Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton

The Compleat Angler

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IZAAK WALTON (1593–1683), angler and biographer, was born in Stafford, the son of an alehouse-keeper and his wife. He attended grammar school in Stafford and then became a linen draper and garment-maker in London. Walton's long life was marked by wide reading, an unwavering devotion to the Church of England, and a remarkable talent for friendship. Already known in literary circles by the age of twenty, Walton was a parishioner and later the biographer of John Donne, and he would go on to write the *Lives* of other notable Anglicans, including George Herbert and Richard Hooker. The Civil Wars and Interregnum tested Walton's ideals: he participated in a royalist conspiracy after the battle of Worcester, and in *The Compleat Angler* (first published in 1653), Walton expressed his political and religious allegiances while exploring humanity's relationship to the natural world. After the Restoration, Walton joined the household of his friend George Morley, who became the bishop of Worcester and then the bishop of Winchester. Walton was buried in Winchester Cathedral, where he is now commemorated by a stained-glass window in the Fishermen's Chapel.

CHARLES COTTON (1630–87), country gentleman, poet and translator, was born at Beresford Hall, Staffordshire, by the River Dove, where he built a fishing house for himself and Walton. Cotton's many works include *The Wonders of the Peake* (a topographical poem), *Scarronides* (a popular burlesque of Virgil) and his highly regarded translation of Montaigne's *Essays*. In 1676, at Walton's invitation, he wrote the second part to *The Compleat Angler*.

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IZAAK WALTON AND
CHARLES COTTON

The Compleat Angler

Edited with an Introduction and Notes by

MARJORIE SWANN

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INTRODUCTION

If you want to curl up with a good book on 'a rainy evening', says Izaak Walton, look no further (p. 7). For more than three and a half centuries, readers from all walks of life around the globe have responded to this gentle invitation in astonishing numbers. The most famous work in the literature of sport, *The Compleat Angler* ranks second only to the King James Bible as the most frequently reprinted book in the English language.[1] Ever since it first appeared in 1653, Walton's book has been remarkably popular. Walton published a total of five editions of the *Angler* during his lifetime, and by the time the last version was printed in 1676, he had greatly expanded the work, adding not only material about fishing, but also more poems and amusing anecdotes to increase the book's provision of '*innocent, harmless mirth*' (p. 5). For the fifth and final edition, Walton enlisted the aid of his good friend and angling companion, Charles Cotton, who wrote a pioneering fly-fishing treatise as Part II of *The Compleat Angler*, a work that is now regarded as a classic in its own right.[2] Several months before Walton celebrated his ninetieth birthday, the poet Thomas Flatman described him as a 'Happy Old Man, whose worth all mankind knows',[3] and the success of *The Compleat Angler* was an important source of Walton's widespread esteem.

Walton was neither the first nor the last writer in early modern England to publish a book about angling. He himself borrowed extensively from other fishing manuals,[4] and the genre has continued to flourish long after Walton's death. Yet Walton has achieved a unique stature as an angling writer. Since the first posthumous

[1] David Novarr, rev. of *The Compleat Angler 1653–1676* by Izaak Walton, ed. Jonquil Bevan, *Modern Language Review*, 80 (1985), 122.

[2] 'Its instructions remain to this day the best ever penned for fishing the clear and narrow waters of the upper Dove' (Gerald G. P. Heywood, *Charles Cotton and His River* (Manchester, 1928), 9).

[3] Thomas Flatman, 'To my worthy friend Mr. Isaac Walton', in *Thealma and Clearchus*, by John Chalkhill, ed. Izaak Walton (London, 1683), A4^{r}.

[4] See Jonquil Bevan's detailed analysis of Walton's borrowings from other angling treatises in her introduction to *The Compleat Angler 1653–1676*, by Izaak Walton, ed. Bevan (Oxford, 1983), 15–24.

version of the *Angler* was issued in 1750, the text has been almost constantly in print. The readership of Walton's beloved book has spanned generations, oceans, and cultures, and the hundreds of editions of *The Compleat Angler* published over the years include translations into French, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Chinese, German, Finnish, Spanish, Korean, Swedish, and Japanese. Enthusiasm for *The Compleat Angler* has always been grass roots: unlike the works of Shakespeare, whose ongoing cultural survival has been ensured by their place in school and university curricula, Walton's book has been embraced by a strictly voluntary readership. As Walton intended, the *Angler* offers something for everyone. Thanks to his voracious reading and love of literature, Walton's book is not only a 'compleat' guide for fishermen: it is also an anthology of verse penned by the likes of Christopher Marlowe, John Donne, and George Herbert, as well as a treasure trove of the wisdom of writers ranging from Pliny to Montaigne. Today, Izaak Walton is regarded as the patron saint of recreational fishermen and outdoors enthusiasts, but as historian Richard C. Hoffmann observes, Walton is also 'the only writer on fishing whose name even non-anglers recognize'.[5] As it has done since 1653, *The Compleat Angler* continues to engage a great diversity of readers because it offers a uniquely accessible and compelling vision of human existence.

The Compleat Angler tells what is, on the face of it, a simple story: two urbanites take a break from work and go on a fishing trip. But for Izaak Walton in 1653, nothing was simple. Walton places a fictionalized version of himself at the centre of his narrative, and Walton's own experience of the English civil wars and their aftermath decisively shapes his book. The civil wars which convulsed England from 1640 to 1651 pitted different concepts of political and religious order against each other. The entire population suffered from the violence and upheaval of these years, but for supporters of the king and the Established Church like Walton, the results were catastrophic. On 30 January 1649, King Charles I was executed—murdered by his own people. Shortly after the regicide, the monarchy and the House of Lords were abolished, and on 19 May 1649, England became a commonwealth. Just weeks before *The Compleat Angler* was published in the spring of 1653, Oliver Cromwell, soon to be named Lord

[5] Richard C. Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art: Tracts on Fishing from the End of the Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1997), 25 n. 13.

