuring mee, that I have sincerely spent and laid out my selfe wholly to this effect. And that although I have been carelesse of my selfe as to this world (*sine invidia lucri*) yet I have seen alwayes Gods hand in the midst of many straits and difficulties supporting me, and shewing me a way to proceed, when I found my selfe at a stand. Now because of late this hath been more eminently apparent than ever, by the speciall Providence of God in moving the Goodnesse and Justice of the Houses to Order my present maintenance, and future support; I thinke my selfe highly obliged by all the bonds of Gratitude, to be so much the more Zealous, Free and Earnest both towards God and Men, to endeavour the Advancement of his Glory, and your Felicity, which I am fully perswaded may be done by such Motions and Proposals as these are, which some (who are not much swayed by the Interests of flesh and blood) having concurred with me to put to Paper, I suppose may have an effectuall influence upon those Honourable Friends of mine in the Houses, who are pleased to looke upon me as a Servant to every one for the Publick Good of All. Therefore in requitall of their care for me, I find my heart enlarged with cares for them, and by the advantage of most thankful Affections and Respects I would gladly give you All occasion to be Instrumentall towards your own Happinesse, and the perfect Wayes of such a desired Reformation both of Church and State, as may by Gods blessing thereon in due time ferment the rest of the world.' He develops the scheme for the 'office of adresse' in these terms<sup>1</sup>: 'Wee should advice then that a Certaine Place should be designed by the Authority of the State, whereunto all men might freely come to give Information of the Commodities which they have to be imparted unto others; and some body should bee set in that Place to receive these Informations to the end that he may give address to every one that shall repaire to him, to make enquiry for such Commodities, Where and How to find the same. His proper Charge then and Duty should bee to inable himselfe to direct all men to the attainment of such desirable things, as the Society of Mankind in the Commonwealth where he lives can comfortably yeeld unto them; so that this Office should bee erected properly for the Relief of Humane Necessities; and to accomplish the effect of a wel-ordered Society; that all things which are Usefull

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 37-57

and profitable in a Commonwealth for Publick and Private Accommodation, and the Contentation of Soul or Body, being known where they are to be found, such as stand in need thereof may know whither to repair to get speedy notice thereof, how to come by them lawfully. . . . Let it<sup>1</sup> have Two Parts or Branches; the one for Bodily, the other for Spirituall Matters. . . . The Office of Bodily Addresses, should be appointed to meddle with al Outward Things concerning this present life, for the relations of men to each other in worldly Concernments, and may be called the Adresse of Accommodations. But the Office of Spirituall Addresses should be appointed to meddle with all Inward things concerning the Soules of Men, and the Wayes whereby they may be helpfull one to another in Matters relating the same, which maybe called, the Adresse of Communications. . . . The Warden of this Office<sup>2</sup> . . . should be Authorized also to negotiate for Spirituall Intelligence; and to maintaine a Correspondency and Learned Trade with all Men of Abilities within and without the Kingdome, about the things belonging to the Sphere of his Office; so that he should be allowed not onely to give Information of things elsewhere to be found (which is properly the worke of Common Addresses) but also of that, which should be in his own peculiar Possession and Custody, which he should be allowed to gather up and keep concerning all Matters of Religion, Learning and Ingenuities, as a peculiar Stock belonging to his Office, to communicate the same by way of Spirituall Trade and Commerce to whomsoever he should think fit and expedient, onely for the Ends wherunto his Commerce in this kind is to be directed.

‘ Now the Ends should be these :

‘ Firstly, in Matters of Religion hee should intend,

‘ 1. To Facilitate the Meanes of Rectifying Mistakes, and of Preventing the Increase of Divisions and Disorders about Matters of dispute whether in Opinion or Practise.

‘ 2. To stirre up and waken the sense and love of Piety, of Charity, and of the profession of Edifying Knowledge in the Minds of all Men without partiality.

‘ Secondly, in Matters of Humane Sciences the End of his Negotiation should be,

<sup>1</sup> Sc. the Office.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. ‘ of Adresse for Communications.’

' 1. To put in Practice the Lord Verulams Designations, De Augustis Scientiarum, amongst the Learned.

' 2. To help to perfit Mr. Comenius Undertakings, chiefly in the Method of Teaching, Languages, Sciences, and of Ordering Schooles for all Ages and Qualities of Scholars.

' Thirdly, in the Matters of Ingenuity his End should be to offer the most profitable Inventions which he should gaine, unto the benefit of the State, that they might be Publikey made use of, as the State should think most expedient.' After recommending London as the centre for the Address of Accommodations and Oxford for the Address of Communications, he continues, ' The Warden of the Oxford office may have some Colledge or Hall appointed for his Office-place, and the Revenues thereof for his maintenance to support him in his Charge. . . . The Ecclesiasticall Estates and Revenues, which are so Vast, and now to be disposed of, to what Publique Uses can they be more profitably applyed, then to the Advancement of the Wayes of Piety and Learning ? '

That Hartlib was designed as ' Warden ' for the ' Address of Accommodations ' is clear from further interesting details published in 1648<sup>1</sup>: ' It is therefore most humbly desired, that the Parliament would be pleased to Resolve upon these following particulars, as the Matter of an Ordinance to be passed by both Houses.

' 1. That Samuel Hartlib Esquire be appointed Superintendent Generall of all Offices of Adresse, instituted in the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, with prohibition to all others whatsoever, to intermeddle with that businesse, either by imitating, or any other ways altering the said offices, without permission and Deputation from the said Samuel Hartlib.

' 2. That in case no allowance be made for the said Samuel Hartlib in reference to the Agencie for Learning, that then the sum of two hundred pound per annum be allowed to him for his Superintendency of the said Office, either out of some place of profit at Oxford, according to the express order of the House of Commons, or out of the Revenues of Deans and Chapters Lands, or by what other way, the Honorable Houses shall think more convenient.

' 3. That the said Superintendent shall have power to demand for every Entry and Extract, the summe of two pence, or three

<sup>1</sup> A further Discoverie of the Office of Publick Adresse for Accommodations, Lond. 1648; see *An other Memoriall on the behalf of Master Hartlib, &c.*

pence at the most, (consideration being always had of such as are poor and unable to pay the said Dues) for Clerks and Registers wages, and defraying the other Charges incident to the Employment.

'4. That a Convenient great House be allowed unto the said Samuel Hartlib to keep the said Office in (which is henceforth to be call'd and known by the name of the Office of Adresse) with consideration for the furniture thereof.' Among the registers of the office, too, a 'Catalogue of all Catalogues of Books' is to be kept.<sup>1</sup>

Once more, in 1649, Hartlib published a tract,<sup>2</sup> written by Dury, on the same subject of an agency for the advancement of universal learning; interesting additional details are, besides the fact that the agent 'shall be accountable to the joynt Overseers of the whole businesse,' the following<sup>3</sup>:

'7. They<sup>4</sup> should have a regular correspondencie with men of eminent and publique parts in forrain places by the means of their Agent, to discover by them, and gain from them, all the feats of Learning which from time to time spring up amongst them, that being found usefull, they maybe set afoot amongst us, and accommodated unto our more profitable ways.

'8. To this effect a learned Secretary, one or more, for Latine, and other Vulgar Languages should be entertain'd, to be under the direction of the Agent, according to the advice of the Trustees, and some Clerks and Transcribers are to be had, which are skill'd to write in more Languages than one.