Protector, eradicated the final vestige of England's pre-war system of government when he dissolved the last remnant of the Long Parliament. In tandem with the escalation of this political crisis, religious reformers—Puritans—who believed that the Church of England was insufficiently Protestant sought to purge it of popishness. Thus by the time Charles I mounted the scaffold at Whitehall, the archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, had been executed for treason, the episcopal Church had been dismantled, a quarter of all ministers had been ejected from their livings, the Book of Common Prayer had been abolished, and celebrations of traditional holidays—including Christmas—had been banned.[6] The human cost of this political and religious turmoil was staggering: 180,000 people (3 per cent of the population) died during the civil wars—a far higher death-rate than England would suffer during either of the world wars of the twentieth century—and tens of thousands of men were left wounded or maimed.[7]

Walton had actively—indeed, daringly—supported the royalist cause in its bleakest moments. Cromwell and his troops had crushed the Scottish army led by Charles II in a matter of hours at Worcester on 3 September 1651. As the 21-year-old king fled for his life, he entrusted his Lesser George—a medal which symbolized Charles's leadership of the Order of the Garter—to one of his attendants, Colonel Thomas Blague. Blague took shelter at the home of royalist sympathizers near Stafford, where he hid the king's George 'under a heap of dust and chips'.[8] After Blague was captured and imprisoned in the Tower of London, the fate of Charles's powerfully symbolic medal depended solely on the courage and resourcefulness of a network of Staffordshire royalists. The medal was retrieved from its hiding place and passed to Robert Milward, who was 'then a Prisoner to the Parliament, in the Garrison of *Stafford*'.[9] Milward needed a trustworthy courier with nerves of steel who could first pocket the king's George under the noses of the soldiers at Stafford and then deliver it to Colonel Blague in the Tower of London.

[6] John Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution* (London and New York, 1993), 14–18.

[7] Ian Gentles, *The English Revolution and the Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1638–1652* (Harlow, 2007), 436–7.

[8] Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Stafford-shire* (London, 1686), 311.

[9] Elias Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672), 228.

Milward enlisted a man unlikely to arouse any suspicion: a 58-year-old linen draper and sempster,[10] born and raised in Stafford, who had lived in London for decades. And so, during the nadir of the royalist cause in the autumn of 1651, Izaak Walton quietly spirited the king's Lesser George out of his garrisoned home town of Stafford and carried it to the imprisoned Colonel Blague in London. After he had received the medal from Walton, Blague escaped from the Tower, secured passage to France, and personally returned the George to Charles II. Facing prison or the gallows if his treachery had been discovered,[11] Walton had put his life on the line as a royalist agent.

Walton's audacious participation in the nightmare of England's civil wars came on the heels of a long period of personal grief. Walton's first wife, Rachel Floud, had died in 1640, several weeks after giving birth to the couple's seventh child, Anne. All of the Waltons' previous six children—including their first-born, a son named Izaak—predeceased their mother, and baby Anne later died just a couple of months short of her second birthday. In 1647, Walton married his second wife, Anne Ken; their first and third children, a daughter and a son, would survive to adulthood, but their second child—born in 1650 and given his father's name—died after only four months of life. So when he published *The Compleat Angler* in the spring of 1653, the foundations of Izaak Walton's identity—as a royalist, an Anglican, a husband and a father—had been profoundly shaken. Walton's story of vacationing fishermen thus embodies his artistic response to trauma, a search for meaning and hope in the wake of terrible anguish. Born of national tragedy and personal sorrow, *The Compleat Angler* presents Walton's deeply felt response to a universal question: How should we live? As a survivor of war and heartbreak, Walton turned to the natural world for his answer to this question and in the process created one of the most important, formative environmental texts in the English language.[12]

[10] A draper and sempster both sold cloth and sewed garments.

[11] Geoffrey Smith, *Royalist Agents, Conspirators and Spies* (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT, 2011), 6–7.

[12] Lawrence Buell coins the term 'environmental text' in *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 7–8.

The Brotherhood of the Angle

The Compleat Angler depicts the education of a novice fisherman by an experienced angler, with the countryside north of London serving as the men's outdoor classroom. As the book opens, three strangers—Piscator (Fisherman), Venator (Hunter), and Auceps (Falconer)[13]—meet as they travel north from Tottenham through the valley of the River Lea towards Ware in Hertfordshire. Auceps soon goes his own way, but as the remaining two men walk along, Piscator (Walton's alter ego in the text) praises the virtues of angling so persuasively that Venator asks the older man to teach him how to become an angler. Over the course of several days, Piscator obligingly gives Venator a series of tutorials about the appearance and behaviour of English freshwater fish, as well as techniques for catching them; in between lessons, the two men enjoy their rustic surroundings. At night, Venator and Piscator lodge at an alehouse where they meet up with another pair of fishermen, sing songs, eat fish, and wash down their catch of the day with plentiful beer. As the two men return to Tottenham High Cross at the end of their time together, Venator proclaims himself an enthusiastic new member of the 'Brotherhood of the Angle' over which Piscator presides.

The Compleat Angler is, in part, a manual of instruction, but Walton goes far beyond discussions of bait and tackle to demonstrate how people can transform their shared experiences of the natural world into new structures of social bonds. Yet neither the society Walton creates nor the vision of nature he presents in *The Compleat Angler* is simple. Walton draws on a long and multifaceted tradition to portray Piscator and his followers as covert royalist Anglicans whose piety encodes a subversive criticism of the condition of the English church and state in the 1650s. The very title of Walton's book would have carried a veiled political charge in 1653: as Douglas Bush notes, 'It would hardly have strained seventeenth-century etymology to identify "angler" and "Anglican",'[14] and Walton deliberately encourages this identification. Early in the book, Piscator reminds his companions that when Christ was recruiting his twelve apostles, he 'chose four

[13] In the first edition of 1653, there are only two characters at the beginning of Walton's narrative, Piscator and Viator (Traveller).