'9. The Hospittall entertainment of Travelling Learned Strangers, by whose means Intelligence may be gotten of things elsewhere most considerable, is to be allow'd as an extraordinary charge unto the Agent, who is to gain their acquaintance.' Copies of the full scheme were evidently sent out to all those who might be likely to approve of it and support the idea, for amongst Worthington's papers<sup>5</sup> there appears a 'Memorial for Advancement of universal Learning . . .

'1. Entertainment to an agent to finde out men of parts and

<sup>1</sup> *A further Discoverie of the office of publick Adresse for Accommodations*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *A seasonable Discourse written by Mr. John Dury upon the earnest requests of many, &c.*, Lond. 1649.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 25-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Sc.* the trustees or overseers.

<sup>5</sup> *Add. MSS.* 6269 (Miscellanies relating to several projects for founding a philosophical college &c., collected from the papers of Mr. John Worthington, by J. Ward), ff 23-5.

abilities, to tender their several proposals for the advancement of learning to the feoffies ; and keep correspondence with such of them, as reside in remote and forraigne places ; and solliciting of all other businesses subordinate thereunto.

‘ 2. Allowance to him for hospitality, or short entertainment, to travellers and strangers.

‘ 3. Entertainment of a learned secretary for Latin and other vulgar languages, one or more, to assist the said agent in his affairs.

‘ 4. Rewards for some professed intelligencers in forraigne countries, residing in the best and most central places.

‘ 5. Gratifying now and then of industrious correspondents.

‘ 6. Defraying the postage of the intelligencers and correspondents.

‘ 7. Allowance for some messengers for carrying of letters, and going in errands.

‘ 8. The maintenance of clarks, amanuenses, or transcribers of several nations.

‘ 9. The maintenance of some other schollars of greater abilities, to be employed by way of translations, collections, epitomising and methodising.

‘ 10. Defraying the charges of paper and printing for publick and private informations.

‘ 11. Horsehire, boat-hire, and extraordinarie travells.

‘ 12. The purchasing and making of natural experiments.

‘ 13. The purchasing and making of mechanical models and works.

‘ 14. Of rarities and representations of all common natural and artificial things.

‘ 15. Donatives or gratuities for learned men in want.

‘ 16. Donatives or gratuities for mechanical men in want.

‘ 17. The transcribing and printing of whole tracts and great works.

‘ 18. Rewards for painting and drawing designs upon all occasions.

‘ Whereas Mr. John Dury, library keeper of St. James’s, and Samuel Hartlib Esq. have accepted the trust of receiving and disposing such summes of moneys, as well affected persons and lovers of the publick good shall be pleased to give, and to bequeath, towards a most usefull agencie and councill for advance-



ment of universall learning and arts ; as is more fully specified and explained, in the memorial hereunto annexed ; as likewise in the lord Verulam's workes ; in the advice for the advancement of some particular parts of learning ; in the Reformed library-keeper, in the Seasonable discourse ; and in the discourses, which describe the offices of addresse for accommodation and communications ;

' Wee, whose names are here underwritten,<sup>1</sup> highly approving these pious and noble aimes, and earnestly desiring that towards the accomplishment thereof, the designed agencie and councill may bee erected and supported ;

' Being also very well satisfied with the approved faithfulness and abilities of the afore named trustees to manage and direct the foresaid undertaking ; doe to the said ends and purposes (besides the conscionable engaging ourselves to draw in others to the cheerfull assistance of so commendable an enterprize) voluntarily subscribe these several summes of money yearly to be continued during pleasure ; and to be paid in whole at once, or by equall portions every quarter, to the aforesaid trustees, or to such collectors, as the said trustees shall employ ; receipts for all such payments being given under the trustees hands. The payment to begin, when it shall be demanded, or the next quarter day after every of our several respective subscriptions as followeth.' Such, then, was the office of agent for the advancement of universal learning and of the public good, which Hartlib conceived as his mission in life, for he confesses, that it ' is an Employment whereunto from my youth God hath naturalized my affections.'<sup>2</sup> For many years he appears to have executed the duties of the office at his own cost, supported by free-will gifts from friends and others interested in the scheme. Ultimately, Parliament officially recognised him, and made arrangements for financial support, thereby raising Hartlib's hopes of the near approach of the millennium to the highest pitch ; but they only flattered to deceive : the political atmosphere was too troubled to allow of the prosecution of such magnanimous designs, and, as has been already indicated,<sup>3</sup> the financial support promised was irregularly paid, and finally ceased altogether. Small wonder

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the MS. does not give them.

<sup>2</sup> *Clavis Apocalyptica*, Lond. 1651 ; see ' Epistle Dedicatorie '

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 48-51.

then, that, viewing the apparently hopeless outlook, Comenius had already <sup>1</sup> advised Hartlib to accept some post for the meantime, repeating the request a few years later in these much stronger terms <sup>2</sup>: ‘Ausimque iterum Tibi quoque suadere, mi Hartlibi, ut Tibi aliud eligas vitae genus et in particulari aliqua functione servias Deo. Cogita per Christum, annon Marthae vitam vivas, de aliis semper distractissime sollicitus? et annon una res sufficeret ad placendum Deo et serviendum tamen proximis? Certa nempe aliqua functio, in qua honeste vivas, Deo et proximis servias, Tibi et Tuis prospicias? assidendo ubiubi pedibus Domini, curasque viribus impares relinquendo Deo? Dissipari omnia consilia nonne vides? Obluctari fatis consultumne putas? Fieri potest, ut ego consilia Tua nondum capiam nec enim unquam adhuc vel detexisti satis clare, vel ego in iis exquirendis curiosus fui. Memini te von einer Correspondenz-Cantzelei scripsisse; sed illud quid sit, quem finem habeat et quem usum, non intelligo. Quicquid sit, si ejus rei causa homines Tibi, domi et peregre alendi sunt, et pro re tantilla (non enim quanta sit intelligere me dixi) tantae subeundae curae, operosam Tibi elegisti provinciam laboresque interminabiles erunt Tibi laborum merces. Quam optem, ut Tibi liceat cum Mose deprecari tantum curarum pro aliis onus.’ Hartlib’s reply to this second letter is not known, but the changed tone of Comenius’s next letter <sup>3</sup> makes it certain that Hartlib had indignantly refused to entertain such a suggestion, resolved to carry through to the bitter end his magnificent life’s work.

Education was one of the matters with which the Office of Address was intended to deal,<sup>4</sup> and knowing Hartlib’s great zeal for reform in that direction, it is not surprising to find that even after the lamented departure from England of Comenius it

<sup>1</sup> Patera, p. 78, letter of Comenius to J. Wolzogen, dated Elbing, October 8, 1643: ‘Quid autem Hartlibii mei superestne aliqua memoria? Suadere ipsemet tentaveram, ut particularem aliquam suscipere interim ne sperneret vocationem. Quid mihi responderit, ex adjacentibus vide. Indignatur propemodum, quod a sublimioribus revocare audeam; veritus, ne et ipse abjiciam hastam. Multa sperat, multa satagit, multos stimulare et fovere, qui se publico dedunt, non intermittit optimus vir.’

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 128, letter of Comenius to Hartlib, dated January 11/21, 1647; cf. Gindely, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Patera, p. 134, dated June 5/15, 1647: ‘At Te in proposito perseverare et publica publice agere velle, eoque fine theatrum amplum ac splendidum erigere ac jam aperire video.’