[14] Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600–1660* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1962), 239. Steven N. Zwicker analyses the political charge of Walton's text in 'Hunting and Angling: *The Compleat Angler* and *The First Anniversary*', in his *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649–1689* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), 60–89, 222–8.

that were simple Fisher-men' because 'he found that the hearts of such men by nature were fitted for contemplation and quietnesse; men of mild, and sweet, and peaceable spirits, as indeed most Anglers are' (p. 37). Walton's evocation of the fishermen-apostles of the ancient Church continues when Piscator is joined at the alehouse by another angler named Peter, and at the very end of the book, Venator alludes to the apostolic succession when he invokes 'the blessing of St. *Peters* Master' (p. 165). The connection Walton makes between angling and Anglicans also draws on the history of the Church's relationship to field sports: canon law, Piscator observes, had long forbidden clergy to hunt, 'as being a turbulent, toilsom, perplexing Recreation', but allowed them to fish, 'as being a harmless Recreation' (p. 39). This tradition of angling clergy gained new relevance during the Interregnum when dispossessed Anglican churchmen—including friends of Walton—occupied their enforced leisure by fishing.[15] Walton builds on these associations by creating within his book a pantheon of exemplars of Anglican piety who are also fishermen: the Elizabethan churchman Alexander Nowell, dean of St Paul's, 'was as dear a lover, and constant practicer of Angling, as any Age can produce' (p. 39); Sir Henry Wotton, provost of Eton College, 'was also a most dear lover, and a frequent practiser of the art of angling' (p. 40); and Venator concludes that George Herbert must have been a fisherman 'because he had a spirit suitable to Anglers' (p. 82). Before he published the first edition of *The Compleat Angler*, Walton had written biographies of both John Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, and he would later publish lives of Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Robert Sanderson as well: like his biographies of notable Anglicans, Walton's creation of a group of angling/Anglican worthies in *The Compleat Angler* was designed to forge an enduring 'religious identity' for his beleaguered Church.[16]

Walton's celebration of angling as a communal—and community-building—activity departs radically from earlier depictions of the

[15] B. D. Greenslade, '*The Compleat Angler* and the Sequestered Clergy', *Review of English Studies*, NS 5/20 (1954), 361–6.

[16] I am extending to *The Compleat Angler* Judith Maltby's analysis of Walton as 'the Inventor of Anglicanism' ('Suffering and Surviving: The Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Formation of "Anglicanism", 1642–1660', in Christopher Durston and Maltby (eds.), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (Manchester, 2006), 174). On Walton as a biographer, see Jessica Martin, *Walton's 'Lives': Conformist Commemorations and the Rise of Biography* (Oxford, 2001).

social dynamics of the sport. Previous writers had portrayed angling as a solitary endeavour that was conducive to contemplation and prayer precisely because the angler was alone with his thoughts. One of Walton's most important sources, William Samuel's *The Arte of Angling*, promotes this time-honoured view of the angler as an isolated figure. Although Walton, following Samuel, casts his book as a dialogue between teacher-and-pupil anglers, Walton's characterization of his protagonist, likewise named 'Piscator' in *The Arte of Angling*, departs strikingly from his source. Unlike Walton's sociable and loquacious master-angler, Samuel's Piscator is an acerbic loner who believes that angling 'is most meetest for a solitary man' and misanthropically forbids stream-side conversation not because the sound of human voices might scare fish, but because it might attract 'some bungler, idle person, or jester'.[17] Walton, by stark contrast, depicts angling as an inherently gregarious activity. This dynamic of sociability likewise informs the structure of Walton's book: not only does Piscator quote from many sources as he discusses the history and practice of angling, but he often designates the authors he quotes as his personal acquaintances. *The Compleat Angler* thus functions as an anthology not only of texts but of friends, a brotherhood of the angle in both structure and content.

This strong impulse towards inclusiveness also extends to Walton's readers. As an author, Walton solicitously tries to please us. Piscator is always apologetically alert to the danger that his enthusiasm for his subject might make him long-winded, and Walton deliberately ranges far beyond the boundaries of the genre of the how-to manual in order to provide his reader with poems, songs, illustrations, amusing tales, and other diversions from the nitty-gritty of angling techniques. In his opening remarks to the reader, Walton candidly advises that '*he that likes not the book should like the excellent picture of the* Trout, *and some of the other fish*' (p. 5): you have to love a writer who invites you to ignore his words and look at the pictures instead. But there are limits to Walton's authorial empathy. By promoting crowd-pleasing merriment, Walton deliberately defies the Puritans' prohibitions against communal holiday pastimes, and he characterizes any reader who might

[17] *The Arte of Angling, 1577*, ed. Gerald Eades Bentley, introd. Carl Otto v. Keinbusch, notes by Henry L. Savage (Princeton, 1956), 31, 17. Thomas P. Harrison has identified the author of *The Arte of Angling* as William Samuel, a Huntingtonshire vicar ('The Author of "The Arte of Angling, 1577"', *Notes and Queries* 7 (1960), 373–6).

be offended by his book's merriment as '*a severe, sowre-complexion'd man*' who cannot be '*a competent judge*' of Walton's work (p. 5).[18] Walton aims to please a wide audience, but he draws the line at killjoys.

The place of women in *The Compleat Angler* is also problematic. Although there are a few female characters in Walton's narrative—the hostess of the alehouse at which Piscator lodges, and the milkmaid and her mother who sing for the anglers—women seem irrelevant to the Brotherhood of the Angle. In this way, Walton again diverges significantly from the model of human relationships which he found in William Samuel's *The Arte of Angling*. While Walton leaves intact the interchange between Piscator and his angler-pupil that is central to Samuel's text, Walton completely erases the character of Piscator's wife, Cisley, who appears prominently in Samuel's book. And the suggestion that sensible men admire fish rather than women appears more than once in *The Compleat Angler*: Piscator declares that the markings of trout and salmon 'give them such an addition of natural beauty, as I think, was never given to any woman by the Artificial Paint or Patches in which they so much pride themselves in this Age' (p. 97), and Thomas Weaver declares in a prefatory poem,

> His fate's foretold, who fondly places
> His bliss in womans soft embraces.
> All pleasures, but the Angler's, bring
> I'th' tail repentance like a sting. (p. 12)

The nineteenth-century English playwright Charles Dance apparently found the gender dynamics of *The Compleat Angler* unsatisfactory, and he accordingly revised the plot of Walton's book. In his 1839 drama *Izaak Walton*, Dance refashions *The Compleat Angler* into a boy-gets-girl narrative: Venator—who becomes, in Dance's revision, the rural persona of a London law student named Arthur Graham—ventures into the countryside and takes angling lessons from Walton solely as part of a scheme to win the hand of Walton's attractive female ward, Anne Evelyn (a character who exists in neither the *Angler* nor Walton's biography).[19] In Dance's rewriting of Walton's text, the Brotherhood of the Angle functions solely as a cover for

[18] Gregory M. Colón Semenza, 'The Danger of "Innocent, harmless mirth": Walton's *Compleat Angler* in the Interregnum', in his *Sport, Politics, and Literature in the English Renaissance* (Newark, DE, 2003), 139–57, 207–10.