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 56.

figured largely in his correspondence and schemes. In 1644, John Milton addressed to him his pamphlet, 'Of Education,'<sup>1</sup> a summary of what, as he himself says,<sup>2</sup> 'at severall times I have discourst with you concerning the best and Noblest way of Education.' At the outset,<sup>3</sup> he makes two statements which may possibly have reference to Comenius, although in both cases it has been doubted: 'Nor should the lawes of any private friendship have prevail'd with me to divide thus, or transpose my former thoughts, but that I see those aims, those actions which have won you with me the esteem of a person sent hither by some good providence from a farre country to be the occasion and the incitement of great good to this Iland.<sup>4</sup> . . . To tell you therefore what I have benefited herein among old renowned Authors, I shall spare; and to search what many modern Janua's and Didactics more then ever I shall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not.'<sup>5</sup> Another friend, afterwards the famous Sir William Petty, set down his ideas on educational matters in 1648,<sup>6</sup> at Hartlib's earnest request. The latter's connection with a scheme for a universal language,<sup>7</sup> mooted in 1647, is doubtful, but he certainly took great interest in a method of shorthand-writing, called a 'Universal Character and a new Rational Language,' advocated by George Dalgarno,<sup>8</sup> who was

<sup>1</sup> The Brit. Mus. copy has a MS. note, 'By Mr. John Milton; 5 June 1644.'

<sup>2</sup> P. 8.

<sup>3</sup> P. 1.

<sup>4</sup> This may mean either, 'those actions have made me esteem you' etc., or, 'those actions which have won for both of us the esteem' etc.; the former seems to be much the more likely meaning, for otherwise, either 'which' must be omitted or 'I see those aims those actions' loses all meaning; besides, Milton continues 'And, as I hear, you have obtain'd the same repute with men of most approved wisdom. . . .'

<sup>5</sup> Kvačala (*Comenius*, p. 296) tries to show that this is no disparagement of Comenius, as there were other Januas in England before his, and his Didactic had not then appeared. These arguments are not convincing; for, when he wrote this general disparaging remark, Milton must have known of Comenius's *Janua*, also of his *Bohemian Didactic*, the heads of which at least had already been translated into Latin (see *supra*, pp. 27 and 29).

<sup>6</sup> *The Advice of W. P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, for the Advancement of some particular Parts of Learning*, Lond. 1648.

<sup>7</sup> *A Common Writing; whereby two, although not understanding one the others Language, yet by the helpe thereof, may communicate their minds one to another. Composed by a well-willer to Learning*. MS. note, 'Mr. Sam. Hartlib.' The date given is 1647, but a MS. note has March 2, 1646. The Preface, 'To the Reader,' is signed F. L. W.; i.e., according to the Catalogue, Francis Lodowyck.

<sup>8</sup> *Add. MSS.* 4377, f. 143 ff.

advised to have resort to Hartlib, 'the most singular Promoter of Scholastick Designes, that this Nation doth affoord,'<sup>1</sup> and who apparently found satisfaction, for those interested in the plan are informed that they may learn 'where to find the Author, at the center of all useful and solid Learning, Mr. Samuel Hartlib's house, near Charing-Cross, over against Angel Court.'<sup>2</sup> About 1648, too, he published<sup>3</sup> the views on education of Dr. Cyprian Kinner, a native of Silesia, who, after suffering loss of estate and exile as a result of the troubles there, and wandering in Transylvania and Hungary, had been employed by Comenius as collaborator, only, however, to be left stranded when the latter returned to Lissa.<sup>4</sup> Hartlib even attempted, apparently, to obtain financial support for Kinner from Parliament,<sup>5</sup> but this attempt did not materialise.<sup>6</sup> Dury, too, was induced to set down his thoughts on education for publication by Hartlib,<sup>7</sup> whilst the latter was apparently himself responsible for a scheme, intended to obtain from Parliament provision, in the form of a workhouse, for the employment of the poor people, and for the education of the poor children, of London.<sup>8</sup> The testimonies of Eilhardus Lubinus, a German, of Richard Carew of Cornwall, and of Montaigne, were incorporated into 'The true and readie way to learne the Latine tongue,' published by Hartlib at London in 1654.

Nor had Comenius and his schemes been lost sight of. Hartlib was apparently not without hopes of seeing him once more in England,<sup>9</sup> hopes, however, that were doomed to disappointment.

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MSS.* 4377, f. 148, 'A copy of Mr. Dalgarnos letter, written to Mr. Hartlib, Oxford, 20 Apr. 1657.'

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* f. 143.

<sup>3</sup> *A Continuation of Mr. John Amos Comenius School-Endeavours; or, a summary delineation of Dr. Cyprian Kinner Silesian, His thoughts concerning Education, &c.* Cat. Brit. Mus. has [1648, Lond.]

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 'A brief Information concerning Doctor Kinner and his Undertakings.'

<sup>5</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 649, f. 5, letter from Kinner to Hartlib, dated Elbing, June 19, 1647: 'Sollicitum te esse, ut Parliamenti vestri subsidiis ea vestro in Regno ad finem perducantur, non mala est intentio.'

<sup>6</sup> Kvačála's *Comenius*, p. 304.

<sup>7</sup> *The Reformed School*, Lond.; Brit. Mus. Cat. has [1649?]; *The Reformed Librarie-Keeper, with a Supplement to the Reformed School, &c.*, Lond. 1650.

<sup>8</sup> *Londons charity enlarged, &c.*, Lond. 1650.

<sup>9</sup> *Patera*, p. 187, letter from Hartlib to Pell, dated August 7, 1656: 'Mr. Dury has returned to Amsterdam and promises with all possible expedition to hasten unto us and it is very like Mr. Comenius will come along with him to your well-known faithful friend to serve you'; cf. *Vaughan*, ii. 433.

The correspondence between the two men was kept up, and Hartlib wished to have all Comenius's works on education printed at Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> Financial support at Oxford University induced many young Bohemians to come over to England for the sake of continuing their studies.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting, too, to find among the papers which were probably in Hartlib's possession a treatise entitled 'Of the Education of Girls,' couched in the form of a letter to a lady from a woman named D. D.,<sup>3</sup> while his appointment by the Council in 1656 to the Committee for Durham College<sup>4</sup> shows that his zeal for education was officially recognised.

In accordance with the dominant position he gave to religious matters in his scheme for the Office of Address,<sup>5</sup> much of Hartlib's life's work consisted in introducing to the public schemes for the removal of the unfortunate divisions amongst Protestants, and for the edification of mankind at large. In 1643 he published, 'for the better improvement of Great Brittain's solempne Covenant, and the advancement of Truth, Holinesse, and Peace amongst all Protestant Churches,' a treatise,<sup>6</sup> written by Dury, and 'intimating the Necessity of a Common, Fundamentall Confession of Faith amongst those Christians that receive the holy Scriptures as the only Rule of Faith and Practise.' A similar treatise,<sup>7</sup> also from Dury's pen, followed in 1648, and in 1650 Hartlib found himself compelled to vindicate<sup>8</sup> Dury from aspersions of time-serving, which had been cast upon him in an anonymous pamphlet. 1652 saw the publication in London of the 'Reformed Spirituall Husbandman,' in which he pleads that 'if the Honourable House would do a Work indeed worthy of the Parliament of England, a Work answerable to this their great Engagement, and a Work which may not onely make the reproaches which have been cast upon us, that we not onely

<sup>1</sup> Crossley, i. 56, letter dated November 20, 1655; cf. i. 66, letter dated December 12, 1655.