[19] Charles Dance, *Izaak Walton: A Drama in Four Parts* (1839; Far Hills, NJ, 2000).

heterosexual matchmaking—a far cry from the female-free existence of Walton's original characters.

Two components of Walton's book are fundamental to the unique identity of *The Compleat Angler*: the relationship between Piscator and his protégé, and the relationship between the anglers and the natural world. Dance's play, in changing the dynamics of the former and simplifying the latter, helps us to appreciate more clearly both the distinctiveness and the complexity of the original text. In Dance's rewriting of *The Compleat Angler*, the countryside along the banks of the River Lea becomes a place where Londoners can adopt rustic identities and pursue love affairs frustrated by the social norms of the city. Dance thus underlines the kinship between Walton's *Angler* and the genre of comedy: in comedy, characters leave their workaday surroundings, enter a green world, and then return to their urban milieu with their relationships transformed by their experiences in a natural setting.[20] Yet in depicting Hertfordshire as a stereotypical green world of comic reconciliation and renewal, Dance's play loses much of the distinctive richness of Walton's portrayal of the environment.

The Compleat Angler *and the Environment*

Walton's characters perceive the natural world in multiple ways. In his revision of *The Compleat Angler*, Charles Dance drew on one important component of Walton's environmental vision: the pastoral mode. Since classical antiquity, urban writers have used pastoral—the depiction of the lives of shepherds—to idealize and celebrate rural life. The shepherds of pastoral typically lead a simple, leisurely existence in a countryside that meets their needs without the tillage and sweat of agriculture; pastoral thus depicts men dwelling in peace with one another and the natural world.[21] Some writers tweaked the conventions of pastoral by substituting anglers for shepherds, and Walton positions his book within this revised version of the mode, at one point quoting from the poetry of Phineas Fletcher, whom Walton hails as 'an excellent Divine, and an excellent Angler, and the Author

[20] Northrop Frye provides a classic analysis of this pattern in *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (1957; Princeton, 1973), 182–3.

[21] For a discussion of these qualities of pastoral and how they have been problematized in both literature and scholarship, see Terry Gifford, *Pastoral* (New York, 1999), esp. 1–12.

of excellent piscatory Eclogues' (p. 136). At times, Walton's anglers clearly perceive their lifestyle and surroundings through the lens of pastoral: 'No life, my honest Scholar, no life so happy and so pleasant, as the life of a well governed *Angler*; for when the *Lawyer* is swallowed up with business, and the *States-man* is preventing or contriving plots, then we sit on *Cowslip-banks*, hear the birds sing, and possess our selves in as much quietness as these silent silver streams, which we now see glide so quietly by us' (p. 83). But Walton's details in such passages—the cowslips, birds, and silver streams—are conventional and generalized. As W. J. Keith astutely observes, 'We certainly receive the effect of an English landscape, but is it not localized. The stretch of the river Lea between Ware and Waltham will never become known as "Walton's Country" since he is at pains to recreate not *a* countryside but *the* countryside.'[22]

As Charles Dance's play indicates, Walton's pastoral landscape description was seized upon with great enthusiasm by nineteenth-century readers of *The Compleat Angler*. Charles Lamb gushed about the 'delightful innocence and healthfulness' of Walton's rural 'scenes', and Wordsworth found Walton's 'cow-slip bank' and 'fresh meads' to be '[f]airer than life itself'; William Hazlitt simply called Walton's book 'the best pastoral in the language'.[23] Yet the first readers of *The Compleat Angler* would have found the timeless beauty of Walton's forays into pastoral complicated by the contemporary resonances of the mode. As Walton's anglers take shelter under a sycamore tree during a shower of rain, Piscator is reminded of the herdsmen Tityrus and Meliboeus who sought cover under a 'broad *Beech-tree*' in Virgil's first Eclogue (p. 83): in Virgil's poem, Meliboeus has been evicted from his farm during a time of war, making him a precursor of the many English royalists who found themselves homeless in the 1650s after either fleeing into foreign exile or suffering the confiscation of their estates by Parliament.[24] And the balmy climate and natural plenitude inherent to pastoral description would have seemed like wishful thinking during the Interregnum, for

[22] W. J. Keith, *The Rural Tradition: A Study of the Non-Fiction Prose Writers of the English Countryside* (Toronto, 1974), 32.

[23] *The Letters of Charles Lamb*, ed. Alfred Ainger (London, 1900), ii. 23; 'Written upon a Blank Leaf in "The Compleat Angler"', in *William Wordsworth: The Poems*, ed. John O. Hayden (New Haven, 1981), ii. 398; *The Collected Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover (London, 1902), i. 56.

[24] Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology, Virgil to Valéry* (Oxford, 1988), 151, 171.

England had experienced a prolonged agricultural crisis between 1646 and 1651, 'when disastrous weather conditions had ruined harvests and spread sickness among livestock'.[25] So Walton's excursions into the pastoral mode would have appeared bittersweet to the first readers of *The Compleat Angler*, reminding them just how much distance existed between such literary idealization and the lived reality—political and environmental—of England in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Walton's sustained attention to natural history likewise challenges the idealized vision of the pastoral mode. Knowledge of particular ecosystems is fundamental to angling: the successful angler must understand what species of fish inhabit a specific locale and what kinds of prey these fish are likely to seek, all the while taking into account such variables as topography, time of day, weather, and season. Unlike the shepherd of pastoral who inhabits a beautiful, unchanging natural world, the angler must cope with a multifarious environment in continual flux. In his opening remarks to his reader, Walton notes that '*the observations of the* nature *and* breeding, *and* seasons, *and* catching of Fish' make up '*the more useful part of this* Discourse' (pp. 5–6): as a manual of instruction, *The Compleat Angler* often abandons the idyllic generalities of pastoral and presents instead detailed observations about the appearance, behaviour, and habitat of myriad creatures. Most obviously, *The Compleat Angler* is full of information about (and pictures of) fish: after providing an illustration of a barbel, for example, Walton specifies techniques for catching this 'lusty and cunning' fish that will craftily 'nibble and suck off your worm close to the hook, and yet avoid the letting the hook come into his mouth' (p. 128). But Walton also spends a significant portion of his work describing animals that can be used as bait. When Piscator lectures Venator about fishing techniques, he reveals a natural world filled with a dizzying array of fauna, and grasshoppers, frogs, snails, worms, flies, and maggots regularly swarm across Walton's pages. 'You are to know,' Piscator advises Venator at one point, 'that there are so many sorts of Flies as there be of Fruits: I will name you but some of them, as the *dun-flie*, the *stone-flie*, the *red-flie*, the *moor-flie*, the *tawny-flie*, the *shell-flie*, the *cloudy*, or *blackish-flie*, the *flag-flie*, the

[25] Joan Thirsk, 'Plough and Pen: Agricultural Writers in the Seventeenth Century', in T. H. Aston et al. (eds.), *Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R. H. Hilton* (Cambridge, 1983), 308–9.

vine-flie: there be of *flies*, *Caterpillars*, and *Canker-flies*, and *Bear-flies*, and indeed too many either for me to name or for you to remember' (p. 72). This astonishing plenitude of creatures exists because the English countryside encompasses so much diversity of geography and vegetation. Piscator notes that worms 'for colour and shape alter even as the ground out of which they are got, as the *marsh-worm*, the *tag-tail*, the *stag-worm*, the *dock-worm*, the *oak-worm*, the *gilt-tayle*, the *twachel* or *lob-worm* . . . and too many to name, even as many sorts, as some think there be of several hearbs or shrubs, or of several kinds of birds in the air' (p. 69). Walton thus promotes a keen appreciation of what we would now term *ecology*, that is, the relationships among living creatures and their environment. But Piscator's understanding of ecology usually has a practical application: the successful angler is a sharp-eyed opportunist who can analyse and adapt to highly localized and variable environmental conditions. In order to create an artificial fly that will catch fish, Piscator advises, a talented angler 'may walk by the River and mark what flies fall on the water that day, and catch one of them, if he see the *Trouts* leap at a fly of that kind' (p. 79). This combination of ecological expertise and pragmatism also leads Walton's anglers to appreciate—and exploit—features of the environment antithetical to pastoral idealization, such as Piscator's detailed and very useful knowledge of manure: a type of worm called a 'brandling', Piscator tells us, 'is usually found in an old dunghil, or some very rotten place near to it: but most usually in Cow-dung, or hogs-dung, rather than horse-dung, which is somewhat too hot and dry for that worm' (p. 69). Walton's painstaking descriptions of ecosystems that abound with both fish and faeces complicate, even contradict, the pastoral vision of flowers and silver streams found elsewhere in *The Compleat Angler*.

Walton's fascination with natural history can modulate into different environmental keys. On the one hand, Piscator's emphasis on the practical application of such knowledge sometimes places *The Compleat Angler* within the georgic mode, which is characterized by the realistic—and often didactic—portrayal of the sweaty, difficult tasks involved in raising crops and livestock. Indeed, during his discussion of techniques for catching roach and dace, Piscator explains how Venator can create his very own maggot-farm by burying the flyblown carcass of a cat (p. 143). Yet at other times, Piscator's appreciation for natural history leads him instead towards natural theology,

the concept that one may understand God by studying the natural world which he has created. At such moments, Piscator regards invertebrates not as fish-bait to be harvested but instead as objects of spiritual reflection: 'what a work it were in a Discourse but to run over those very many *flies*, *worms* and little living creatures with which the Sun and Summer adorn and beautifie the River banks and Meadows; both for the recreation and contemplation of us Anglers' (p. 72). Natural theology combines memorably with both the pastoral mode and echoes of Scripture in Venator's beautiful concluding speech: 'So when I would beget *content*, and increase confidence in the *Power*, and *Wisdom*, and *Providence* of Almighty God, I will walk the *Meadows* by some gliding stream, and there contemplate the *Lillies* that take no care, and those very many other various little living *creatures*, that are not only created but fed (man knows not how) by the goodness of the God of *Nature*, and therefore trust in him' (p. 165).[26] Walton's 'God of *Nature*', as this passage implies, can create things that defy human understanding, and Walton's focus on natural history thus often leads him into the territory of *wonder*.[27] Wonderful knowledge is extravagantly impractical: it has no purpose other than to allow us to appreciate God's ongoing role as the Creator of surprises in the natural world. In one passage, Piscator provides Venator with information germane to angling: a type of caddis worm (the larva of a caddis fly) called a '*Cock-spur*' is 'a choice bait'. But Piscator leaves practicality far behind to revel in his delighted astonishment at the home-building techniques of this remarkable insect: 'the case or house in which this [caddis worm] dwells is made of small husks, and gravel, and slime, most curiously made of these, even so as to be wondred at, but not to be made by man no more than a *King-fishers* nest can, which is made of little Fishes bones, and have such a Geometrical inter-weaving and connexion, as the like is not to be done by the art of man' (p. 145). Piscator's love of 'wonderful' natural history also leads him to share accounts of such oddities as carp with frogs stuck to their heads, pike-killing tadpoles, and a huge stuffed eel on display at a Westminster coffee house (pp. 107, 125). As Walton's

[26] Walton's reference to 'the *Lillies* that take no care' evokes Matthew 6:28 and Luke 12:27.

[27] I have analysed Walton's enthusiasm for wonder-filled natural history in '*The Compleat Angler* and the Early Modern Culture of Collecting', *English Literary Renaissance*, 37 (2007), 100–17.

characters contemplate their world through the lens of natural theology, they see God's providential handiwork in all creatures—the beautiful, the diminutive, and the marvellous alike.