<sup>2</sup> Gindely, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Sloane MSS.* 649, ff. 203-5.

<sup>4</sup> *State Papers*, Dom. Series, under August 7, 1656: 'Council. Day's Proceedings . . . 25. Chris. Lister, John Maidstone, John Blackwell junr., Wm. Rowe, Rich. Sherwyn, Sam. Hartlib, and Ezrell Tongue, D.D. to be added to the Committee for Durham College.'

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> *A Copy of Mr. John Duries Letter . . . to . . . Lord Forbes*, Lond. 1643; cf. Title-page.

<sup>7</sup> *A Peace-Maker, without partiality and Hypocrisie, &c.* Lond. 1648.

<sup>8</sup> *The Unchanged, Constant and Single-hearted Peace-Maker, &c.*, Lond. 1650.

disregard all forreign Protestants, but all matters of Religion ; to be found false, and make our Worthies whom God hath honoured with so great and manifest tokens of his love in the sight of all the world, highly respected by all the Protestants of this Age, and deservedly renowned unto after-ages, we would offer humbly this motion to them ; that the Foundation of Chelsy Colledge may be confirmed, raised, and enlarged for the Design of a Publick Centre of good Intelligence, and Correspondency with forreign Protestant Churches in the Cause of Religion and Learning.<sup>1</sup> A closer union between the Protestants in England and those in Germany was the plea of Dury in 1654,<sup>2</sup> and, arising out of that, the definite proposal,<sup>3</sup> ‘humbly tendered to his Highness, the next Parliament, and the good people of the Land,’<sup>4</sup> ‘to set a foot a Religious Correspondencie with Forrain Protestants to carry on a Gospel intèrest amongst Christians, not by strength or might, but in a Gospel way, by a friendly Correspondencie and concurrence in Counsels ; to hold forth unanimously, the matters of Faith and Doctrine wherein we all fully agree, and do own the samesaying truths ; and to set a foot the Practice of the same Rules of duties by walking therein, to oppose ignorance and profanness, to banish confusion and disorderliness in worship, and be no more strangers to one anothers condition, but to entertain a mutual Care for each others good and the progress of the Gospel in the world, to which effect a settled correspondencie upon Religious grounds and Principles ; between us and our neighbour Protestants, will be both an easie and in Gods way a powerfull means ; which Correspondencie may be thus contrived and brought about ; We forthwith intend a systeme or body of Divinity, wherein all the English writings of Practical Divinity and Cases of Conscience shall be digested in English and Latine, and we intend the intertainment of strangers in a Colledge here, from whence our Learning may be carried forth in most Languages by such Students, and all good works advanced by the same hands, to which we already find great forwardness in this nation, not only to labour in the work but also to contribute in matter of charge ; and of this Work in instituting a

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 36-7.

<sup>2</sup> *An Earnest Plea, &c.*, Lond. 1654.

<sup>3</sup> *The Earnest Breathings of Forreign Protestants, Divines, and Others, &c.*, Lond. 1658.

<sup>4</sup> Title-page.

Colledge propagandis bonis operibus we shall give advertisment to our friends as occasion presents.'<sup>1</sup> So keen, indeed, was Hartlib's religious zeal, that he readily believed all sorts of prophecies and revelations concerning the overthrow in the near future of that Antichrist, the Pope, and the dawn of a new era or golden age as a result of England's intervention in Continental affairs.<sup>2</sup> Eagerly he published, in 1651, a translation of 'Clavis Apocalyptica,' which Comenius, who had received it from the author, sent on to him,<sup>3</sup> and which looked to the year 1655 to fulfil the prophecies in the Revelation of St. John the Divine, dedicating it to the Right Honourable Oliver St. John, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.<sup>4</sup> But instead of deliverance, 1655 brought terror and anxiety to Comenius and his friends, for in the early part of that year the former wrote<sup>5</sup>: 'Nos hic Lesnae percussissimi sumus Hartlibianis literis, quibus accinunt quotidianae Novellae Lipsenses et aliae. Ego quo vespere accepi, totam sequentem insomnem habui noctem. . . . Ah quam metuo amico nostro Hartlibio, quid illi fiet, quid reliquis. Terret me hoc incendium, ne lanienam det, cui parem vix sol vidit unquam, tam furiose contra invicem flagrantium animorum. O Deus, Deus, Deus, miserere Christianarum gentium, et iras tandem contra nos accensas deponere!' The risings of Royalists in various parts of the British Isles, rendered more dangerous by the general discontent which followed on Cromwell's dismissing Parliament in January 1655 and beginning to rule absolutely without even the appearance of constitutional form,<sup>6</sup> gave rise to these fears on Hartlib's account,<sup>7</sup> which were fortunately not realised. In spite, however, of the non-fulfilment in 1655 of the prophecies, neither Comenius's nor Hartlib's credulity in such matters was shaken, for the former continued to send over other

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 56-7.

<sup>2</sup> Kvačala's *Comenius*, pp. 357-365.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 323-4.

<sup>4</sup> See 'Epistle Dedicatorie.'

<sup>5</sup> *Add. MSS.* 4364, f. 49; cf. Kvačala's *Korrespondence*, i., Letter cxlix, Lesna, Comenius to Figulus.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. J. R. Green, *History of the English People*, 4 vols., Lond. 1879-81, iii. 288-9.

<sup>7</sup> The key to this expression of anxiety for Hartlib by Comenius, which puzzled Kvačala (*Comenius*, pp. 364-5), is contained in a letter to Hartlib from Danzig, dated April 16, 1655 (*Add. MSS.* 4364, f. 49): 'But the greatest griefe of all is to heare of your new tumultuous Insurrections and plots, which are broke out again in England, as your Letters have mentioned to Mr. Comenius. For the good Man writes again as followeth, Nos hic,' &c.

prophecies,<sup>1</sup> especially those of Drabik and Cotter and including also his own collection of them entitled 'Lux in Tenebris,' to Hartlib, who as eagerly received them and circulated them amongst his friends.<sup>2</sup> Hopes of political intervention by England on behalf of the poor afflicted Moravian brethren, which had seemed fair in Cromwell's time, only to be dashed to the ground by the trend of political events in England,<sup>3</sup> revived again with the restoration of Charles II, to whom Comenius, in 1660, dedicated 'An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England; wherein is set forth the Good of Unity, Order, Discipline and Obedience in Churches,'<sup>4</sup> following it up in the next year by this strong appeal for help: 'Benefacere omnibus unius est Dei conservatoris omnium. Multis autem benefacere, eorum est, quos Deus suo in Terris loco esse jussit, sublimique Throno locavit. At benefacere piis propter Deum miseris maxime illustre Beneficentiae genus est, illustri Praeconio celebrandum in ultima Mundi Panegyri, Matth. xxv. 34.

'Magne Rex, ecce in tua Manu est demereri Deum et Homines, deque Benedictione illa quae beatam inchoabit Aeternitatem participare; Beneficentiae Partem in eos, qui alibi pro Fide Christi afflicti ad te quoque Fidei Defensorem confugiunt, extendendo. Quorum Pars nos è Bohemia, Moravia, Poloniaque pro Fide extorres, extraordinaria nuper passi Commiserationem: in Ecclesiis etiam vestris repereramus; ut Beneficentiae in Confratres nostros Pedemontanos Partem in nos derivari permitteretur: Sed cujus partis pars in manibus adhuc eorum, quibus Res commissa fuit remanet, nec injussu tuo, quem Deus Regno et Ecclesiae Caput restituit dispensari potest. Jube igitur uncte Dei (verbo tantum Regio hic Opus) ut destinatum semel usibus piis Opus ad Finem veniat! Augescentibus denuo per Bellum in Hungaria Turescum, et (alibi) Calamitatibus nostris. Estote Miserecordes, sicut Pater vester in Coelis misericors est, inquit Salvator. Estoteque imitatores Dei, quem Donorum suorum poenitere non solet. Rom. xi. 29.

'Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco, dixit ad Patria profugum Aeneam Regina Dido; Exemplo iis, qui miseras passi miseris succurrere didicisse debent. Sed majus est quod Apostolus de Communi omnium miseratore Christo, miseras

<sup>1</sup> Kvacala's *Comenius*, 409, 416; cf. Crossley, i. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Crossley, i. 215; ii. 1, 62.      <sup>3</sup> Gindely, p. 66.

White Kennet, p. 126.



perpresso dicit; Non habere nos Pontificem, qui non possit affici Sensu Infirmorum nostrarum, sed tentatum similiter. Heb. iv. 15.

‘ Jesu Christe Misericors Pontifex da Carolo Britanniae Monarchae Servo tuo, Cor tuo simile, Misericors, ad succurrendum miseris! Et repende Illi Misericordiam misericordia! Effundens super Coronam ejus omnem Benedictionem promissam Davidi, aliisque sanctis Regibus, Psalmo xxi. Amen!’<sup>1</sup>

One very tangible result of thus bringing for so many years the distressed condition of the brethren to the notice of the people of England was that from time to time, collections were made<sup>2</sup> on their behalf, which were usually very successful, £5900 and £3000 being the totals for the years 1658 and 1659 respectively,<sup>3</sup> a tribute at once to the generosity of the givers, and to the ceaseless activity of Hartlib and the collectors. Finally, the king stopped this, and in spite of Comenius’s appeal, which has just been quoted, £900, which had been collected, was not allowed to be handed over.<sup>4</sup>

As the third aim of the proposed ‘ Address of Communications ’ Hartlib had stated<sup>5</sup> that the Warden should ‘ offer the most profitable Inventions which he should gaine, unto the benefit of the State, that they might be Publikely made use of, as the State should think most expedient,’ and that he tried to carry out this part of the scheme, just as he had endeavoured to do in the case of the educational and religious aims, is evident from a perusal of a few of his publications. Amongst these figured prominently a host of treatises on the subject of agriculture, improvements in which he appears to have regarded as certain to advance the prosperity, wealth, and plenty of the country. In 1650 there appeared ‘ A Discours of Husbandrie used in Brabant and Flanders,’<sup>6</sup> in which the wonderful improvement

<sup>1</sup> White Kennet, pp. 530–1.

<sup>2</sup> In this connection it is interesting to note that Hartlib gave evidence at Laud’s trial, in 1644, on the charge of Laud’s having made an alteration ‘ in a Brief for a third collection for the distressed ministers and others in the Palatinate,’ and thereby having ‘ endeavoured to cause division and discord between the Church of England and other Reformed Churches’; cf. *The Works of William Laud*, 7 vols., Oxford, 1847–60, iv. 307, 312–4.

<sup>3</sup> Kvačala’s *Comenius*, 422; cf. Gindely, 78.

<sup>4</sup> Kvačala’s *Comenius*, 423.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> A second edition, corrected and enlarged, appeared in 1652, from which (p. 1) it appears that the discourse was written by Sir Richard Weston of Sutton, Surrey, in 1645.

of the land there was described, and which was intended to serve as a pattern for the practice in England. This was enlarged in a second publication,<sup>1</sup> containing 'more outlandish and domestick experiments and secrets in reference to universall Husbandry,'<sup>2</sup> which ran into a second,<sup>3</sup> and later a third edition.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, in 1651, he had published a tract<sup>5</sup> showing the 'errors, defects, and inconveniences of our English Husbandry, in ploughing and sowing for corn; With the reasons and general remedies; and a large yet faithful Offer or Undertaking for the benefit of them that will joyn in this good and publick Work,'<sup>6</sup> which he followed up<sup>7</sup> by definite 'Propositions for the Errecting Colledge of Husbandry; and in order thereunto, for the taking in of Pupills or Apprentices. And also Friends or Fellowes of the same Colledge or Society.'<sup>8</sup> In 1652 he published 'Ireland's Naturall History,' written by Gerald Boate, from which it appears<sup>9</sup> that he had plans for getting the exiled Bohemians settled in that country; the latter, however, did not fall in with the scheme, for reasons which Comenius makes apparent<sup>10</sup>: 'Quod attinet invitationem exulum gentis nostrae in Hiberniam conditionesque forte requirendas rogabam Dr. Rulitium, ut perscriberet, quas etiam leges in epistola ejus. Ego quidem a nostris dispersis nondum in hoc puncto responsum habeo, at quid sit facile intelligo, nempe spes recollectionis in patria, quam plerique pertinaciter fovent, et in his (ut verum fatear) ego quoque.' The same year witnessed the publication of three other treatises: 'Cornucopia; a Miscellanium of lucriferous and most fructiferous Experiments, Observations, and Discoveries, immethodically distributed; to be really demonstrated and communicated in all sincerity'<sup>11</sup>; 'A designe for Plentie, by an uni-

<sup>1</sup> *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie, &c.*, Lond. 1651.

<sup>2</sup> Title-page.

<sup>3</sup> 'The second Edition augmented with an appendix,' Lond. 1652.

<sup>4</sup> Third edition (augmented), Lond. 1655.

<sup>5</sup> *The Reformed Husband-Man.*

<sup>6</sup> Title-page.

<sup>7</sup> *An Essay for Advancement of Husbandry-Learning*, Lond. 1651.

<sup>8</sup> Title-page.

<sup>9</sup> 'Epistle Dedicatory' by him has, 'I lookt also somewhat upon the hopeful appearance of Replanting Ireland shortly, not only by the Adventurers, but happily by the calling in of exiled Bohemians and other Protestants also.'

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in a letter from Hartlib to Pell, dated March 11, 1657-8; cf. Patera, p. 201, and Vaughan, ii. 447-8.

<sup>11</sup> The Brit. Mus. copy is without title-page; Cat. has [by S. Hartlib] and [London, 1652 ?].

versall Planting of Fruit-Trees; tendred by some Wel-wishers to the Publick'<sup>1</sup>; and, 'A rare and new Discovery of a speedy way, and easie means, . . . for the feeding of Silk-worms . . . on the Mulberry-Tree-leaves in Virginia,' etc. The last-named treatise was designed, 'to the instant wonderfull enriching of all the Planters there, requiring from them neither cost, labour, or hindrance in any of their employments whatsoever. And also to the good hopes that the Indians, seeing and finding that there is neither Art, Skill or Pains in the thing; they will readily set upon it, being by the benefit thereof inabled to buy of the English (in way of Truck for their Silk-bottomes) all those things that they most desire. So that not only their Civilizing will follow, thereupon, but by the infinite mercie of God, their Conversion to the Christian Faith, the Glory of our Nation, which is the daily humble prayer of Virginia for Virginia.'<sup>2</sup> For the 'direction and more advantage and profit of the Adventurers and Planters in the Fens and other Waste and undisposed places in England and Ireland' Hartlib published, in 1653, 'A Discoverie for Division or Setting out of Land, as to the best form.'<sup>3</sup> The art of bee-keeping received attention a few years later,<sup>4</sup> and finally a discourse on the whole art of husbandry, both foreign and domestic, was put forth.<sup>5</sup> Other subjects and schemes, apart from those concerning agriculture, were also brought before the notice of the public. An 'Invention of engines of motion' appeared in 1651, capable of doing 'any work now done in England or elsewhere (especially Works that require strength and swift-ness) either by wind, water, cattel, or men; and that with better accomodation and more profit then by anything hitherto known and used'<sup>6</sup>; whilst it would seem that proposals were made to Hartlib 'concerning a way of trade and banke without money.'<sup>7</sup> So, too, in 1655, he published nine 'Chymical, medicinal, and chyrurgical addresses,' which had been made to him.