Yet at other times, Walton's anglers regard the animals around them with clinical detachment. Piscator does not practise catch-and-release fishing, and although he describes how to angle with artificial flies and pastes made from bread, Piscator himself always uses live bait during his vacation in Hertfordshire. When he discusses how to capture fish, Piscator uses the verb 'kill' as a synonym for 'catch', and he provides detailed instructions for vivisecting frogs, worms, insects, and minnows by carefully skewering them onto hooks for use as live (but, of course, dying) bait. Thus as Venator's education proceeds, Walton provides a series of matter-of-fact descriptions of the deaths of living creatures. Lord Byron was repulsed by the treatment of animals in *The Compleat Angler*, and he yearned to give Walton a taste of his own medicine: 'The quaint, old, cruel coxcomb, in his gullet | Should have a hook, and a small trout to pull it.'[28] In his notes to this passage from *Don Juan*, Byron elaborated, 'It would have taught him humanity at least. This sentimental savage, whom it is a mode to quote (amongst the novelists) to show their sympathy for innocent sports and old songs, teaches how to sew up frogs, and break their legs by way of experiment, in addition to the art of angling, the cruellest, the coldest, and the stupidest of pretended sports. . . . No angler can be a good man.'[29] There is death among the cowslips in Walton's world, and whether or not we share Byron's response to this paradox, *The Compleat Angler* forces us to grapple with the ethical implications of field sports.

Walton's attitude towards the non-human inhabitants of the countryside takes on yet another layer of complexity early in *The Compleat Angler*. Before Venator begins his angling tutorials with Piscator, the two men join a group of hunters who track down and kill an otter and most of her pups. Many twenty-first-century readers will find disturbing not only the destruction of animals now protected and beloved, but also Piscator's bloodthirsty response to this violence: 'God keep you all, Gentlemen, and send you meet this day with another Bitch-Otter, and kill her merrily, and all her young ones too' (p. 45). Yet Piscator's hatred of otters is rooted in his concern for

[28] George Gordon Noël Byron, *Byron's Don Juan: A Variorum Edition*, ed. Truman Guy Steffan and Willis W. Pratt (2nd edn., Austin, 1971), iii. 407.

[29] *Byron's Don Juan*, iv. 259.

wildlife conservation: Piscator champions the enforcement of '*Fence months*' (the breeding season when fishing is prohibited), criticizes officials who allow undersized fish to be sold, and regards the destruction of fish-predators like otters as a necessary protective measure (p. 46). In twentieth-century America, Walton's advocacy of environmental stewardship inspired the genesis of the Izaak Walton League, a mass-membership conservation organization that was especially influential from the early 1920s until the Second World War. The Izaak Walton League promoted what was at the time a cutting-edge vision of conservation focused broadly on ecosystems, and the group was crucial in forcing Congress to protect endangered watersheds by creating federal nature preserves. Izaak Walton the otter-hater thus became a progenitor of the modern American conservation movement, a 'Defender of Woods, Waters and Wild Life'.[30]

In *The Compleat Angler*, Walton depicts conservation as an important element of food-production. Without wildlife management, Piscator warns, fish stocks will decline and members of the Brotherhood of the Angle will be 'forced to eat flesh' (p. 46). Nearly all the fish Piscator and Venator catch during the course of Walton's narrative end up eaten, and the anglers' evenings of conviviality are structured around their consumption of fish. The centrality of food in Walton's book is indicated even by its subtitle, 'The Contemplative Man's Recreation', since in the seventeenth century the word 'recreation' could refer to a refreshing meal as well as an enjoyable pastime.[31] The modern British poet Tony Williams wittily captures *The Compleat Angler*'s emphasis on victuals when he imagines Walton interacting with a freshly caught fish: 'He fondles the side of a trout, whose eye | stares back in alarm with the sternness of food | before it is eaten. . . .'[32] There is certainly a political element to Walton's relentless focus on eating fish: the observance of days when meat should not be consumed, known as 'fish days', was part of the Anglican tradition rejected by the Puritans, and Piscator explicitly decries 'the casting off

[30] This quotation is the motto of the Izaak Walton League as found on the title page of the organization's magazine, *Outdoor America*, 2/3 (Oct. 1923). On the history of the Izaak Walton League, see Stephen Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement* (Boston, 1981), 159–72.

[31] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'recreation'.

[32] Tony Williams, 'Izaak Walton's Flight', *The Corner of Arundel Lane and Charles Street* (2009; London, 2010), 67.

of Lent and other Fish-daies' (p. 27).[33] But Piscator and his followers also display a connoisseur's apolitical love of fresh, well-prepared fish. In an era before refrigeration, fish was highly perishable, and most Londoners, lacking the purpose-built fish ponds found on many rural estates, would have had little choice but to eat salted or dried fish, which was not considered delectable.[34] Walton's close friend and self-proclaimed angling 'son', Charles Cotton, declared that 'a Trout especially, if he is not eaten within four, or five hours after he be taken, is worth nothing' (p. 215): to enjoy fish at its best, a seventeenth-century English foodie needed to dine waterside. Thus during their days of fishing together, Piscator and Venator become locavores, and Piscator proves himself a superior angler not only by catching fish for his friends, but also by providing recipes that make their catch of the day highly palatable; indeed, the influential American chef James Beard included Walton's recipe for roasted pike in one of his cookbooks.[35] An attraction of the alehouse at which the anglers lodge is the training in fish-cookery that Piscator has given the hostess on previous visits, and after a meal of trout prepared to Piscator's gourmet standards, Peter declares that Venator is 'happy to be Scholar to such a Master; a Master that knows as much both of the nature and breeding of fish as any man: and can also tell him as well how to catch and cook them, from the *Minnow* to the *Salmon*, as any that I ever met withall' (p. 63). To the delight of his followers, Piscator has transformed their Hertfordshire alehouse into a seventeenth-century gastropub.

'My most Worthy FATHER and FRIEND'

Izaak Walton published his fifth and final edition of *The Compleat Angler* in 1676. In late February or early March of that year, about six months before his eighty-third birthday, Walton asked Charles Cotton to write '*Directions for the taking of a* Trout' to accompany the new edition, giving Cotton '*but a little more than ten days time*' to '*scribble*' his text (p. 169). It is signal proof of Cotton's regard for Walton that he fulfilled this request

[33] From the Tudor period until the Interregnum, the observation of multiple 'fish days' each week, in addition to periods of fasting prescribed by the Church, had been used to promote ocean fisheries and thus the English navy (Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500–1760* (London and New York, 2006), 159–60).