But even education, religion, and 'profitable inventions' do not exhaust the sum total of Hartlib's many-sided interests.

<sup>1</sup> Title-page bears MS. note, 1652.

<sup>2</sup> Title-page.

<sup>3</sup> Title-page.

<sup>4</sup> *The Reformed Common Wealth of Bees*, Lond. 1655.

<sup>5</sup> *The Compleat Husbandman*, Lond. 1659.

<sup>6</sup> Title-page.

<sup>7</sup> Letter of Winthrop to Brereton, November 6, 1663; cf. R. C. Winthrop, *Correspondence of Hartlib, Haak, Oldenburg . . . with Governor Winthrop*, Boston, 1878, p. 17.

He appears to have conducted a correspondence concerning political matters, sending abroad abstracts of English political events,<sup>1</sup> and receiving intelligence of a similar nature from abroad.<sup>2</sup> His services to the Government in this connection earned for him some of the grants of money already<sup>3</sup> mentioned.

Truly, as Evelyn says,<sup>4</sup> such a man was 'master of innumerable curiosities,' and well might Worthington write to him,<sup>5</sup> 'I wish . . . you had also vacancy to peruse those many bundles of papers your study is furnished with, that so out of them you might extract such select passages as would make a *Silva Silvarum* or a *Collection of Memorable Things*. . . . Under several general heads you might fitly dispose and rank such memoirs of different natures, and importances, in several kinds of knowledge, as would be useful as well as delightful by reason of the variety of matters therein represented.' Hartlib was not averse from such a course, and promised<sup>6</sup> that if his health were restored he would endeavour to make the best possible use of the papers mentioned, but regretted that, at the moment, his lack of leisure time and the condition of his health prevented such an undertaking. Unfortunately, his health did not improve, and he was never able to carry the idea into execution.

The fact that Hartlib persevered in his splendid efforts in the face of grave financial distress, from which he could not get free, is remarkable enough; to lack of funds, however, was added a more terrible affliction, namely bodily ill-health, a combination which might have daunted even the bravest. But Hartlib never swerved from the prosecution of the high and noble ideal he had set before him, not even when racked by physical pain and distracted by all the anxieties of a precarious financial position.

The first record of his ill-health is, as Althaus<sup>7</sup> notes, contained in a letter to Boyle,<sup>8</sup> dated March 25, 1656. From that date onwards, his correspondence, especially with Boyle, Worthington, and Pell, contains numerous allusions to his continued sickness.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *Sloane MSS.* 3317, ff. 24-54 is a journal of proceedings in the Houses of Parliament, and other political matters in 1641 addressed to Hartlib.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, ed. by Thos. Birch, 7 vols., Lond. 1742, esp. ii. 140-1, 441-2; iv. 66; see also Vaughan, ii. 434.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 48 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Crossley, ii. 1, 64-5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 86-7. Letter dated December 7, 1661.

<sup>7</sup> P. 254.

<sup>8</sup> Birch, vi. 92.

The disease from which he suffered was apparently that of the stone,<sup>1</sup> combined with inward piles<sup>2</sup> and ulcers,<sup>3</sup> the excruciating pain of which he often mentions.<sup>4</sup> According to Worthington the cause of the illness was his 'sitting so much, or keeping within doors,' and consequently not 'taking that refreshment of air and moderate stirring in the fields' he ought to have done.<sup>5</sup> His son-in-law, Clodius, treated him,<sup>6</sup> constantly trying new medicines, each being, of course, the sovereign remedy for the disease.<sup>7</sup> Temporary relief,<sup>8</sup> due in all probability rather to the natural course of the disease than to the efficacy of the remedies used, was not denied him, and at such times hope of recovery and of a continuation of his noble efforts revived within him,<sup>9</sup> only, however, to be once more dashed to the ground by a recurrence of the dread affliction. From time to time the severity of the disease made him think that death was inevitable,<sup>10</sup> and with good reason he complained that he might truly say he died daily<sup>11</sup>; yet again and again he obtained relief, and was able to resume his accustomed duties.

Finally, at the end of the year 1660, he was seized by a fit of the dead palsy, and lived thereafter in constant dread of another,<sup>12</sup> which he feared would render him 'altogether useless, both to particular friends and to the publick'; in that event, he hoped that God would shorten his days.<sup>13</sup> But, even in such terrible affliction, other sources of anxiety and trouble were not spared him; at the end of 1661, he wrote to Worthington<sup>14</sup> that his catalogue of books was no longer available, 'the wretched man (where all my books stood) having suffered (with a world of other MSS.) distraction or embezzlement, so that I cannot as yet tell what is remaining or not, the catalogues themselves being lost or made away. This is one of the greatest and sorest

<sup>1</sup> Birch, vi. 92, letter to Boyle, June 30, 1657.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Vaughan, ii. 453-4, letter to Pell, April 1, 1658.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Vaughan, ii. 446, letter to Pell, February 25, 1657-8.

<sup>5</sup> Crossley, i. 270, letter to Hartlib, January 11, 1660.

<sup>6</sup> Birch, vi. 92

<sup>7</sup> Vaughan, ii. 458-9, letter to Pell, May 5, 1658.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. *Ibid.* 449-50, letter to Pell, March 18, 1657-8.

<sup>9</sup> Crossley, ii. 1, 93, letter to Worthington, December 16, 1661.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Vaughan, ii. 435-6, letter to Pell, Jan. 14, 1658.

<sup>11</sup> Birch, vi. 102, letter to Boyle, April 27, 1658.

<sup>12</sup> Crossley, i. 259, letter dated Jan. 1, 1660-1.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 275, letter of Feb. 26, 1660-1.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 1, 67, letter of Nov. 2, 1661.

evils which hath befallen my tormented and afflicted condition for so many years.'

Another misfortune followed, for in the early part of 1662, as he says,<sup>1</sup> it 'pleased God to visit my chamber with a very sad and fearful accident of fire, my boy over-heating indiscreetly my iron stove, which burnt in pieces a wooden mantle-tree, and would have set the whole house on fire if it had broken out in the night season; yet many of my things were spoiled.' This accident troubled him considerably, and, combined with his continued ill-health, made him express to Worthington<sup>2</sup> the fear that 'this may be the last of mine for aught I know.' His fears were realised, for there is no answer to the reply which Worthington dated February 24.<sup>3</sup> Probably the dreaded fit of the dead palsy made its appearance; at all events, he died early in the morning of Monday, March 10, 1662,<sup>4</sup> and was buried at the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, on the following Wednesday, March 12.<sup>5</sup> His papers were purchased by Lord Brereton of Cheshire, at whose house Worthington found and arranged them a few years later.<sup>6</sup> Althaus<sup>7</sup> is of the opinion that Worthington wished to write a biography of Hartlib, but

<sup>1</sup> Crossley. ii 1, 106-7, letter to Worthington, February 6, 1661-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 107, letter of February 14, 1661-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 110-114.

<sup>4</sup> *Musgrave's Obituary*, vol. iii., *Harleian Soc. Publications*, vol. xlvi. (Lond. 1900), p. 161: 'Hartlib, Sam., 10 March 1662'; cf. *Add. MSS.* 4280, f. 318 (a scrap of paper, obviously from Pell to his son, and underlined in the original):

'John . . . I am now going out to accompany old Mr. Hartlibs corps to the grave. He died last Munday morning early. . . .

'Wednesday, March 12.'

<sup>5</sup> The registers contain, amongst the burials for March 1661 and 1662, the following entry: '12. Samuel Hartlip vir.' The graves of all who were not buried in the church itself have, of course, long since disappeared.

<sup>6</sup> *Add. MSS.* 6271, f. 8, letter of Bishop Ward to Worthington, March 15, 1666-7 (cf. Crossley, ii. 1, 226): 'I am very glad that those papers of Mr. Hartlib's are preserved, and that they are fallen into your hands, who are able and disposed to make the best of them; I was not unacquainted with that good man, who by his great and unwearied Zeale for learning, and by his Correspondence with persons eminent, in the severall wayes of it became serviceable to the generall promotion of it; and whatever his workes were (which were very laudable) certainly it cannot be but his papers must be considerable.' Also the following letter from Worthington to Dr. Ingele, June 10, 1667 (cf. Crossley, ii. 1, 230): 'At my late being in Cheshire, I met with two trunks full of Mr. Hartlib's papers, which my Lord Brereton purchased. I thought they had been put in order, but finding it otherwise, I took them out, bestrewed a great chamber with them, put them into order in several bundles, and some papers I met with not unworthy of your sight.'

<sup>7</sup> P. 278.

there is nothing to warrant such an assumption ; more probably, 'making the best of them' simply meant communicating to others, who might be interested, the various kinds of information contained in the papers, or, at most, carrying out his original suggestion of a 'Silva Silvarum,' which Hartlib had been prevented by death from doing.

## APPENDIX.

I. 'GOOD SIR,—You know how scrupulous and wary I was, in the undertaking and prosecuting of the busines, least medlinge with the matter which I know but in part, I might seeme to meddle with the person. I omitted whatsoever I conceived, might cause the least suspicion in that kind, and if I had but suspected what I now coniecture by Dr. Webs answere, I had forborne somewhat more, for we ought as much as in us lyeth to avoid all occasions of offence, and the least appearances of evill. But that experience, whatsoever it is, that you have had of my affection to the publique good, and of my esteeme of Doctor Webb, must speake for me, till I can have the opertunity to speake for myselfe. Which whensoever it shall come to passe, I doubt not but that Dr. Webb in the conclusion will not only find that I am farr enough from respecting private interest and affecting either contention in things or opposing of persons; but that perhaps we may shake hande in many of the particulars and meete lovingly enough in the rest, if his clausularyes, and supplements shall performe what he hath expressed in his answere, for in his answere to the 8. particular he speakes of a clausulary meerey of the unknowne language wherein by a little Introduction the formes of clauses, and the greate multitude of little clauses or little different running together, and the frequent reading them to find out what is fittest for the purpose, will give a man such light to understand them that even his teacher will often wonder at his exercise. This wilbe a worke of the judgment not of the externall sences or memory only, and if three monthes na 9 monthes introduction will bring this to passe, after which tyme there wilbe little neede of common exercises, it wilbe well worth the Imbracing. In the same he speakes of a two fould way of Imitation to be used in exercises, which being performed by the aforesaid clausularyes must neede be very beneficiall, if they be soe. In his answere to the 12. particular hee saith that the 5 things there mentioned wilbe sufficiently yeilded by the suppliment and in his answere to the 19 particular, he would have nounes, verbes, vocabularies etc. to be taken rather in a



suppletory way than as preparatives. If the supplements shalbe sufficient to save these labors yeilding the uses of the preparative, and vocabularyes in a more compendious way I see noe reason but that they should bee received. In his answer to the 13. he promiseth sundry variations of every English clause to be added at the end of every Eulogy for the greater scope of those that exercise, which will make for the manefesting of the further use of clauses, in the extent of it, not only for understanding but for the expression also, for the variations of the latine clauses are in the clausulary itselfe, as it appears by that which I alleaged out of his answer to the eighth particular. Hereonto add what he saith in his epistle to Andria for the more full expression of both those uses namely that every variation is in both languages or any of the rest by a reciprocall and interchangeable relation on all sides. In his answer to the 20th particular he saith that whereas children by the author make but childish exercises, men with the clausularyes will make manlike exercises write bookes, dispatch busnies etc. and the greatest schollors may make the greatest use of them. If this be soe, it cannot otherwise be, but that children also will make much better exercises by these clausularyes. In his answer to the 26. particular he promiseth that his Eulogies by distinguishing the severall significations of one and the same English word shall give the proper application of them for the latine, which must neede be an excellent meanes for the avoyding of the Confusion arising from the Ignorance of different idiome, in the expressing of one language by another. To all these add what he speakes of suppliments in the end of his epistle to Andria which if they yeild such infinite variation of worde and matter, to the full extent of the unknowne language upon the Stile of any classick author, if they soe exceedingly help Memory Invention and Judgment in election in a word if they be the most practick and perpetuall Grammers of all others in the schoole language I know not what more can be desired. Wherefore seeing Dr. Webb by occasion of these obiections hath soe farr opened himselfe already, and seing in his epistle to Andria he offers the world his best endeavors for the good of teachers, learners or writers in this method resolving to conceale nothing nor leave anything unattempted that may further it, why is it not seriously examined by such as are sufficiently quallified with learning and experience in this kind who out of their love to the truth can be content even in the deniall of themselves and their opinions to submit all to better reason and experience, not puffed up with private interests but sincerely aiming at the generall good. And if it be found effectuall, why should it not be embraced nourished and advanced by a sufficient stock, by the countenance and credit of freinde and whatsoever ells may make for the speeding of it, if hee bee soe ready to open himself to others how

much more to yourselfe, who have already begun to further him in this way. But I hope I shall not neede to stirr you up to anything for the publique good, who are forward enough of yourselfe. I make noe doubt, but the next tyme I shall heare from you, I shall understand that something is done in this kind. In the meanetyme I shalbe earnest with the love for a blessinge upon all your endeavors especially those that concerne the common benefit.

II. 'Et quoniam expedit vobis scire, rerum quae hic geruntur<sup>1</sup> statum atque circumstantias, soleo Dno. Hartliebio omnia quae fiunt significare; ille Dno. Dr. Richardsono Episcopo Ardacensi Reverendo, probe notus est, a Pietatis, Charitatis, Zeli, et boni Ecclesiarum et Scholarum publici studio ardentissimo, in quo ne per summas quidem rei familiaris difficultates retardari potest. Sine illius vicaria opera mihi absentem fideliter praestita, neque hic, neque apud Britannos nostros domi quicquam illius, fieri potuisset, quod Deo sit laus vel jam factum vel fieri inceptum est. Ideoque magnam illi non ego solum, sed omnes qui Ecclesiis Dei bene cupiunt, debent gratiam; ejusque privatis angustiis in quos semet rarissimo fraternae charitatis Exemplo conjicit, compati tenentur; ne tam generosus spiritus ad publica studia propaganda natus; rerum externarum penuria pressus, aut langueat necessariis vitae subsidiis destitutus, aut retardetur, ac retrahatur ab optimis institutis. Hanc ego commendationem illi jure tribuo; quod sit rarum atque inusitatum Providentia divina erga me instrumentum, sine quo in tam sancto conatu et ego et alii incassum labores consumpsissent; qui jam per Dei gratiam ad Effectum optatum vergunt et ulterius ejus constanti diligentia perducere poterunt. Rogo igitur ut illi fides in meis rebus adhibeatur, et si quid mihi pii favere cupiunt, illius benevolentiae participem Dominum Hartliebium esse cupio.