[34] Charles L. Cutting, *Fish Saving: A History of Fish Processing from Ancient to Modern Times* (New York, 1956), 26–7.

[35] James Beard, *James Beard's New Fish Cookery* (1954; Boston, 1976), 329–30.

on such short notice and a testimony to the depth of his knowledge and clarity of style that anglers still regard Cotton's 'Instructions how to angle for a TROUT or GRAYLING in a clear Stream' (p. 167), the first specialized account of fly fishing ever written, as one of the pre-eminent works on its subject.[36] In many ways, Cotton and Walton made an unlikely pair. Despite their shared roots in Staffordshire, they had followed very different paths in life, since Cotton spent most of his time as a country gentleman at his family's seat in the valley of the River Dove on the Derbyshire–Staffordshire border; and Walton, who had also known Cotton's father, was thirty-seven years older than the squire of Beresford Hall. While Cotton, like Walton, supported the royalist cause, the two men had disparate sensibilities: whereas Walton, through Piscator, condemned 'lascivious jests' as the products of a 'corrupt nature' (p. 47), Cotton was best known for his off-colour burlesque poetry.[37] Even as anglers, the two differed in approach: Walton primarily used live bait such as worms, Cotton was mainly a fly fisherman.[38] Yet Cotton warmly addresses Walton as 'My most Worthy | FATHER and FRIEND' and humbly asks that in publishing his treatise on fly fishing, the elderly tradesman will '*permit me to attend you in publick, who in private, have ever been, am, and ever resolve to be* | Sir, | Your most affectionate | Son and Servant' (p. 169); in reply, Walton designates Cotton as '*my most Honoured Friend*' and describes himself as '*Your most affectionate* | *Father and Friend*' (p. 223).

Cotton deliberately structures his discussion of fly fishing as an extension of Walton's book. Cotton frames his sequel as a dialogue between two travellers, Piscator Junior—Cotton's persona in the text—and Viator, who is 'the very Man decipher'd in [Walton's] Book under the name of *Venator*' (p. 174). As Viator passes through Derbyshire on his way to Lancashire, he encounters Piscator Junior. The two men chat and discover that they both love not only fishing, but also the same master-angler, Izaak Walton himself. As soon as he realizes that Viator is a fellow 'Brother of the Angle', Piscator Junior persuades Viator to revise his travel plans and stay with him at Beresford Hall for a couple of days, during which time Piscator

[36] John McDonald, *The Origins of Angling* (Garden City, NY, 1963), 24.

[37] Paul Hartle, 'Charles Cotton', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[38] We see in the divergent angling practices of Walton and Cotton the beginnings of what would later become a cultural divide between bait fishing and fly fishing; the latter is now widely regarded as more sporting and socially elite than the former (Charles F. Waterman, *A History of Angling* (Tulsa, OK, 1981), 10, 38).

Junior provides 'some instructions how to Angle for a Trout in a clear River, that my Father *Walton* himself will not disapprove' (p. 174). Although Cotton's work pays homage to Walton and his book, Cotton's depiction of the natural world also adds a new element to Walton's multifaceted portrayal of the environment. Rather than the conventionally bucolic countryside of Walton's work, Cotton portrays his beloved River Dove and the rugged landscape of the Peak District in particularized detail, and he acknowledges that his vast knowledge of fly fishing springs from his lifelong immersion in this unique environment, 'the recreation of angling in very clear Rivers . . . and the manner of Angling here with us by reason of that exceeding clearness, being something different from the method commonly us'd in others' (p. 185).[39] Cotton's treatise thus celebrates regionalism, and his evocation of place brings Dove Dale to life for his reader.

Despite their differences, this seventeenth-century odd couple—Izaak Walton, the elderly linen-draper who fishes with minnows and maggots, and Charles Cotton, the genteel fly-fisherman—had become devoted friends. In 1674, to honour their relationship, Cotton built on the grounds of his estate beside the River Dove a fishing cottage, and in his sequel to *The Compleat Angler*, Piscator Junior proudly shows it off to Viator, pointing out that 'over the door of which you will see the two first Letters of my Father *Walton's* name and mine twisted in *Cypher*' (p. 175). Piscator Junior reports to Viator that Walton saw this calligraphic embrace 'cut in the stone before it was set up; but never in the posture it now stands: for the house was but building when he was last here, and not rais'd so high as the Arch of the dore, and I am afraid he will not see it yet; for he has lately writ me word he doubts his coming down this Summer, which I do assure you was the worst news he could possibly have sent me' (p. 184). We do not know if Walton was ever able to make the journey back to Beresford to see the fishing house in its completed state, but as he prepared the final edition of his book for publication, he had the cipher replicated on the title page of Cotton's Part II of *The Compleat Angler* (p. 167). Like the fishing house with the engraved lintel over the door—which still stands to this day 'in a kind of *Peninsula* . . . with

[39] Cotton's patterns for artificial flies, now more than 300 years old, are still used by anglers on the River Dove (J. N. Watson, *Angling with the Fly: Flies and Anglers of Derbyshire and Staffordshire* (Yeadon, West Yorkshire, 2008), 3).

a delicate clear River about it' (p. 184)—the men's intertwined initials function in Cotton's book as a lapidary monument to an enduring friendship.