III. 'If it were not right honorable, the confidence which I have in your lordships humanity, and the obligation of thankfulness which I owe unto your christian love, and liberallity towards myselfe, and Mr. Hartlibe, my loveing freind, I durst not being a stranger to your honor have thus presumed to write unto you, but haveing understood by Mr. Hartlibe his letters, how much both hee and I are bound to acknowledge your speciall favours I thought it a part of my duty to shewe that I am sencible of such blessings of God, for which I prayse his holy name, and willing to acknowledge, with all due respect and offices such as he maketh towards us instruments thereof for which cause, I hope this boldnesse of mine, will not be evell taken, as arrising only from the tye of a sincere heart to be dutyfull to God and yourselfe, either doeing<sup>2</sup> only to confirme the good motions, which God

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Negotiations for ecclesiastical peace.

<sup>2</sup> Corrected into 'tending' by Hartlib's hand.

hath put in your mind towards us and all others which labour faithfully to promote the publique good, of Gods churches. As for myselfe it is not fitt I should speake, neither will I except it be of myne infirmities, for certainly I have <sup>1</sup> failed, and fallen of from these publique endeavours, which I now prosecute, if God had not beene pleased to use Mr. Hartlibe to confirme me in them, for which cause I confesse ingeniously that he deserveth more then I of the publique, for not only now he hath been carefull, and diligent to advance and further this good worke of ecclesiasticall union, in helping my poore endeavours, but heretofore he had spent himselfe and his meanes upon the publique to sett forward every good intention and to releive such as were exiled, for the profession of the Gospell. So that his too great Zeale as it may be justly called to doe good to others, hath made him unfitt to subsist by himselfe. A thing seldome seene in our age, that workes of charity towards others should be performed with so great zeale and affection, that one should exhaust himselfe, and spend his whole substance freely upon others. The truth of this testimony which I give him, is knowne by all such as are familiarly acquainted with him, who perfectly also can give wittnesse, of his abilities and fitnessse, to be employed in matters of intelligency, and correspondency, for gathering in of all manner of helpes, in learning and sciences, and for solliciting carefully, and labouring indefatigably in good purposes; for which ends if he were prudently directed, and sett a worke, and comfortably entertained, he might prove, an exceeding profitable instrument to the glory of God, and the good of his Church both at home and abroad, and therefore I have not only heretofore imparted all things of publique intelligency unto him, but also will doe so hereafter, both by my freinds here, and else where, that he may be a generall receptacle of all manner of correspondency to impart things profitable, to bee knowne to such as are desirous, and worthy of them.

IV. 'I thinke that one being an Agent abroad, and another in the isle of great Brittain corresponding together could doe the buisines in due tyme, and could soe season all the Protestant Churches with truly, holy, and peaceable thoughts, that a remarkeable effect of unity might bee brought forth amongst them, maugre all the opposition and outward oppression of all the tyrantes in the world, but because this perhaps (by reason of the coldness of theis uncharitable tymes) is not easie to be had of a sodaine, although in processe of tyme it might be hoped for; therefore till such a thing might be brought to passe, those that should be found ready and fitt Agents in this kind, might in the meane tyme betake themselves to some more particuler and determinate ymployment, which should not be repugnant to this more generall ayme, or disenable them for it; but rather be subordinate

<sup>1</sup> Corrected into 'hade.'

unto it, and be a meanes to enable them the more in due tyme towards the undertaking of it. And therefore because I know none soe fit to reside in England as Mr. Hartlieb is for this purpose (in respect that he is a stranger, exceeding well knowne beloved, and trusted, by all sides, a man exceeding painfull, diligent, and cordially affected to theis endeavours, and one that for such pious and heroicall workes hath lost himself by too much charity, whereby he is cast behind hand) I could wish him recommended and provided with some place which might not take him alltogether off from waiting uppon the occasions of this worke, but rather be a meanes to support him and enable him the more towards publike endeavours of this nature. And me thinkes in this coniuncture of tyme, wherein there is great likelyhood of the match betwixt the Princesse Palat: and Poland some place or office could be thought uppon for him, suteable to his abilities, whereunto he might be recommended by your favour and meanes to reape some yearely pension for the services which he should be able to doe in England towards the future queene, in quality eyther of an extraordinary or ordinary Agent for hir affaires to reside in England. This is a proposition which out of my affection to the worth of the person, and out of the knowledge which I have of his sufficiency to discharge such an office, and out of the care which I have to ridd him of his most undeserved necessities and strays whereunto his publike heartednesse hath brought him, and lastly out of a desire which I have to keepe him in England for the further progresse of all theis spirituall Endeavors of Pacification and practical Divinitie, I have made unto you, referring the yssue thereof unto Gods disposition of the affaires whereon it is to be built as a consequence, and then if theis affaires should answer our wishes, the contrivance of it I earnestly recommed unto your prudency; I make noe doubt but if the treaties of the marriage seeme to draw a perfite conclusion that there wilbe many suiters for divers places, and many will make way to your self, as knowing the interest which you have as well in the house Palatine, as in the Polish court. Therefore let mee praeoccupate a place also betymes for him in your mindfull affections that soe good an Instrument, which the common cause of learning every way, and my publicke endeavours have found most usefull to the Churches of God, who is furnished with the Polish, Dutch, English, and Latin languages perfiteley well, who is perfectly honest and trusty, discreet and well versed in affaires, and knowne to the cheif of our side in the Court of Poland, and most eminently deserving of all the exiled Palatines whose releif is a great cause of his lowe estate, that I say, soe good an Instrument be not forgotten when the seasons of preferment fall out and bee in ripenes, which I am sure you will know as soone, if not sooner then many others. This is my thought for Mr. Hartlieb, as for myself, who could wish to correspond

still with him from forraine parts to the accomplishing of that wherein I am now buisy.

V. 'The usefulness of such an Agent is so evident, that it is needlesse to speake much thereof ; therefore the next care is to resolve upon a fitte man and to contrive some way how hee may bee maintained for the worke ; I can name the bearer <sup>1</sup> of this unto you to this effect ; and can testifie for him upon certain knowledge ; that his pious and zealous forwardnesse to cast himself upon the workes of this nature, wherein hee hath not bene seconded according to promise by others hath brought him to a low estate ; whiles hee did freely sacrifice and spend himself for the publick good of others, and neglected himself in those things which worldly minded men use most to looke after . . . his whole life studie and state hath been spent in a way of communication of good things upon others ; as all those that know him can beare witnesse ; and I am persuaded that you all are certain of it ; and therefore it were a fitte and equitable thing, that hee should bee sette uppe as a conduit pipe of things communicable ; that such as would enter really into the bonds of a holy communion for publick endeavours may find in him an issue to convey their best commodities to such as will make best use of them.'

<sup>1</sup> Obviously Hartlib.





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