How should we live? Charles Cotton's partnership with Walton provides one example of how the values and behaviour depicted in *The Compleat Angler* might shape real life. Cotton's heartfelt portrayal of himself as Walton's adopted 'son' has decisively framed Walton's posthumous reputation, with subsequent generations of admirers styling themselves as the offspring of 'Father Walton', and through his book, Izaak Walton continues his recruitment drive for new followers hundreds of years after his death. In *The Compleat Angler*, Walton explores how a sustaining (and sustainable) human society might be generated neither within frameworks of religion and polity that can be destroyed by war, nor within the confines of the biologically fragile family unit. Walton turns instead to the environment and seeks to forge relationships among otherwise disparate people who come to be bound together—with each other and with him—by their mutual love of a beautiful yet complex and challenging natural world. When we have 'a rainy evening to read this following Discourse', Walton hopes we will take 'pleasure *or* profit' from his book, where we will find '*flowers and showers and stomachs and meat and content and leasure to go a fishing*' (pp. 7, 5, 160).[40]

[40] Thanks to Judith Luna and William M. Tsutsui for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this essay.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler* was first published in May 1653. In this version of the text, Piscator initially meets only a character named Viator, who becomes his pupil. When Walton published a new edition of the *Angler* in 1655, Viator was renamed 'Venator', Auceps joined the travellers, and Walton added eight additional chapters to his book. Walton continued to expand the work in the third edition of 1661, which was reissued in 1664; the fourth edition of 1668 was not revised. The fifth edition of *The Compleat Angler*, which appeared in 1676, was the final version published in Walton's lifetime. Walton again revised the text and asked his friend, Charles Cotton, to contribute a discussion of fly fishing which became *The Compleat Angler*, Part II. An edition of Robert Venables's *The Experienc'd Angler* was published along with Walton's and Cotton's texts under the title *The Universal Angler*: each of Walton's, Cotton's, and Venables's works had its own title page, and book-buyers could purchase and bind any or all of the texts as they pleased.

The text of this new edition is based on the 1676 edition of Walton's *The Compleat Angler* and Cotton's *The Compleat Angler*, Part II (Wing [2nd edn.] / W666 and Wing [2nd edn.] / C6381). I have also consulted the version of the 1676 text of Walton's *Angler* found in Jonquil Bevan's magisterial Clarendon Press edition.[1] In the texts of both Walton and Cotton presented here, the authors' original spelling and punctuation have largely been retained, but typographical errors have been silently corrected, long 's' and 'vv' (w) have been modernized, quotations have been consistently presented in italics, brackets within brackets have been converted to commas, and punctuation marks appearing before the second bracket have been placed after it. An anonymous 'Short Discourse . . . Touching the Lawes of Angling', first added as a postscript to the 1661 edition of *The Compleat Angler*, has been omitted.

[1] Dr Bevan's edition of Walton's *Angler* includes an apparatus that shows how the 1676 text differs from the previous four editions of Walton's book, and her introduction analyses in detail the publication history of Walton's work (*The Compleat Angler, 1653–1676*, by Izaak Walton, ed. Jonquil Bevan (Oxford, 1983)).

Explanatory notes are indicated in the text with an asterisk. Cues for inset notes (where they appear in the original) are given as superscript numbers. Angling terms which recur in the texts are defined in a Glossary that is prefaced by a brief description of the fishing tackle used by Walton and Cotton. Four maps of the countryside traversed by the anglers in the narratives of Walton and Cotton are also included. The maps are taken from Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton, *The Compleat Angler*, ed. Richard Le Gallienne, illus. Edmund H. New (London, 1897), and are reproduced, together with the concluding advertisement, courtesy of the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

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A CHRONOLOGY OF IZAAK WALTON AND CHARLES COTTON

	Life	*Historical and Cultural Context*
1593	Walton born in Stafford to Gervase (a 'tippler' or alehouse-keeper) and his wife, Anne; baptized 21 Sept.	
1597	Walton's father dies; his mother remarries eighteen months later.	
1603		Elizabeth I dies. James VI of Scotland ascends the English throne as James I.
1611	After attending grammar school in Stafford, Walton is apprenticed to his brother-in-law, Thomas Grinsell (a linen draper), in London.	Authorized Version of the Bible published. Aemilia Lanyer, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*
1613	Samuel Page dedicates his narrative poem, *The Love of Amos and Laura*, to Walton.	Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I, marries the Elector Palatine.
1616		William Shakespeare dies. Ben Jonson publishes his *Works*.
1618	Walton becomes a freeman of the Ironmongers' Company, the guild under which Walton practises his trade as a linen draper and sempster (garment-maker).	James I publishes the 'Book of Sports', sanctioning Sunday recreations.
1620		Pilgrims (nonconforming Puritans) sail to New England on the *Mayflower*.
1622		Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (begun in 1612) Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*
1623	Walton's mother dies in Stafford.	First Folio of Shakespeare's works is published.
1624		John Donne becomes vicar of Walton's London parish, St Dunstan-in-the-West.
1625		James I dies. Charles I succeeds to the throne.
1626	Walton marries Rachel Floud. Seven children are born from 1627 to 1640, all of whom die by 1642.	

	Life	*Historical and Cultural Context*
1627		Sir Francis Bacon, *New Atlantis* and *Sylva Sylvarum*
1629		Charles I dissolves Parliament, begins personal rule (until 1640).
1630	Charles Cotton born at Beresford Hall, Staffordshire (28 Apr.), the only child of Charles and Olive (*née* Stanhope).	
1633	Walton contributes an elegy to the first edition of Donne's poems.	Charles I publishes the second issue of the 'Book of Sports'. George Herbert, *The Temple*
1639	Walton's friend, Sir Henry Wotton, dies.	
1640	Walton's *Life* prefixed to Donne's *LXXX Sermons*. Rachel Walton dies (22 Aug.).	Long Parliament meets.
1642		Civil Wars begin. Parliament closes theatres. First edition of Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* (unauthorized)
1644		John Milton, *Areopagitica*
1645		William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, is executed (10 Jan.). Parliament prohibits the Prayer Book.
1646		Charles I surrenders to the Scots. Episcopacy abolished.
1647	Walton marries Anne Ken (23 Apr.). Cotton's mother, Olive, petitions for alimony from her estranged husband.	First folio edition of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies*
1648	Walton's daughter Anne is born (dies 1715).	Robert Herrick, *Hesperides*
1649	Cotton contributes an elegy on Henry, Lord Hastings, to *Lachrymae Musarum*.	'Rump' of the Long Parliament's House of Commons assumes authority. Charles I is executed (30 Jan.). The monarchy is abolished and England becomes a commonwealth.
1650	Walton's son Izaak is born (dies four months later).	Anne Bradstreet, *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America* (unauthorized)
1651	After the battle of Worcester, Walton is entrusted with the garter jewel of King Charles II, which he delivers to Col. Blague in London. Walton's son, yet again named Izaak, is born on 7 Sept. in London (becomes a Church of England	Charles II attempts to invade but is defeated at the battle of Worcester (3 Sep.). Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*